

The Organs and Organists of the Parish Church of St Nicholas,
Great Yarmouth, 1733-1894

Andrew Hayden
School of Music, Cardiff University

Thesis Submitted to Cardiff University in Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Date: 22 February 2018

This thesis is copyright material and no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

Table of Contents

Part I: Introduction	9
Methodology	27
Great Yarmouth – A Brief History	36
Religious Establishments and Organs in Pre-Reformation Great Yarmouth	40
Dissent in Great Yarmouth	44
The Development of Leisure and the Music Profession in Great Yarmouth	47
Parish Church Music from 1660 to ca.1800	51
Parish Church Music: The Nineteenth Century	66
The Anglican Church Choir in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century: An Overview	69
The Yarmouth Situation	76
Part 2: The Eighteenth Century	99
Dr Musgrave Heighington	109
Potts Crookenden	131
Johann Christian Scheidemantel	133
Henry Richard Chicheley	137
1788 – 1803: Interregnum	143
John Eager	145
James Woolman	149
David Fisher and Joseph Baxfield	150
Part 3: 1843 – 1850: George Warne	152
Part 4: 1850 – 1895: Henry Stonex	178
Early Years	184
Church Music at St Nicholas under Henry Stonex	202
Henry Stonex, Music Educator	210
Stephen Kemp	211
William Sexton	214
Edgar Lane	217
Part 5: Rebuilding of the Organ – First Phase 1864 – 1870	
Background	219

The Preston Campaign	233
The Vestry Meeting	246
The Consistory Court Hearing, 11 January 1869	259
The Judgment, 25th January 1869	270
Reopening of the Organ, 23 February 1870	272
Part 6: The 1875 Reconstruction	279
Chancel Organ	295
Conclusion	297
Appendices:	
A. Organ Specifications and Documents 1733 – 1894	311
B. Letter from Henry Smart to the Restoration Committee, 5 February 1870	331
C. Illustrations	333
D. Music Performed at St Nicholas 1821-1891	344
Bibliography and Abbreviations	347

ABSTRACT

This study explores the relationship which developed between the organ and organists of St Nicholas's Parish Church, Great Yarmouth, and the Borough of Great Yarmouth and its administrative body, the Corporation and Assembly. Hitherto, most research regarding organs and organists has tended to view them in isolation without exploring the interactions that might take place between them as the apparatus of the church's music, and secular bodies, in this case the governing agencies and populace of the Borough. That the two became so entwined and that the fortunes of one were so heavily dependent on the other and hence so mutually influenced, is the key finding of this research. It has revealed how it was to separate the immediate function of the organ and its players—namely, to provide music for the church's liturgy—from what the organ represented in the eyes of the Borough; how the organ became symbolic of the Borough's wealth and status: an outward display of the power and authority wielded principally by the Borough and to which the Church itself had become subordinated. It is also shown here that the ability of the organ to channel these attributes resided not in its physical qualities as first constructed, though they represented a starting point, but in the shifting perceptions of what the organ came to mean when measured against prevailing ideas of progress and modernity. Missing was any kind of ability to attribute value to historical sentiment, though there were those for whom this did have meaning.

The result was that the physicality of the organ became ever more diluted until all that was left were a few remnants such as the organ's casefront, and even that demoted to irrelevance. Instructively, the Church appears to have concurred with a perception of the instrument as a 'civic church organ', while at the same time looking to the Borough to give concrete expression to that perception.

Acknowledgements

A project of this magnitude would not have been possible single handed and many people were involved in its inception, helping maintain the impetus for researching and writing it, and for overseeing it to finality.

Chief among these are my mother whose interest and material support were pivotal. She ensured that I was born in Great Yarmouth and insisted I should take an interest in the Borough and its history such that the parish church, its music and its relevance to the wider community became objects of particular significance.

I should also like to thank my colleagues at the British Institute of Organ Studies for having set examples of what it meant to undertake research at doctoral level into the organ and matters connected with it. It was only once the research was underway that I began to realise just how complex and convoluted the subject was and how a multitude of seemingly disparate areas of interest could be so heavily intertwined, especially when considering the ramifications of apparently unconnected actions however insignificant they appeared at the time.

In particular, my thanks must go to Professor David Baker for his friendship and close interest and scrutiny of the text as it evolved, and for his invaluable advice and mentoring at a time when matters might well have taken a wrong turn. I should also like to thank Dr Thomas Roast whose experience in researching East Anglian church music and musicians was invaluable in shaping the nineteenth century elements of the thesis. For help in sourcing documents, often quite obscure, I should like to thank Frances Pond, library manager at the Royal College of Organists, and the staff variously at Birmingham University Special Collections (British Organ Archive), and Norfolk Record Office and Norfolk Libraries, especially Great Yarmouth, who provided access to a unique set of records including newspapers, Corporation documents, and organ builders' papers. The value of holdings such as these is inestimable.

Mention should also be made of the assistance afforded me by Dr Maurice Merrell, Principle of Bishop & Son, organ builders, London, with regard to the Bishop letterbooks which provided such a wealth of detail concerning the 1875 rebuilding. For assistance with the sections about Musgrave Heighington, my thanks must go to Dr Simon Fleming at Durham University, and Dr Michael Honeybone who enlightened me about the Spalding Gentlemen's Society. Thanks are also due to Gill Blanchard for her help with the genealogies of George Warne and John Roope.

I should also like to thank Professor Kenneth Hamilton, Head of Faculty at Cardiff University School of Music who, despite my not quite knowing where I was heading, encouraged me to pursue the lines of enquiry set out in this thesis.

Finally, I should like to thank my wife, Joy, for having so marvellously created an ambience at home which was conducive to study. Her quiet presence and attendance to matters temporal and spiritual meant so much and enabled my researches to be pursued with far greater ease than might have been the case.

The Organs and Organists of St Nicholas, Great Yarmouth 1733-1895.

Introduction

The purpose of this study is firstly to document and analyse the history of the organs and organists of a major parish church on the East coast: St Nicholas, Great Yarmouth. Secondly, it is to focus on the organ as an object of civic and religious significance through the medium of biographical accounts of its organists, some of whom were important as major contributors to the life of the borough and who were therefore bound up in its fortunes. In so doing, it will examine in detail how changes in the political, economic and religious life of the town had a bearing on the instrument and its players and why those changes should be of concern to us.

Very few studies exist upon which to base an account of this nature.

Much of what has been written about organs and music in parish churches has focused on the instruments themselves - mechanism, tonal design, players, repertoire - primarily from musical and organological perspectives. Wider aspects such as: the influence of civil and ecclesiastical authorities; organists as functionaries; the workings of what is termed the 'faculty jurisdiction' and church planning law, and the symbolism of the organ within the social fabric of a borough such as Great Yarmouth have been regarded as of secondary interest, if of interest at all.¹

Conventional writing about the organ of the kind described above, including some very recent landmark studies is, in itself, a substantial undertaking, given the vast amount of material to hand though until recently, it had been the work of enthusiasts and amateurs rather than academic historians or organologists. The late Stephen

¹ 'Faculty Jurisdiction' refers to the legal mechanism within the Church of England which is the equivalent of Planning Law in civil administration. It regulates matters ranging from major repairs and alterations to items such as church buildings and organs, to the provision of graves in a churchyard.

Bicknell, an organ builder himself, in his *The History of the English Organ*, 1996, noted that much of what had been written was 'the product of twentieth century commentators and their enthusiasms' and that the history of the English organ was 'viewed at least in part as a series of lessons on the tonal appointment of new [instruments]'.² He also acknowledged that his own account was 'old-fashioned' in that it concentrated on the most famous organ builders and their products and that a 'truly definitive work would explore a wider variety of craftsmen... and a larger number of more varied instruments'. Other writers, for example Nicholas Thistlethwaite, concentrate on a particular segment of the organ's history such as the Victorian era, producing a near exhaustive account of the metamorphosis of the instrument from its eighteenth century classical antecedents to its state at the height of the Victorian era, the product of a typically Victorian attitude to engineering and musical development on an almost industrial scale but equally, the object of criticism, often on the part of those for whom its use was thought to be out of necessity rather than because of any artistic merit it might possess. The title of Thistlethwaite's volume *The Making of the Victorian Organ*, was no doubt intended to be read in a variety of ways, implying both the processes which led to its realisation as in 'instructions for the making of a bedside cabinet', and what it was which actually ensured its success.³ Neither Bicknell nor Thistlethwaite concerned themselves in any depth with the wider aspects outlined at the beginning of this chapter, instead, choosing to follow in a well-established tradition where the focus is an object such as might be described in curatorial terms.

This tradition can be traced back to histories such as Sir John Hawkins's substantial *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, published in 1776, and notable for its diligence in assembling everything then known about the organ, and

² Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*. (CUP, 1996), p.xvi, xviii.

³ Nicholas Thistlethwaite, *The Making of the Victorian Organ*, (CUP 1990); Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, 3rd ed. 1947.

at the other end of the scale others including, for example, a little-known and brief account from 1739 written by Maurice Johnson, secretary, and latterly, president of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society. This was by way of a short lecture and much of it was itself drawn from sources such as Thomas Fuller's *The History of the Worthies of England*, 1662, and William Camden's *Britannia*, 1586. Johnson, a barrister who was widely read, is known to have also possessed copies of among others, Vitruvius' *De Architectura*, 1511, Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* and Marianus Scotus' *Chronicle* of c. 1080 which were also quoted.⁴

A later publication, Abraham Rees's *Cyclopaedia* of 1819, included an extensive article about the organ describing its mechanism and tonal appointment in considerable detail and, coincidentally, illustrating it with specifications of both the Jordan instrument at Great Yarmouth St Nicholas and the famous Müller organ in Haarlem. The article drew on Dr Charles Burney's *A General History of Music* of 1789, though nothing was said about its musical application beyond a short paragraph castigating organ builders and players who used the Trumpet stop as an imitation of the real thing rather than as part of the chorus:

And it had been well if the trumpet had never been used any other than as a chorus-stop; for its use, as an imitation of a real trumpet, has given rise to the introduction of a variety of imitation-stops; most of them a disgrace to the noble instrument in which they are suffered to intrude; and its consequence, a trifling and vitiated style of performance equally disgraceful to the taste of this country, where only it is cultivated.⁵

Burney's views on organs were known to be partisan in favour of English instruments for, despite his travels abroad and the many opportunities he had to

⁴ Spalding Gentlemen's Society Minute Book III, fol. 35r. 28 June 1739

⁵ Abraham Rees, *The cyclopædia; or, Universal dictionary of arts, sciences, and literature*, (London: 1819), vol. 25, pp. 519-529.

experience continental organs, he found little or nothing to commend in them.⁶ A few brief paragraphs were also included about its history referencing among others, the testimony of Gervas, a monk of Canterbury, regarding organs in about 1200 and William Mason's *Essays on English Church Music* in which Mason refers to Dom Bedos de Celles' *L'Art du Facteur d'Orgues*, published in 1766. Rees also quoted Vitruvius so that what the Johnson and Rees articles show is that sources of information about the organ's antecedents were known to exist in print and not, as Bicknell suggests, that there was a verbal tradition passed down between organists and organ builders.

Where the foregoing is relevant to the present study is to illustrate the rise of a particular approach to organ history which, to some extent, still pertains today, namely a concentration on the instrument as an object with an admittedly vast hinterland of technical and musical detail but where external influences remain of relatively little account.

However, there is some evidence of attitudes which sought to alter the context in which organs were discussed. Sir John Sutton's *A Short Account of Organs Built in England from the Reign of Charles II to the Present Time*, published in 1847, is distinctive; there was nothing casual about its contents. Sutton's book was a heartfelt response to the loss of so many classical English instruments for reasons which had little to do with their intrinsic merit. The book's introduction, a defense of the English organ, is pamphleteering in tone and it is clear, as Hilary Davidson notes in his introduction to the reprint, that Sutton was inspired by Pugin and the Gothic Revival in architecture; perhaps curious for someone of his age (he was only 27 when he wrote it).⁷

⁶ See Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy*, (London:1771) pp. 374-377. This volume was a precursor to his *General History*.

⁷ Sir John Sutton, *A Short Account of Organs Built in England from the Reign of Charles II to the Present Time*, (London: 1847; Oxford: Positif Press, 1979) p.11.

A lecture was delivered by Edward Rimbault before the College of Organists (as it then was) on November 15, 1864. Its title *The Early English Organ Builders and Their Works from the Fifteenth Century to the Period of the Great Rebellion*, suggests at first sight a continuation of an archaeological or antiquarian approach but Rimbault clearly had something else in mind. Rimbault's opening sentences contain the following:

I have not adopted [the subject] without some little hesitation, fearing that it might be considered of *too archaeological a character* (author's italics) to come within the legitimate objects of this institution. But, after giving the matter due consideration in all its bearings, I arrived at the conclusion that the organist cannot be too minutely acquainted with the history of his instrument in order that he may reason upon the various points that may arise in the course of his studies, and draw his inferences from correct data... The object of the lectures should be to impart information and to educate the mind of the organist, so that he may take his place upon an equality with the professors of the other arts and sciences.

He also pointedly referred to the lowly status of musicians at the time and issued a rallying cry to:

take a stand, to raise our voice and to proclaim our right to occupy a certain position in society – a position from which we are excluded. And if, in some instances, this exclusion be not quite unjust, so much the more does it become our duty... to extend our knowledge on all subjects, especially those connected with our art, as the best means of internally strengthening ourselves to resist the external prejudice.

He called upon his listeners not to overrate current progress and to remember those in earlier times famous in the craft of organ building who devoted 'their lives and genius to its improvement...', sentiments which were not just the preserve of the cognoscenti since they were echoed by E H L Preston, Mayor of Great Yarmouth at the time of the organ controversy which engulfed St Nicholas's parish church there in 1869.

Rimbault is chiefly remembered for his collaboration with Edward Hopkins which resulted in what still remains a standard work on the English organ, *The Organ*,

Its History and Construction, first published in 1855, and which went through three editions. As a textbook, its practical value lay in providing all concerned with as much useful detail as possible and, as Rimbault demonstrated in his lecture, the organ, far from being an object of museal interest and the preserve of 'gentleman amateurs', should be a subject the history of which should inform its makers and players in a practical manner. In so doing, the claim of organists and, in particular, those who subscribed to the aims and objectives of the College, to being treated as qualified professionals instead of dilettantes was much increased and could not be ignored. There were decided advantages to understanding the genesis and evolution of the instrument.⁸

Texts such as Rimbault's might have marked a turning point but for the most part, only in so far as its history and construction were concerned. At the time Rimbault was writing, the thought that events described in the present study might be worthy of attention would never even have occurred probably because they were too contemporary and so not open to mature reflection. The idea of anything pertaining to cultural reflection did not extend even remotely to organs and organists, and because the prevailing tendency was to think ahead, not to contemplate the past unless to do so meant harking back five hundred, even a thousand years. This was precisely the intent of the early nineteenth century Oxford Movement and the Ecclesiologists; how the organ was used and what role it might play in the musical life of the church became the topic of much heated debate as a result and will be discussed in due course.

More recently, a plethora of titles appeared in the years before the Second World War mostly published by the proprietors of the organist's and organ-lover's magazine, *Musical Opinion*. They were, to some extent, fuelled by the interest sparked by the rise of the theatre organ, an instrument still derided by some but which reached a peak of

⁸ Edward F. Rimbault, *The Early English Organ Builders and Their Works from the Fifteenth Century to the Period of the Great Rebellion*, (London: 1864) pp.1-5.

perfection in the hands of John Compton and Rudolph Wurlitzer. Titles such as *Modern Organ Building*⁹, *The Electric Organ*¹⁰, *The Cinema and Theatre Organ*¹¹, *The Modern British Organ*¹², all catered for a more than casual interest in the instrument, both theatre and 'straight', and its construction. From a technical standpoint, the theatre organ was 'cutting edge'. From a cultural standpoint, as one writer put it:

The cinema [theatre] organ as a focal point of entertainment in the provinces is, if anything, more vital than in the metropolis, and is to the ordinary man in the street, an item on the programme eagerly looked forward to – much criticised – much compared – but, above all, much appreciated.¹³

The appreciation extended well beyond the picture-house because the organist enjoyed the opportunities it offered for recitals on conventional church instruments in outlying villages and towns. No matter how decrepit or small the organ was, its audiences were 'solid organ fans to a man or woman'. The main point here is that the organ was familiar to many otherwise not immediately associated with it, the ordinary man and woman, both for its entertainment value and its technical sophistication, and especially the application of electricity to its mechanism mirroring popular fascination with this still new motive force. Its generic relevance had been widened as a result of this particular development of the organ beyond the confines of the church and the concert hall with 'star' organists who could be 'followed' rather in the manner of twenty-first century social media groups. The term 'organ' was common currency even down to the humble free-reed instrument, the American organ.

Mention should also be made of a periodical which began in 1921. This was *The Organ*, a quarterly journal which sought to raise the level of enquiry and provide a

⁹ W & T Lewis, *Modern Organ Building*, (London: William Reeves: 1923)

¹⁰ Reginald Whitworth, *The Electric Organ*, (London: Musical Opinion, 1930)

¹¹ Reginald Whitworth, *The Cinema and Theatre Organ*, (London: Musical Opinion, 1932)

¹² Noel Bonavia-Hunt, *The Modern British Organ*, (London: A. Weekes & Co., 1947)

¹³ Jack Courtney, ed. *Theatre Organ World*, (London: Theatre Organ World Publications, 1946), pp.66-67.

platform for serious writing about the instrument, its music and technology albeit with the average reader in mind. It did venture very briefly into one aspect of this thesis, the legal framework surrounding organs in churches but this is very much an isolated example.¹⁴ It also provided a platform for, among others, the Rev'd Andrew Freeman whose pioneering writing and photography did so much to raise awareness of the aesthetic and historical value of the organ to the nation's musical heritage. After the war, two volumes stand out which seemed to presage another shift in emphasis, William Leslie Sumner's, *The Organ, Its Evolution, Principles of Construction and Use*, published in 1952, sought to provide a concise updating of Hopkins and Rimbault though as Sumner noted:

[they] did a useful service in printing a number of records of organs, but they were unable to give an account of the evolution of the instrument from a tonal point of view in relation to the music which was played on it...

and:

it would be a soulless matter to deal with the organ merely in terms of wood, metal, ivory, wires and magnets. The instrument is not an end in itself, and even the most beautiful combinations of tones must be regarded merely as media for musical expression.

The book contained a short chapter on its study and use.¹⁵

Some twenty years later and the appearance of Cecil Clutton and Austin Niland's book, *The British Organ*, in 1963 seemed to confirm that trend with a substantial section on its musical use though this was almost entirely devoted to repertoire.¹⁶ Such comment as was proffered about what is the church organ's principal duty as an accompanimental instrument damned its twentieth century incarnation with faint praise

¹⁴ D. Batigan Verne, 'Organs and the Law', *The Organ*, 73 (1939) pp. 43- 50.

¹⁵ W. L. Sumner, *The Organ, Its Evolution, Principles of Construction and Use*, (London: MacDonald, 2nd edition, 1955) pp. vii-viii.

¹⁶ Cecil Clutton, Austin Niland, *The British Organ* (London: Batsford, 4th impress. 1969).

'In fact, a typical British twentieth-century organ is of remarkably little use except as an accompanimental medium, for which purpose it is remarkably good'.¹⁷

However, the decades immediately before the turn of the twentieth century witnessed a considerable change in attitude. The status of the organ was thought until comparatively recently, to be, if not unassailable, then at least subject to common rules of decency and respect for the intent, the craftsmanship and musicality of these instruments the initial erection of which was once accompanied by so much pride and fanfare.

The appalling destruction meted out to William Hill's 1841 masterpiece in Great George Street Chapel, Liverpool in the early 1970's dealt a shattering blow to the hitherto leisurely contemplation of the instrument secure in the knowledge it would always be there.¹⁸ This was not just the alteration of the instrument to suit the flavour of the time but something akin to a second Commonwealth where actual destruction was contemplated and implemented with impunity. Not only was a new urgency needed to document and comment on a rapidly changing landscape, evinced by the work of the British Institute of Organ Studies, founded in 1975, but also a documentation and study of the wider implications of those changes, especially for the relevancy of the organ to society at large.

The same can be said of the changes accompanying the perception of the organist as the 'musician in general' within a parish community. Frederick Lang in his study, *The Anglican Organist in Victorian and Edwardian England*, discusses the rise of the church and cathedral organist during a period of increasing professionalisation.¹⁹

¹⁷ Clutton, Niland, *ibid.* p.142.

¹⁸ An article which appeared in the *Church Times*, 6 October 1972, related how Fritz Spiegel visited the Chapel shortly after closure only to find the organ being destroyed by children under adult supervision – their acts being described as 'a form of ballet'.

¹⁹ Frederick Lang, 'The Anglican Organist in Victorian and Edwardian England (c.1800 – c.1910)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Hull, 2004).

To the writer's knowledge it is the only study to have covered topics such as articulated pupilship (effectively an apprenticeship for organists), the development of institutional training, the appointment of organists and the work of church and cathedral organists in society. The study is illustrative of the manner in which not only the instrument became more and more the subject of general interest and attention but also its players who, from lowly beginnings, came to be valued as specialists performing a valuable role within their communities, were they parishes, dioceses or municipalities. From that point of view, it is useful in helping to determine how the player and instrument became integrated with the social fabric. However, the study sees the instrument reflected in its players and auditors at a time when popular interest was still growing and is not concerned in detail with extra-musical factors which might have worked for or against the effectiveness of an organist in whatever setting.

A further study undertaken by Robin Rees, *The Role of Music and Musicians in Current English Parish Church Worship: The Attitudes of Clergy and Organists*, is more contemporary and supplies a useful and detailed critique of the relationship between clergy and organist in the closing years of the twentieth century and it is here where we begin to perceive a much more forensic and disinterested approach to the subject.²⁰ The study examined contemporary responses to the role of music in worship, brought into sharp focus with the publication of the *Alternative Service Book* in 1980.²¹ Views were sought by Rees from the principals in the debate, clergy and church organists, which were then collated and analysed. Other aspects included whether then recent changes in attitude to worship, of which the *Alternative Service Book* was but one consequence, rather than the book itself, had brought about a hardening of attitudes between the two parties. The discussion was widened to include a review of current

²⁰ Robin Rees, 'The Role of Music and Musicians in Current English Parish Church Worship: The Attitudes of Clergy and Organists' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sheffield, 1990).

²¹ Church of England, *The Alternative Service Book*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1980).

hymnals and psalters, a survey of the courses and qualifications in church music available in Great Britain and three case studies demonstrating the problems that could arise when clergy and musicians are in conflict.

Rees's study brought a much more dispassionate, critical approach to matters surrounding church music, clergy/musician relations, organs and so forth. Such a study would look at all the factors affecting the music of a cathedral and parish church, what promoted or hindered it, and so would not be restricted to accounts of the lives of its most illustrious organists, and organs built and rebuilt by famous organ builders. Since it deals with human beings with all their strengths and weaknesses, their actions and the consequences thereof in this sphere cannot be ignored which is one of the reasons why the present enquiry into the organs and organists of Great Yarmouth, St Nicholas was felt appropriate.

Other similar studies have tended to concentrate on major religious foundations or treat the subject from ethnomusicological or philosophical points of view.

Pierre Dubois made a particular study of the eighteenth-century English organ and the collective psyche and how the organ became a focus for national ideals.²² A substantial abstract was published in the *Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies* which has been used to develop the following comments.²³

Dubois' main contention was that the organ was of greater importance to eighteenth-century society than is generally believed. It was an instrument which was ideally suited to the aesthetic and ideological canons of the period and it may have been viewed as 'a distinctive vehicle for characteristic national values, and used allegorically

²² Pierre Dubois, 'L'orgue dans la société anglaise au XVIIIème siècle: éthique et esthétique de la modération' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of the Sorbonne, Paris, 1997).

²³ Pierre Dubois, 'The Eighteenth-century English Organ and the Collective Psyche: a Vehicle for National Ideals', *Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies*, 20 (1996) 100-115.

as an emblem of national identity'.²⁴ Dubois also contended that Burney's seeming antipathy regarding foreign organs could be that he was voicing a feeling of national pride in the superiority of the native instrument. As Jeremy Black expressed it, 'travelling abroad was merely a way of asserting the superiority of Britain'.²⁵ As to the organ's place in religion, it was not just an element of decoration, it revealed the wealth and solemnity of the Church and accompanied the congregation both in the singing of the psalms and, ideologically and socially, the people gathered in the orderly confines of the building.

A different perspective is afforded by Barra Boydell's study of music at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, an acknowledgement of, as Boydell puts it:

the unique role played by Christ Church cathedral within the religious, social and political history of Ireland and within the wider context of Anglican cathedrals...

By linking this with the broader historical environment, the cathedral's music – its personnel, organisation, repertoire and instruments – is shown to have been shaped by the social and historical contexts within which it took place.²⁶

As an example of the organ in relation to a whole segment of society, Tina Frühauf's study, *The Organ and Its Music in German-Jewish Culture*, is an analysis of how the introduction and use of the organ in the synagogue reflected Jewish identity. This identity, however, was complex and dichotomous since Jews laid claim both to German culture – hence identity – and the right to maintain their Jewishness. The organ

²⁴ Dubois *ibid.* p.101.

²⁵ Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*, (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1992) cited in Dubois, p.105.

²⁶ Barra Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin*. (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), pp. xiii-xiv.

and organ music of Jewish communities served to illustrate the meaning of dual identity in German-Jewish lives.²⁷

Stephen Banfield's book *Music in the West Country* is further affirmation of the direction of travel. Banfield's aim is to give the reader a comprehensive overview, albeit a provisional one as Banfield acknowledges, of the musical life of the West Country covering almost 700 years of activity right up to the present day. It explores music in all its diversity from town waits and minstrels through cathedral and parish church music to the 'Bristol' sound of the late twentieth century.²⁸ Of relevance to this study is the chapter on organs. In this he attempts a brief chronology of the organ in the region and the effects the introduction of the instrument had both on the regional soundscape and on the people who came into contact with it. Crucially, Banfield acknowledges the organ's importance because 'right through to the twentieth century [it] formed the strongest musical signifier of authority and, until the advent of choral societies, of musical aspiration in public life...'. He also draws attention, significantly, to the manner in which, in the mid-nineteenth century the physical location of the organ was 'almost a matter of national politics as had been the Puritans' opposition to them...'.²⁹

Common to these studies is a desire, in part, to place the organ and its users in a much wider context than just that of the immediate influences on its musical and technical development. The aim is to examine the organ and those associated with it as a cultural phenomenon subject to the same external impulses, to use a contemporary example, as the rise of the cinema, the development of which is characterised by enormous wealth of technical invention and skill. Yet the way film has penetrated

²⁷ Tina Frühauf, *The Organ and Its Music in German-Jewish Culture*. (OUP, 2009), p. 5.

²⁸ 'Bristol' sound refers to a popular music type in the 1980's and 90's characterised by 'a darkness that is uplifting, a joyful melancholy', and 'a slow, spaced-out hip hop sound that a number of artists in the early and mid 1990s made synonymous with the city'.

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bristol_underground_scene> [accessed 24 September 2018]

²⁹ Stephen Banfield, *Music in the West Country*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2018) pp22-23.

society is out of all proportion to even that wealth; the effect of telling a story through film, for example, ranging from rejection through indifference to major political change. In other words, the medium - musical instrument or image carrier - does not exist in isolation; its being and the way it is employed can have a profound effect on people and events, and vice versa. To some extent, the medium is the message.³⁰

Where the present study differs from those just discussed is that it focuses on an Anglican parish church, the history of which was not expected to yield substantial documentation owing to the destruction experienced by Great Yarmouth including its parish church in 1942. However, by reason of a) its importance as the religious centre of, historically, one of the wealthiest seafaring communities in Great Britain and b) the history of the Borough as a substantial political and mercantile entity, the possibility that a narrative existed, albeit one whose accessibility and hence its viability was not guaranteed, could not be ignored. No suppositions were made as to what might be found beyond the fact that the organ had been a distinctive instrument played upon at one time in its life by an organist, J C Mantel, whose name was linked to G F Handel, because to have done so would have prejudiced the premise of the study which was deliberately to move away from a position where there was almost an expectation of predictability. By this is meant that no assumptions were made about whether a 'back-story' either already existed or might necessarily be expected to exist.

By way of comparison, other studies such as David Knight's *The Organs of Westminster Abbey and Their Music* took a principal religious institution with its history already documented and where there was a reasonable expectation of uncovering material which would have a substantial bearing on our knowledge of how church

³⁰ The phrase was made famous by Marshall McLuhan in his book *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964).

music developed.³¹ The historic significance of an institution such as the Abbey, which is globally recognised, meant that not to have investigated it could have been seen as neglecting an important aspect of its historical make-up. In other words, national and global cultural and religious significance was arguably a factor determining the topic of investigation.

But where does this leave lesser examples such as Great Yarmouth's parish church which, superficially, could and would not pretend to lay claim to significance on the scale of Westminster Abbey?

The danger apparent in studies such as those by Boydell and Knight is that a preference can exist where the researcher is led to the subject under investigation by previous reputation rather than a sense of curiosity about the unknown. The result is that studying less well-known sites is regarded as less relevant and/or becomes the preserve of those who are regarded, sometimes in disparaging terms, as local historians. As H P R Finberg observed, they were characterised as, 'mere antiquarian triflers, or drudges with no other function than that of providing footnotes for somebody else's History of England'.³²

More importantly, by virtue of the national status of a building such as Westminster Abbey, another danger is that such a history could be understood as a statement of general application. But to infer a generalisation always runs the risk of an exception being discovered to prove it wholly or partially wrong. This is why the study of a parish church such as Great Yarmouth should be of interest, for unless we are willing to engage with such histories, including, by definition, the humblest village church or a small local organ builder, we run the risk of having a generalisation's

³¹ David S Knight, *The Organs of Westminster Abbey and Their Music*, (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, King's College, 2001)
<<http://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.529494>> [accessed 08/06/2017].

³² H P R Finberg, *Local History in the University*, Inaugural Lecture delivered in the University of Leicester, 26th May 1964 (Leicester University Press, 1964) p. 14.

validity questioned. The problem has long been a topic of controversy among historians and has been summarised thus:

In the final instance, all generalisations must be tested in terms of significant accumulations of related detailed data. Local histories can thus be of functional value to the national historian as they provide him with both an easily accessible means of controlling and checking the wide range of phenomena with which he works.³³

Such histories are also 'a useful corrective by exhibiting in all its diversity a past too complex to be securely imprisoned in generalised statements'.³⁴

This is why investigations of this nature are important: because not only do they piece together local histories and so enrich the sense of understanding of a community, but because they can act as correctives to a wider, national history. The local study allows a greater degree of depth, offers researchers an opportunity to get 'under the skin' of a historical community or subject in a way which is just not possible in more wide-ranging studies. Given that local studies tend to be associated with non-metrocentric themes, they can inform a process whereby the national history itself becomes better informed and more representative of local variation.³⁵

Two examples which bear some similarity to Great Yarmouth are those of Halifax Parish Church and St Margaret's, King's Lynn. At Halifax, the organ built by Snetzler was erected in 1765 but not used publicly until 1766 because opponents of the instrument's installation in the outlying daughter parishes feared a heavy additional contribution to the support of the mother church. They even resorted to physical violence and intimidation in their attempts to stop the organ being installed; pipes had to be smuggled into the church at night. A lengthy consistory court case eventually found for the proponents and the organ began to be used in July 1766; in August of that year it

³³ The Value of Local History, *Kleio*, vol 1:1 1969 pp. 10-16.

<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00232086985310041>> [accessed 08/06/2017]

³⁴ H P R Finberg, 'Local History', in *A Symposium – Approaches to History*. (London: 1962), p. 115.

³⁵ Jonathan Healey, 'Why Local History Matters'. Lecture delivered at Oxford University's Department for Continuing Education, 14 November 2012.

was opened with much fanfare commemorated by a woodcut entitled 'We have won the day'. This depicted the new organ surrounded by cheering supporters and was produced and circulated in Halifax. The subsequent history of Halifax is one, like Yarmouth, of a major parish church acquiring an object which became the focus of civic pride, played initially by distinguished musicians such as Joah Bates and William Herschel, then slowly descending into a state of decrepitude and torpor until rescued in the mid-nineteenth century by another musician of renown, in this case Dr John Varley Roberts, later organist of Magdalen College, Oxford. To Roberts is due the credit of reviving church and civic music in all its aspects at Halifax in a way which saw it flourish.³⁶

At King's Lynn, Snetzler erected an organ in 1754 but only after the Borough, having appointed Dr Charles Burney as organist in 1751, was told by him that the existing organ was beyond redemption. Burney's period at King's Lynn was a short one. His appointment at a salary of £100 was in anticipation of a revival of the borough's musical fortunes, and in this he succeeded for as long as he held the post. However, it proved impossible to afford his salary and he left in 1760. Thereafter, with the exception of Pieter Hellendaal, organist at St Margaret's between 1760 and 1761, the post was filled by local musicians, notably Richard Sly, who presided from 1767 to 1805. Later periods in King's Lynn's and Halifax's history are yet to be fully researched but Sly achieved modest distinction with, amongst a few other compositions *An Anthem and Hymn for Christmas Day*, published by Longman & Broderip.³⁷

³⁶ David M Baker, 'We have won the day: an eighteenth-century English organ controversy'. *The Organ* 54: 85-88, 1976. 'John Varley Roberts and the Music of Halifax Parish Church, 1868-1882', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society* 21 (NS): 105-126, 2013. 'Glee Unions in Halifax and District from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Centuries', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society* 24 (NS): 46-69, 2016. Rachel Cowgill, *Disputing Choruses in 1760's Halifax: Joah Bates, William Herschel, and the Messiah Club. Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914* eds. Rachel Cowgill, Peter Holman, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 87-113.

³⁷ Trevor Fawcett, *Music in Eighteenth Century Norwich and Norfolk*, (Norwich: University of East Anglia, Centre for East Anglian Studies, 1979) p. 36; <https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/1911_Encyclop%C3%A6dia_Britannica/Burney,_Charles> [accessed 15/06/17]; Andrew Hayden, *Richard Sly*, unpublished paper; Richard Sly, *An Anthem and Hymn for*

Halifax, Yarmouth (the subject of this study), and to a lesser extent King's Lynn, demonstrate wider, non-musical aspects of how organs could affect their localities, the most significant being the organ as a prestige object presided over by, at least initially, musicians who were, in themselves, prestigious, and thus enhanced the value of the instrument through their musical ability. Far from each being a straightforward and uncomplicated narrative, they show how far the historical trajectory was from being linear; there was no automatic correlation between the economic and social status of the boroughs and the music of their parish churches.

Methodology

What follows therefore is primarily a sociological study with a musical theme at its heart. The aim is to establish an historical context for a little discussed yet highly topical area concerning the phenomenology of the organ as typified by Great Yarmouth, its musicians and the people of the Borough. Part of that aim will be to delineate what has been termed in the *Guidelines for the Burra Charter, 1999*, as the 'focus [for] cultural sentiment', the basis for the attachment to the organ felt by the parish which was thrown into such sharp relief in the late 1860's when a process was entered into which saw the organ begin an inexorable journey away from what it had been for the best part of 140 years.³⁸

The dates chosen are those which mark the arrival of the first organ at St Nicholas's Church since the Restoration, built in 1733 by Abraham Jordan and arguably his most celebrated, and its eventual state just prior to the turn of the nineteenth century. At that point, Henry Stonex, organist of the parish church since 1850, retired almost immediately before its subsequent, comprehensive reconstruction by J J Binns in 1903. During this time, it was still possible to recognise the Abraham Jordan organ as a visual if not a tonal entity; Henry Stonex, who played the instrument for much of the latter half of the nineteenth century, would have known it from a time when it stood largely unaltered from 1733 to the Bishop rebuild of 1875.

Much of the research for this thesis has focussed on primary sources. Little has been written about Great Yarmouth in this context and so a decision was taken not to refer to secondary sources such as books, magazines, notebooks and local historical accounts where they repeated earlier material or were written at a time far removed

³⁸ The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance 1999 with associated Guidelines and Code on the Ethics of Co-existence. Australia ICOMOS Inc International Council of Monuments and Sites Burra Charter, Guidelines article 2.5 quoted in James Semple Kerr, *The Seventh Edition Conservation Plan*, (Australia ICOMOS, 2013), p. 30.

from the events they described. Primary Sources were made up of Great Yarmouth Borough records such as minute books of the Corporation, churchwardens' account books, vestry minutes and, importantly, the minutes of the Parish Church Restoration Committee which gave an almost continuous first-hand account of matters relating to the fabric including the organ from 1860 to 1904. Allied to this were the Norwich Consistory Court papers relating to both the retrospective faculty of 1748 confirming the erection of the Jordan instrument in 1733, and the dispute of 1869-70, for which copious material existed. From these, it was possible to gain Thomas Hill's lengthy affidavit regarding plans for the organ's rebuilding as well as Henry Smart's opinions as consultant. We also have the opinions of other notables including Sir F A G Ouseley, Professor of Music at Oxford University, and Dr Zechariah Buck, the celebrated organist of Norwich Cathedral.

Local and regional newspapers were also researched. Foremost among these were the *Norfolk Chronicle*, *Norfolk News*, *Norwich Mercury*, the *Ipswich Journal* and the *Yarmouth Independent*. The *Norfolk Chronicle* is one of the region's oldest newspapers, having begun in 1761 and advertising itself as a 'Church & Conservative Journal'.³⁹ The *Yarmouth Independent* began life in 1855 as the *Yarmouth Free Press*, changing its name to *Yarmouth Independent* in 1857. It was the principal Saturday journal for Yarmouth and environs until 1940.⁴⁰ As such, and since it too was a Conservative-leaning paper, it reported sympathetically and extensively on Church matters and the activities of the Great Yarmouth Choral Society. From this publication and the *Norfolk Chronicle*, for example, it was possible to extract almost verbatim reports of the Consistory Court hearings, allowing for a degree of syndication, as well as much of the correspondence surrounding events in 1869-70, notably Henry Smart's

³⁹ Advertisement, undated.

⁴⁰ <<http://newspan.liem.org.uk/details.asp?pid=89D30771-2551-4A53-B322-AECCFDE582EB>> [accessed 12/06/2017].

pained rebuttals of the points put to him by E H L Preston, the Borough's chief magistrate, who championed the conservation of the organ. In addition, it contains what few letters we have from Henry Stonex.

The *Norfolk News* was published from 1848 to 1870, under the editorship of the noted journalist and spiritualist Edmund Dawson Rogers, a strict Wesleyan, who was heavily influenced by the writings of Emanuel Swedenborg. The paper provided a partisan, left-leaning gloss on local events, as for example the activity of the Church Restoration Committee in the 1860's when St Nicholas's church was being restored. There is the suspicion, though there is no evidence to prove it, that E H L Preston used the *Norfolk News* to launch attacks on the members of the Vestry writing under the pseudonym 'Vindex'.^{41 42}

Other important sources were the letterbooks of Messrs Bishop & Son from which substantial correspondence surrounding the organ's rebuilding in 1875 was taken. This included not only a detailed account of the process whereby the eventual disposition of the organ was arrived at but also insights regarding the client/supplier relationship which were not always harmonious, and indicative of the pressure suppliers could be put under in terms of time and money.

The *Great Yarmouth Parish Magazine* was a valuable source which filled in some of the gaps of the Bishop & Son correspondence including Bishop & Son's replies to enquiries as to when the organ would be ready.⁴³ It also contained details of the way the music of the services was managed, including the complement of the choir at various times, the use of the organ as a solo instrument playing voluntaries at different

⁴¹ <http://newsplan.liem.org.uk/details.asp?pid={3C79D902-77A8-4E39-B22B-3A09A5DB8872}&lid=na> accessed 12/06/2017.

⁴² W. B. Owen, *Rogers, Edmund Dawson (1823–1910)*, rev. Alan Gauld, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35812>>, [accessed 12 June 2017]

⁴³ NRO PD28/379 – 401.

points within the liturgy, its use in the daily office, and notes about problems experienced with the organ.

Finally, mention must be made of the notebooks of Dr Arthur Mann. These are an extensive accumulation culled from local newspapers and from correspondence with musicians, antiquarians and scholars, which provided many points of departure for further research. Mann devoted a complete volume to the life and times of Musgrave Heighington from which part of this research was drawn.⁴⁴

Where secondary sources were used, the aim was to relate them as closely as possible in time and content. In this regard, three articles entitled 'The History of the Parish Church Organ' which appeared in the *Yarmouth Mercury* in 1902 were invaluable. They were written by Frederic Johnson, one-time Norwich City archivist and an antiquary. Johnson had access to the Borough records as they existed before the losses incurred due to the 1939-45 war and so was able to note details such as the acquittance signed by Musgrave Heighington on completion of the organs by Jordan. Allowing for some minor errors of detail such as the organ specifications, Johnson's account was the first to claim any semblance of completeness up to that time.⁴⁵ Another example is that of Edward Lupson's history of St Nicholas Church, Great Yarmouth. This volume is believed to contain the only known record of the 1875 Bishop rebuild specification with full details of the individual stops' historical make-up.⁴⁶

In terms of organisation and analysis, an essentially chronological progression was adopted with individual sections devoted to topics deemed particularly important. For example, the Assembly minutes have been quoted *in extenso* at the outset since it was felt necessary to understand the Corporation's approach to the acquisition of organs

⁴⁴ NRO MS 451; MS 33221, 725X7.

⁴⁵ F. Johnson, 'The History of the Parish Church Organ', *Yarmouth Mercury*, 14 June, 5 July, 12 July 1902.

⁴⁶ Edward J Lupson, *St Nicholas' Church, Great Yarmouth: Its History, Organ, Pulpit, Library, Etc.* (Yarmouth, 1881).

both for the parish church and St George's chapel. For that, the language of the minutes is as important as their content since negotiations would have been conducted in a very orderly, businesslike manner, the tenor of which becomes evident from the preciseness of expression. At the same time, they also make the reader aware of the extent to which this was something of a step into the unknown: the paradox existing between the language and forms used in mercantile and legal conduct, and the procurement of what was essentially an art object, albeit one which had a strong element of utility.

Elsewhere, quotations such as Palmer's description of the old Town Hall have not been curtailed because to do so would deny the reader the opportunity to build up a mental picture of what was a relevant and important civic institution in the Borough – where the power and authority of the Corporation resided. In the same vein, rather than attempt to convert to modern language, for example, the letters expressing irritation and dismay at George Warne's failure to rebuild the music of the Parish Church, they have been left as written. Victorian expressions of indignation were often all the more pungent for their blend of pointed disapproval and observance of common courtesies, conveying far more effectively the writer's sentiments as, for example, in the verse penned anonymously describing the vices of 'popery'.⁴⁷

A similar approach was adopted concerning the Consistory Court papers of 1869. An analysis of their content was only possible once a firm timeline had been established following which individual arguments and any correlations could be extracted. It was also important to understand the nature of the affidavits: who had been called as witnesses for and against, and the sort of arguments used. Much of what was said became redundant, so it was important to understand the reasoning behind the

⁴⁷ *Yarmouth Independent*, 14 March 1868, p. 5.

process of reduction. Ultimately, the case became confined to a matter of practicalities, historical and aesthetic arguments having little or no validity.

Mention has been made of the devastation of 1942. In the early morning of 25 June, Great Yarmouth suffered an attack by German incendiary bombs which all but destroyed St Nicholas' parish church and with that the entire choir library and other musical ephemera (though the author has a number of surviving items in his possession including a hymn book belonging to Henry Stonex and some chants copied out by Haydon Hare). Little remained except the walls. While the parish records are extensive in respect of registers of births, marriages etc. there are gaps, principally of account books of which nothing exists before 1872. Prior to that, until 1837 following the Registration Act of 1836, responsibility for the administration of the parish church lay jointly with the Vestry and Corporation, so that matters relating to organists' remuneration, minor repairs to the organ and so forth were entered in the Borough accounts. It may be assumed too, given the amount and the quality of surviving documentation and the access which Frederic Johnson had to it, that copies of the original contracts between the Parish and the various organ builders might have survived. Regrettably, this is not the case, the only reference to such a thing being the meeting of the organ committee to set the Corporation's seal to the agreement with Jordan.⁴⁸

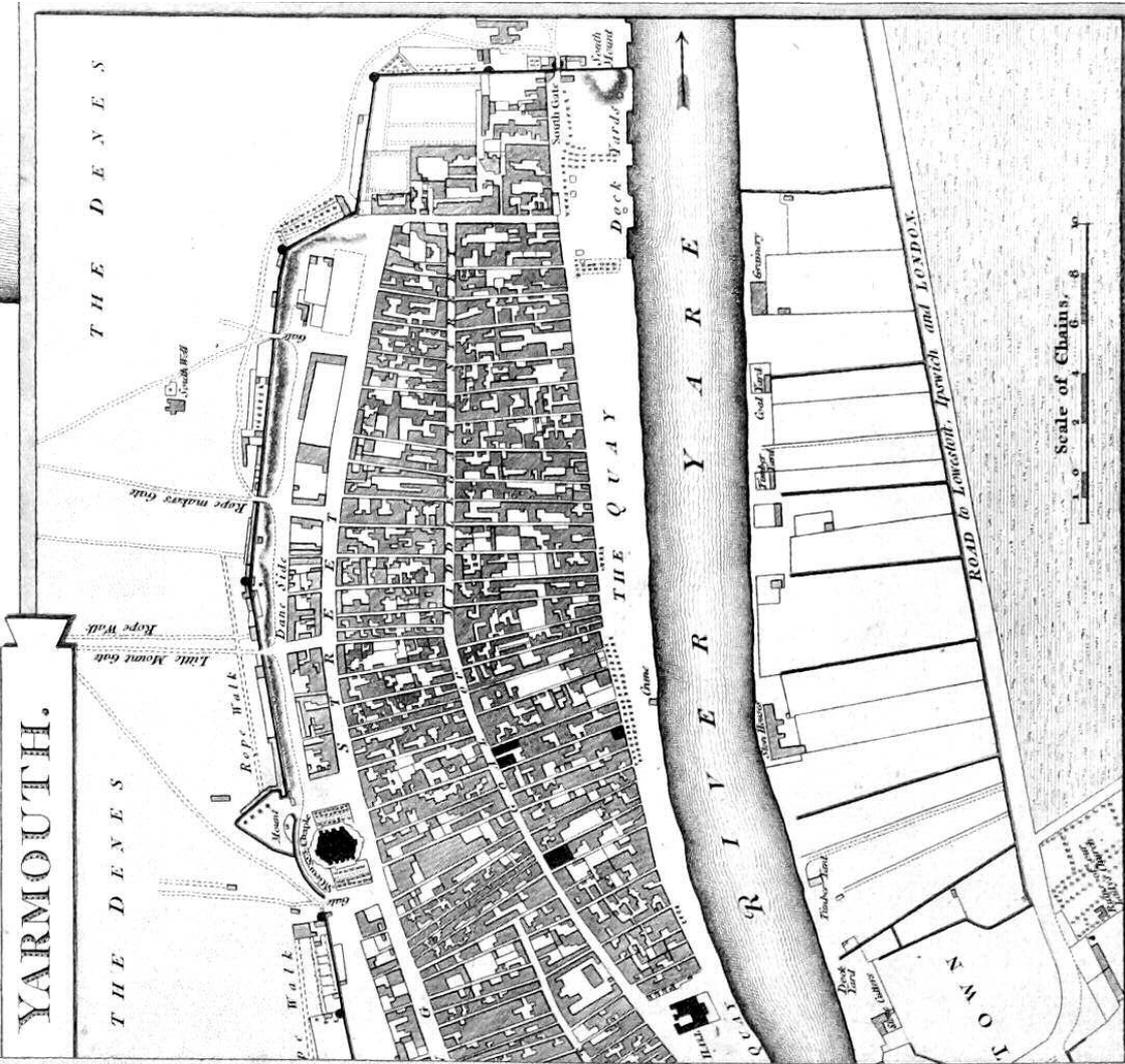
Before proceeding further, we need to establish some of the background history of the Borough, its economic standing and the role of religious establishments there before the Reformation since there is evidence of the presence of organs in St Nicholas from the fifteenth century until the second half of the seventeenth century.

⁴⁸ NRO Y/C 20/1, Hutch Book, April 1675 – Dec 1765, fol. 118.

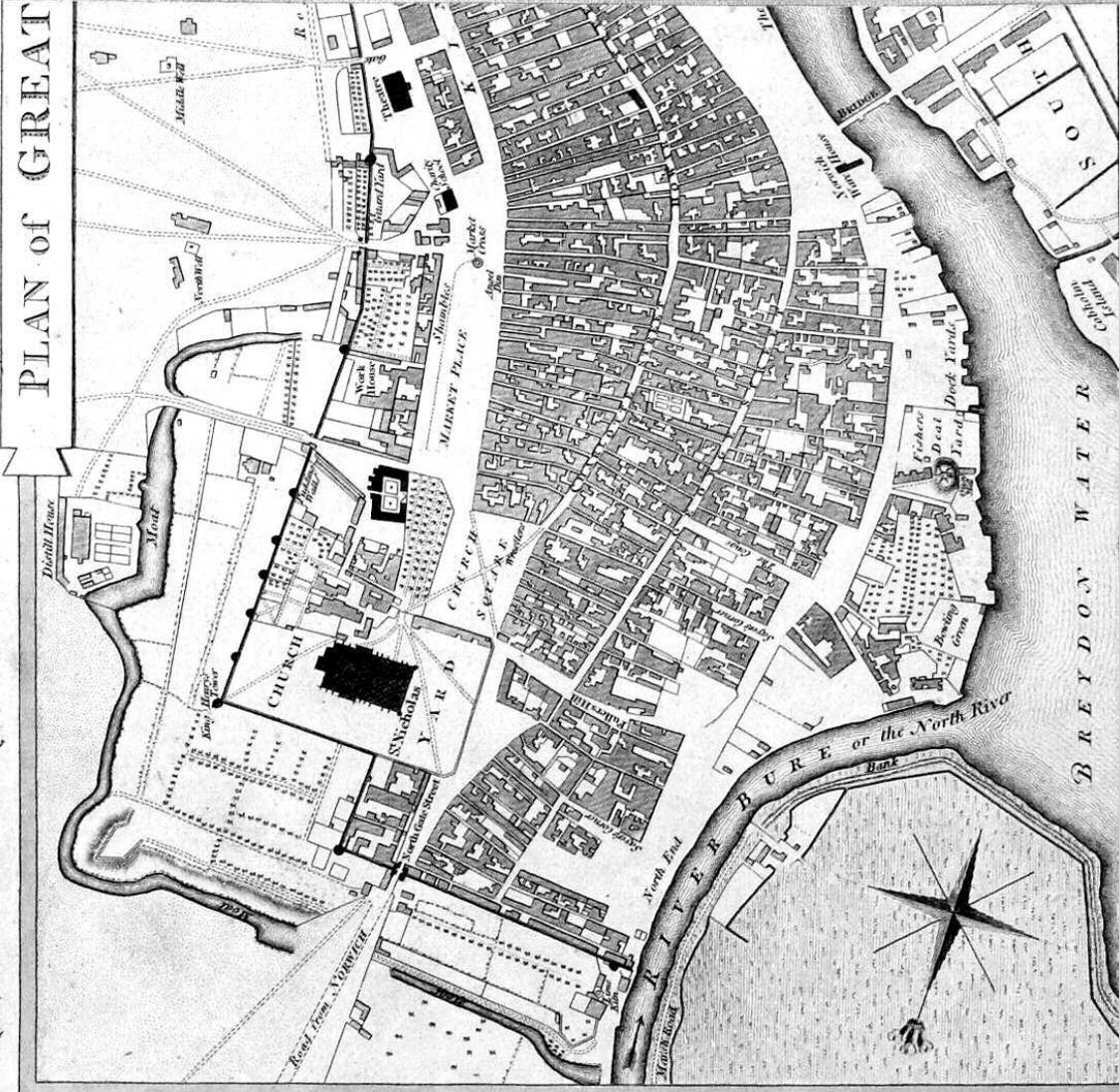
The following page shows a map of Great Yarmouth, ca.1797.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ NRO RFM 1/61/2/4. Map by William Faden ca. 1797.

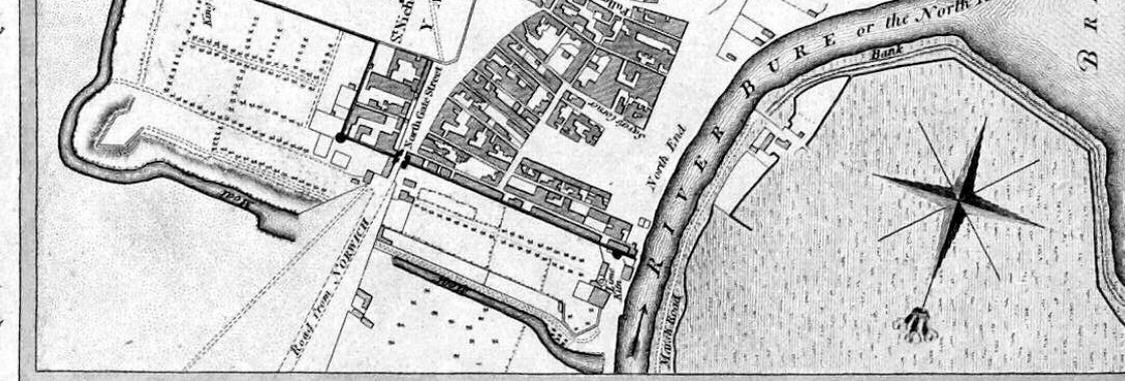
PLAN OF GREAT



YARMOUTH.



PLAN OF GREAT



YARMOUTH.

Great Yarmouth – A Brief History

Great Yarmouth is recorded in the Domesday survey and differed from most towns in that it was entirely owned by the king, William I. The inhabitants or burgesses were king's men, not freemen. Taxes were levied on inheritance, marriage and the right to do business in the town. Tolls were paid before business could be done in the markets, levies imposed for the maintenance of the army. A sheriff, who was the king's tax gatherer, presided at court where punishments for crimes were mostly fines levied in an arbitrary fashion. Two thirds of all the revenue collected went to the king's exchequer, the other third went to the sheriff.

With time, the feudal system gradually broke down and allowed development of trade and commerce. However, the inability to capture other markets meant that Yarmouth merchants were placed at a disadvantage compared with other towns which had been granted exemptions in the form of charters. The charter granted by King John to Yarmouth in 1208 made it one of only 56 towns to possess one and meant it could now control its own markets through a merchants' guild. Yarmouth was declared 'a free borough for ever' since the burgesses now owned the freehold of the land. They were also freed from the impositions of a sheriff and a reeve, and could administer King's justice in its own court. Citizens involved in lawsuits in other towns could demand that charges against them were heard in Yarmouth .

Great Yarmouth was now set to become one of the largest and wealthiest provincial towns in the country. This prosperity was built upon trade and a substantial herring fishery. Both were combined in close mercantile relations with Europe, particularly the Dutch, since Rotterdam is only some 100 nautical miles distant. In 1568, Queen Elizabeth issued a licence in perpetuity which allowed 30 named

Dutchmen and their families who wished it, to settle in Great Yarmouth on account of religious persecution in Holland. This permitted them not only to fish but also to establish their own church in the town.⁵⁰ However, this did not last and jealousy of Dutch prosperity, combined with concern about the strength of their navy, led Charles I in 1636 to prohibit the Dutch from fishing in English waters bringing about the decline of an important trading fixture in the life of the town, the Yarmouth Herring Fair. The policy was continued by Oliver Cromwell and Charles II with little success and it was not until the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) which closed Dutch ports to world commerce that Yarmouth fishing prospered again.

After peace returned, the Dutch resumed friendly trading relations and the Sunday nearest to Michaelmas, known as Dutch Sunday, was re-instated with a fair on the South Denes (a large area of foreshore to the south of the town), to which people flocked from the surrounding countryside. Dutch traders erected stalls selling items such as Delft china and tiles, dried flounders, toys, gingerbread, and crystallised sweets. Their visits ended in the 1830's and only the Scots continued to come.⁵¹

In economic terms, around the time this study commences, Great Yarmouth ranked among the first five English outports, placing it alongside others such as Bristol, Hull and Liverpool. Its population in 1700 is estimated to have been around 11000, more populous than Plymouth (8500), Hull (6000) and Liverpool (5000).⁵² Because of its substantial connections to mainland Europe, Great Yarmouth was able to derive income from not only fishing but a considerable import and export trade of timber and coal. It remained the country's main producer of red herring (the last named was to be the mainstay of the local economy until the 1950s when the superabundance of the

⁵⁰ Frank Meeres, *A History of Great Yarmouth* (London: Phillimore & Co., 2007) p.28.

⁵¹ A W & J L Ecclestone, *The Rise of Great Yarmouth* (Great Yarmouth: 1959), pp.103-104.

⁵² Figures taken from Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 8.

'silver darlings' finally came to an end and with it the prosperity of the town) and enjoyed extensive trade in commodities as diverse as corn and malt from the East Anglian hinterland, cloth and timber, wine and tobacco. Traffic with The Netherlands was second only to London, including a great variety of manufactured goods as return cargo from Rotterdam; it was a major importer of coal from the North East.⁵³ Its fortune was built up owing to its proximity as a coastal port and gateway to Norwich, then the second most important city in England, since both were connected by the River Yare which was, and remains, navigable for some twenty miles inland. In addition, the Yare was virtually the only means of inward access since between Great Yarmouth and Norwich lay a vast area of marshland which was not finally crossed by a direct roadway until 1831. At a local level, Yarmouth ranked with Norwich and King's Lynn as one of Norfolk's three large towns and, although rivalled in terms of trade by King's Lynn, which served as an entrepôt for half a dozen inland counties, the port of Yarmouth dominated eastern Norfolk and controlled the whole of Norwich's seaborne trade. Transport links with the capital were very good for the time, consisting of a stagecoach which ran from the Green Dragon in London, Bishopsgate to Yarmouth with only one overnight stop.⁵⁴ By the beginning of the 1800's, the service level had risen to six coaches of which four were daily and four were to London, with others to Norwich and Bury St Edmunds. Goods carriers now operated throughout Norfolk with barges to Norwich, Aylsham, Beccles, Bungay, Coltishall etc.⁵⁵

Despite this apparent mercantile prowess, the borough's fortunes were always subject to periodic fluctuation. It was hard hit by the Spanish War of Succession (1701-

⁵³ J. D. Murphy, *The Town and Trade of Great Yarmouth, 1740-1850*. (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of East Anglia, 1979), p. 14.

⁵⁴ 'Journal of the Very Rev. Rowland Davies, Dean of Ross', *Camden Society Publications* no. 68, 1857 passim. The Green Dragon was the unofficial London headquarters of Yarmouth men when in the Capital transacting business. Great Yarmouth must have also been well connected westwards, judging by the frequency with which Musgrave Heighington absented himself.

⁵⁵ John Preston, *The Picture of Yarmouth*, (Great Yarmouth: John Preston, 1819), pp.220-223.

1714), with ship-owners losing over 50 vessels with an aggregate value of some £25000. By the time of the suspension of hostilities in June 1712, Great Yarmouth was desperate for a resumption of trade with Europe. This marked the beginning of a period during which coal and corn became commodities upon which decades of prosperity could be built. As if, finally, to draw a line under the previous vicissitudes, in the same year, the Borough and its wealthier citizens began to engage in a number of civic projects. In May 1713, plans were put in train to build a new Civic Hall (erected in 1723) and in December 1713, a charity school was established.⁵⁶ A new chapel-of-ease, St George's, was also built to provide much needed additional accommodation for the town's congregation. The provision of organs for these two churches, St Nicholas and St George, marked the culmination of this period of development. Before discussing this further we need to take some account of the development of religion in Great Yarmouth before the Reformation and with that the presence of organs in the borough.

⁵⁶ Condensed from: Perry Gauci, *Politics and Society in Great Yarmouth 1660-1722*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

Religious Establishments and Organs in Pre-Reformation Great Yarmouth

Prior to the Dissolution of the Monasteries, Great Yarmouth possessed at least six religious houses including the oldest, the Benedictine Priory of St Nicholas, founded in 1101, now the main parish church. The remaining five included foundations of Dominican, Franciscan and Carmelite friars as well as hospitals and leper houses.⁵⁷ The building of the existing Benedictine priory of St Nicholas was started by Bishop Herbert (known as Losinga, The Flatterer) in 1101. Consecration followed in 1119, the year of his death. The story of how it came to be built was told by William of Malmesbury who alleged that Bishop Herbert paid William II £1900 for the bishopric of Thetford, thus committing simony for which the Pope, Pascal II, placed upon him the task of building a number of religious establishments in East Anglia including St Nicholas, Great Yarmouth, Norwich Cathedral and St Margaret, King's Lynn.

As built, St Nicholas's consisted of a nave with a central tower and chancel. Aisles were added around 1200 and these were considerably widened around 1250 so dwarfing the original Norman nave. At that point the church attained roughly its present configuration (see Illustrations appendix: groundplan). This enlargement provided accommodation for the many side chapels served by the various guilds of the town of which one was later dedicated to Our Lady of Ardebourgh. Stacy, in *Norfolk Tours*, writes that Robert de Haddiscoe, Prior of St Olaves in 1370,

built in the east end of this church a neat chapel, and dedicated it to the Lady of Arneburgh, which was standing in 1545; and on the north side thereof was erected a fine organ, and to the west of it the choir, furnished with eight priests, who were sent from Norwich and resided here under the prior, and composed a choir till the dissolution.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Richard Le Strange, *Monasteries of Norfolk*, (King's Lynn, 1973), pp. 135-139.

⁵⁸ John Stacy publ. *A General History of the County of Norfolk Intended to Convey all the Information of a Norfolk Tour With the Most Extended Details of Antiquarian, Statistical, Pictorial Architectural and Miscellaneous Information, Including Biographical Notices Original and Selected*" 2 vols., (Norwich, 1819), vol. 1, p. 268.

C J Palmer, in *The Perlustration of Gt. Yarmouth*, notes the existence of organs recorded in old church books (these are believed to have been lost in the devastation of 1942). The books told of 'Our Lady's organ' in 1465, the 'old organs' and 'new organs' in 1485, in 1486 of the 'great old organ' and in 1550, 'Jesus organ'. He also records Henry Manship's reference to 'a fair pair of organs' on the north side of the chancel in his *History of Great Yarmouth* of 1619. Palmer also notes that, 'notwithstanding [the ordinance of 1644] the people of Yarmouth contrived to preserve 'a fine old organ' until 1650 when it was destroyed'.⁵⁹ From this, it is reasonable to assume that the church had at least one if not two instruments for a period of almost 300 years. In 1538, the priory was valued together with Norwich priory and was granted to the Dean and Chapter of Norwich. They in turn leased the priory and parsonage to a Robert Lowel in 1551 for a period of eighty years.⁶⁰

During the Reformation, the despoliation of the parish church was rapid and presaged a long period of neglect and petty argument between the borough and the Dean and Chapter of Norwich over who was responsible for the upkeep of the chancel. Palmer records how, in 1551, the Corporation of the Borough ordered all the sepulchral brasses in the church to be ripped from their stones and sent to London to be melted down and cast into weights for the town's use. Nine years later, the churchwardens removed grave tablets from the churchyard and shipped them to Newcastle to be

⁵⁹ C J Palmer, *The Perlustration of Great Yarmouth: with Gorleston and Southtown*. 3 vols (Great Yarmouth: George Nall, 1872-1875), vol. 1, 1872, pp. 47-48. The Ordinance of 9 May 1644 'for the further demolishing of Monuments of Idolatry and Superstition' contained the infamous sentence, 'And that all Organs, and the Frames or Cases wherein they stand in all Churches or Chappels aforesaid, shall be taken away, and utterly defaced, and none other hereafter set up in their places'. May 1644: An Ordinance for the further demolishing of Monuments of Idolatry and Superstition.', in C H Firth and R S Rait eds. *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, (London, 1911), pp. 425-426. British History Online <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/acts-ordinances-interregnum/pp425-426>> [accessed 16 November 2017].

⁶⁰ Richard le Strange, *Monasteries of Norfolk*, pp. 137-138.

converted into millstones.⁶¹ However, the organs (how many is uncertain, or this could have referred to the phrase 'a pair of organs' meaning a single instrument) remained and it is likely that, being housed in the chancel, their abolition could only be sanctioned by the Dean and Chapter. It is also possible that the townspeople of Great Yarmouth were in no hurry to see them removed given that this did not happen finally until some six years after the Ordinance of 1644. Elsewhere, a similar picture is to be found. St Peter Mancroft, the civic church of Norwich, did not lose its organs until 1651 when they were sold for £2.16s.2d along with two brass eagles [lecterns] 'and the best made of them'.⁶² The subsequent history of St Nicholas's would appear to go some way to explaining why there was a gap of over eighty years before an organ was again to be found there.

During the Civil War, Great Yarmouth supported Parliament against Charles I. It is said that in 1648, Oliver Cromwell met with other leaders of Parliament at the house of a Yarmouth bailiff, John Carter, and there took the decision to try the King and execute him. The establishment of the Commonwealth in 1649 resulted in the Puritans appropriating the chancel and transepts of the church as a meeting house. The remainder of the building was divided up between the Anglicans, who took the south aisle and nave, and the Presbyterians, who took the north aisle.⁶³

In 1660, the church building was returned in its entirety to the Anglicans. However, the Puritans had left the chancel in a very poor state and so ensued a lengthy dispute with the Dean and Chapter of Norwich Cathedral which was not resolved until 1846. In the meantime, the use of the building became more and more confined as parts fell into disrepair until eventually, only the south aisle and nave were serviceable, with a

⁶¹ C J Palmer, *The History of Great Yarmouth: designed as a continuation of Manship's history of that town*, (London, 1861), p. 124.

⁶² NRO PD 26/71 St Peter Mancroft 1651 4 May 'It was agreed that the Two brasse Eagles [£13.2s.6d.] and the organs [£2.16s.2d] ... shall be sold, and the best made of them'.

⁶³ C. J. Palmer, *The History of Great Yarmouth...*, p. 128.

wooden screen dividing them from the rest of the building. In order to accommodate the congregation, large galleries had to be provided. By 1744, the entire east end of the church had collapsed.⁶⁴ This also accounts, in part, for the decision to build St George's Chapel-of-Ease since that building was entirely in the control of the Corporation.

⁶⁴ *ibid* pp. 129-132

Dissent in Great Yarmouth

It also signified the emphasis placed by the Corporation on the Established Church since Yarmouth had always had dissenting congregations traceable back to the middle of the seventeenth century when William Bridge, rector of St Peter Hungate in Norwich was excommunicated for his beliefs and fled to Holland. His return in 1642 marked the founding of a Congregational Church in Great Yarmouth and several members of this Church became aldermen of the borough during the Commonwealth. The partitioning of the parish church for their use was a direct result. This was followed in 1692 by the founding of a Friends' Meeting House.⁶⁵

A non-official religious census carried out in 1784 by the then vicar of Yarmouth, the Rev'd Dr Cooper gives some useful detail about the size of dissenting congregations at the time. Cooper noted the following statistics: Presbyterians ca. 240, Independents ca. 80, Baptists ca. 20, Particular or Calvinist Baptists ca. 50, Wesley's Society ca. 47. He reported that they all lived 'quiet and orderly lives and had as much Christian charity towards members of the Church of England as any dissenters elsewhere'. In addition, there were 50 Quaker men and women, 40 children and their servants. It can be assumed that the remainder of the borough's population were Anglicans. Information was also given about educational and charitable foundations which is useful in determining the probable size of a charity children's choir at St Nicholas. This established that the Charity School, supported by benefactions and voluntary contributions, taught 70 boys and 30 girls. There was also a Hospital School

⁶⁵ Frank Meeres, *A History of Great Yarmouth* (London: Phillimore & Co., 2007), pp43-44.

with 30 boys and 20 girls.⁶⁶ At the time, the population figure was given as 12,608.⁶⁷

Some thirty years later in 1819, John Preston wrote that:

it is to be regretted, that there are [still] only two places of worship of the established church; there are, however, a variety of respectable meeting-houses for Presbyterians, Quakers, Baptists and Methodists; the latter of which are numerously increasing, accounted for in some degree perhaps from the great want of another church of the established religion.

While careful to note that the chapels and churches belonging to the various denominations were 'respectable', his reason, in particular for the increase in the Methodist congregation, betrays both an underlying apprehension towards non-conformists and frustration at the limited accommodation available to the Anglicans.

The extent to which non-conformism had become established in Great Yarmouth since the days of Cromwell is given by the 1851 Religious Census. On census day, out of a total population of 30,879, 7,280 people attended a morning service. Of the two denominations with the largest attendance, the Church of England registered 3,785 spread over five buildings followed by the Methodists with 2,098.⁶⁸ The next largest morning congregation was that of the Independents (Congregationalists) who numbered 640. In terms of seating capacity the Church of England offered almost 7,000 sittings. The Methodists could offer 4,220 of which Deneside Church, built in 1837, offered 1,100 alone.

The figures are a reminder of two things: the first was the pressing need to see St Nicholas's church restored to its full capacity, secondly, the degree of influence capable of being wielded by non-conformists. Seen in this light, it could be argued the borough was split a little over half way and, as will be discussed in more detail later, underlined

⁶⁶ C G Rye 'Yarmouth in 1784' in *A Yarmouth Miscellany ed. A W Ecclestone*, (Great Yarmouth: 1974) pp. 146-150.

⁶⁷ F D Palmer, *Yarmouth Notes*, (Great Yarmouth: J Buckle, 1889).

⁶⁸ The figure for Methodist attendance includes all the various offshoots such as the Methodist New Connexion, Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion and the Wesleyan Reformers.

the care with which the Church of England had to tread in avoiding charges of 'popery' and in defending its Protestant credentials.

That the Methodists were a substantial force within the borough and elsewhere is also evidenced by the fame of Edmund Dawson Rogers, editor of the *Norfolk News*, and a critic of the organ restoration project at St Nicholas.⁶⁹

Significant in the foregoing is the relationship with the Netherlands in terms of commerce, likely dissenting influence, and the possibility that familiarity with Dutch customs and attitudes may have influenced the way an organ might be viewed as an outward sign of civic prestige and wealth since, as we shall read later, organs were very much to the fore in large Dutch towns and cities. While, to the author's knowledge, no research yet exists to establish a definite link between English and Dutch perceptions of the organ as an object of municipal pride and status, the fact of Great Yarmouth's links abroad cannot go unnoticed. The comparisons made by some of Jordan's instrument with the more notable Dutch instruments is indicative. The close mercantile and administrative ties with, for example, Rotterdam, must have had a bearing. It is noteworthy, for example, that Dutch styles of architecture are to be found in Norfolk and the Fen Country and were visible at one time in the buildings of Great Yarmouth's South Quay and are still to be seen, for example, in the Great Yarmouth Fishermen's Hospital erected in 1702.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ see above p.17.

⁷⁰ A A C Hedges, rev. Michael Boon and Frank. Meeres, *Yarmouth is an Antient Town* (Great Yarmouth: Blackall, 2001), p.48.

The Development of Leisure and the Music Profession in Great Yarmouth

While Great Yarmouth may have given the appearance of being predominantly a place of trade and sea-faring activity, it was becoming more popular as a seaside resort. This can be put down to its proximity to Norwich and the popularity of sea-bathing which began in Yarmouth in 1760.⁷¹ John Preston gives a picture of developments over the next 60 years which include a large public room added to the original sea-bathing establishment as well as additional hot and cold baths. Visitors were able to enjoy balls, public breakfasts and tea parties as well as a 'band of music' which attended up to three times a week.⁷² In 1778, a theatre opened, paid for by 11 wealthy subscribers and served by a troupe of actors from Norwich who performed an 8-10 week season during the summer.⁷³

Some 17 years later events occurred which saw a further development of Great Yarmouth's facilities including the music and dancing school of one of the musicians researched for this study, John Eager, organist of the parish church. From the evidence we have, his business seems to have particularly flourished as a consequence.

The Anglo-Dutch war of 1780-84, a result of Dutch recognition of American independence, saw the need for the British to maintain a substantial naval presence in the North Sea. The Admiralty had to find a suitable base and in 1795, following the overthrow of the Dutch monarchy and the establishment of the Batavian Republic under French influence (the French had captured the Dutch navy intact), it settled on a strip of relatively shallow water off the coast of Great Yarmouth, called 'Yarmouth Roads'. The British Navy remained there until 1811 one result of which, aside from substantial economic benefits to the borough, was the need to provide for the leisure of naval

⁷¹ Meeres, p.55.

⁷² Preston, *passim* quoted in Meeres, p.55.

⁷³ Murphy *ibid.* p.155-156.

personnel and their families. A billiards saloon, a reading room and a coffee house catered for naval officers while a concert and dancing rooms would be shared with their wives.⁷⁴

John Eager commenced offering music tuition around 1803 and so would have been able to take ready advantage of the Naval presence in the borough. It cannot have been a coincidence that Eager was able to advertise the opening of a 'New Academy Room' in July 1809 and at the same time intimate he had the intention of something similar in Norwich.⁷⁵

From the available evidence, it seems Eager dominated the market for music tuition in Great Yarmouth until well into the 1830's. How it progressed in the ensuing years is illustrated by census returns and trade directories. These suggest a rising trend until the 1880's such that, commencing in 1841, four individuals are listed of which the most prominent is James Woolman. By 1861, this figure had risen to 10 followed by a further steep rise in 1881 to 22. In 1901, 24 people are recorded. However, censuses and directories tell us little about exactly what tuition was being offered since most are recorded simply as 'professor of music' and, occasionally 'organist'. Neither do they assist in giving a detailed picture of what could appear to be quite a complex, fluid situation. Advertisements which appeared in the local newspapers, particularly the *Yarmouth Independent* are revealing however.

Typical are the following: 6th July 1861:

Miss Saunders gives instruction to a few YOUNG LADIES in the usual branches of ENGLISH, MUSIC, FRENCH, and DRAWING. School will re-open July 22nd, 1861...

8th August 1863:

⁷⁴ Murphy, *ibid.* p.156.

⁷⁵ *NorChron*, 15 July 1809, p.1.

Mr C W Johnson, Organist & Professor of Music, 101, King Street, Yarmouth, Chorister of Norwich Cathedral, and Pupil of the late Dr Bexfield, Teacher of the Organ, Pianoforte, & Singing... (1861 Census)

4th July, 1873:

MUSIC. MISS BUCK will be happy to receive PUPILS to instruct on the Pianoforte; also in Singing, French, and Drawing. Terms known on application...

7th February, 1874, a Mr T Hibben offered classes in 'Singing at Sight', and Frederick Rolfe, organist of St Peter's church, Great Yarmouth, received 'Pupils for Instruction on the Organ, Harmonium, Pianoforte, and in Singing...'.⁷⁶ In April 1875, the following appeared in the same newspaper:

Music. A Lady, resident in Great Yarmouth, having many spare hours at her disposal, is desirous of taking a few pupils to INSTRUCT in Music. – For terms, &c. apply to M.F.C., W. Norman, bookseller, Yarmouth.⁷⁷

In June 1876, a Miss Dix advertised piano lessons at 10s.6d. per quarter.⁷⁸ A gentleman with the unlikely name of Mr Mozart Wilson, Professor of the Pianoforte, and Harmony, and billing himself as 'Solo Pianist at the Yarmouth Aquarium' offered lessons in an advertisement from June 1877.⁷⁹ The Yarmouth Aquarium had opened in 1876 as an aquarium and skating rink but had its own resident orchestra conducted by a Mr E Winton. Wilson, no doubt, used his engagement as solo pianist in the orchestra to elicit trade as a piano teacher though probably not for long since the Aquarium orchestra was disbanded very early in 1878 because the management could not 'afford to keep the entertainments and band going at the same time' despite considerable regret and dismay expressed in the local press.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ *YI*, 7th February, 1874, p.7.

⁷⁷ *YI*, 17th April, 1875, p.4.

⁷⁸ *YI*, 24th June, 1876, p.8.

⁷⁹ *YI*, 30th June, 1877, p.5.

⁸⁰ *YI*, letter to the editor, 29th December, 1877, p.6.

Neither Hibben, Dix nor Wilson appear in the census returns for 1871 or 1881 and by then Johnson had long since moved to Beccles (Frederick Rolfe, his successor began at St Peter's, Great Yarmouth in 1861) suggesting there was an itinerant or casual element, for example, the lady with 'many spare hours' and Johnson latterly being recorded at two different addresses in Norwich in the early 1880's.⁸¹ Musicians, like any other trade, moved around to localities appearing to offer good prospects of employment, probably renting rooms in which to teach. If trade was poor, they simply moved on. In the case of Wilson, this would appear to be the case because an advertisement in the *Yarmouth Independent*, 29th November, 1879, announced a concert back in the Aquarium 'for this night only' but with Edwin Stonex, son of Henry Stonex, as the pianist.

For musicians like Stonex and Rolfe, the situation could work to their advantage, enhancing the public's perception of their prestige and status as competent, dependable and, above all, steady practitioners. By and large, it seems to have been the organists in the community of whom this might be said the most.

⁸¹ Information supplied by Dr Tom Roast. Johnson is listed in Hamilton's Directory of Norwich 1879 under 'Teachers and Performers of Music' at Prince of Wales Road, and in Eyre's Directory of Norwich 1883 at Chalk Hill Terrace, Rosary Road. Both addresses are within walking distance of each other posing the question why Johnson moved. His last known address was in Lowestoft.

General Historical Context of Parish Church Music from 1660 to ca.1800

The return of the organ to parish churches, signalled by the restoration of Charles II to the throne in 1660, was gradual and protracted. Expense, lack of trained organ builders and an ambivalent attitude towards the instrument's real usefulness conspired against widespread installation in churches. Although the organ was viewed as a desirable and useful adjunct to worship, it was not obligatory.⁸² It has never been a requirement that an organ should be put in place in the same way that bells, altar linen, or a communion table are. This explains why organs took so long to be reintroduced and, while there is evidence they reappeared quickly after 1660 in cathedrals, collegiate churches, and other establishments in London,⁸³ elsewhere in 'ordinary' parish churches, their return was much more sporadic and over a lengthier period, sometimes amounting to well over a century.⁸⁴

Nicholas Temperley notes that during the Commonwealth and after, music played no part in the training of the clergy, a situation which still persists and was highlighted as recently as 1992 in The Report of the Archbishops' Commission on Church Music. It found, 'a lack of systematic training in church music for ordinands...' and, 'a paucity of effective teaching on the theology of music and its significance in worship'.^{85 86}

⁸² A number of cases at law support this view notably *Randall & Hodson v. Collins & Ludlow*; Phillimore : II, 217-28; and *Pearce & Hughes v. Rector of Clapham*; Haggard, 1832b : 12 .

⁸³ A fulsome account is given in Stephen Bicknell's, *The History of the English Organ* (CUP, 1996) pp. 104-121.

⁸⁴ Nicholas Temperley, 'Organs in English Parish Churches 1660-1830', *Organ Yearbook*, vol. 10, 1979, pp. 83-100. Temperley compiled statistics relating to the (re)introduction of organs in parish churches in four representative areas of the country: London including Westminster and outparishes; City of York; West Riding; Dorset. A summary table for the year 1801 revealed that with the exception of what is now Greater London (near or at 100%), penetration was less than 10%, the lowest being Dorset at 2.2%.

⁸⁵ Temperley, MEPC, vol. 1, p. 88; *In Tune With Heaven, The Report of the Archbishops' Commission on Church Music*, (London: Church House Publishing, Hodder & Stoughton, 1992), p. 138.

⁸⁶ A poll of eight Anglican theological training colleges showed that only one, Lindisfarne College, North Shields, offered any material relating specifically to music in worship. This consisted of an optional six hours tuition provided by the RSCM for year 4 stipendiaries. Source: *Initial Ministerial Education Phase 2 in the Diocese of Newcastle*, and the Lindisfarne Regional Training Partnership 2016-17, pp. 30-37.

Nowhere in the rubric of the Book of Common Prayer is the celebrant required to sing any part of the service, rather he is required to read 'with a loud voice' or alternatively he may 'read or sing' as the rubric directs.⁸⁷ He may, for example, at the burial of the dead, say or sing (intone) the Comfortable Words⁸⁸ as the coffin is brought into the church or taken to the graveside, likewise in the orders of service for Morning and Evening Prayer and the Communion. An injunction of Queen Elizabeth I regarding music and singing indicates how it was not universal throughout the Church of England; where it had been done well it was to be preserved with the implication that, where not, the service should be said or only sung as if it were being read:

... Because in divers Collegiate, and some Parish-Churches heretofore, there have been Livings appointed for the maintenance of men and children to use singing in the Church, by means whereof the laudable service of Musick hath been had in estimation, and preserved in knowledge: the Queen's Majesty neither meaning in any wise the decay of anything that might conveniently tend to the use and continuance of the said science, neither to have the same in any part so abused in the Church, that thereby the Common-prayer should be the worse understood of the hearers, willeth and commandeth, that first no alterations be made of such assignments of Living, as heretofore hath been appointed to the use of singing or Musick in the Church, but that the same remain. And that there be a modest and distinct song so used in all parts of the Common-prayers in the Church, that the same may be as plainly understood, as if it were read without singing, and yet nevertheless for the comforting of such as delight in Musick, it may be permitted, that in the beginning, or in the end of the Common-prayers, either at Morning or Evening, there may be sung an Hymn, or such like song to the praise of Almighty God in the best sort of melody and music

⁸⁷ The instruction is 'said or sung' though there are some exceptions such as in the Forms of Prayer to be used at Sea when the Te Deum may be sung after A Psalm or Hymn of Praise and Thanksgiving after Victory. Elsewhere, 'In quires and places where they sing...' after the third collect at Morning and Evening Prayer.

Source: <<http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/1662/baskerville.htm>> [accessed 19/05/2017]

⁸⁸ Thomas Cranmer introduced the Comfortable Words in the Prayer Book of 1549 and was most probably influenced by the German theologian, Hermann von Wied, who formulated a reformed Communion service for use in Cologne in 1545. Wied selected five New Testament texts, three of which were adopted by Cranmer to accompany the new General Confession and Absolution. The intention was that, to a laity used hitherto to private confession, the Comfortable Words would provide added reassurance of their forgiveness.

Source: <<https://www.durhamcathedral.co.uk/worshipandmusic/sermon-archive/comfortable-words>> [accessed 14/11/2017]

that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the Hymn may be understood and perceived.⁸⁹

The injunction also defined the place of 'art-music' within the liturgy, specifically at the beginning and end of the service, that is outside the core of the liturgy itself as if to form a 'musical envelope'; an anthem might be sung with the proviso that the music did not interfere with a full understanding of the chosen text. There is no mention of instrumental accompaniment. An illustration of the usurpation of the organ in favour of what must have been unaccompanied singing is to be found in Northampton in 1571 where:

the singing and playing of Organs in the Quire was put down, and the Common Prayer then accustomed to be said, brought down into the body of the Church among the people, before whom the same was used according to the Queen's book, with Singing Psalms before and after the Sermon.⁹⁰

The rubrics of the Prayer Book of 1559 too, make plain that, ultimately, intelligibility was the overriding criterion. In the order for Morning Prayer, for example:

'And (to the end the people may the better hear) in such places where they do sing, there shall the lessons be sung in a plain tune after the manner of distinct reading'⁹¹

If the minister had been a Puritan, he would have been taught that music was not required, or if it was, it was a matter for the congregation who would sing metrical psalms in a manner we would judge as so laborious as to thoroughly discourage any

⁸⁹ Injunctions of 1559 from Henry Gee and W.H. Hardy, eds., *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (New York, 1896), p. 435 inj. xlix <<https://history.hanover.edu/texts/engref/er78.html>> [accessed 19/05/2017]

⁹⁰ John Strype, 1643-1737, *Annals of the Reformation And Establishment of Religion: And Other Various Occurrences In the Church of England, During Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign*. A new edition. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1824), vol. 2, bk. 1, p. 133.

⁹¹ *The Book of Common Prayer 1559* reprinted by William Pickering 1844. Order for Morning Prayer fol. ii verso.

form of meaningful participation⁹². If the minister were a high churchman, he would adhere strictly to the liturgy and discourage anything that was not part of it. If he were a clerical musician, it is unlikely he would be found in a parish church.⁹³

The *Directory for The Public Worship of God* published in 1651 stated that, concerning the singing of Psalms:

But for the present, where many in the congregation cannot read, it is convenient that the Minister or some other fit person appointed by him and the other ruling officers, do read the Psalm, line by line before the singing thereof.⁹⁴

The practice, known as 'lining out', became general by 1662.⁹⁵ The person appointed to lead the singing was more often than not the parish clerk, an individual whose musical qualification of even the most basic sort, could not be taken for granted.⁹⁶ John Wesley is said to have remarked in his later years about the drawling of the old parish clerk and the attempts made by 'a handful of unawakened striplings' to lead the singing in his father's church at Epworth; something which never faded from his memory.⁹⁷ William Cowper, writing in 1756, recalled the unseemly manner in which the service was conducted:

I could wish that the clergy would inform their congregations that there is no occasion to scream themselves hoarse in making their responses... and that he who bawls loudest may, nevertheless, be the wickedest fellow in the parish.⁹⁸

⁹² Temperley in 'Jonathan Gray and Church Music in York, 1770-1840' quotes metronome speed indications in Benjamin Jacob's National Psalmody of 1819 amounting to mm 30 and slower. Borthwick Papers, no. 51, p. 12.

⁹³ Temperley, MEPC, p. 88.

⁹⁴ A directory for the publique worship of God throughout the three kingdomes of England, Scotland, and Ireland : together with an ordinance of Parliament for the taking away of the Book of common-prayer and for establishing and observing of this present directory throughout the kingdome of England and dominion of Wales : with propositions concerning church-government and ordination of ministers, Westminster Assembly, 1651. <<https://archive.org/details/directoryfo00west>> [accessed 29/06/2017]

⁹⁵ Temperley, MEPC, p. 82.

⁹⁶ Temperley, MEPC, p. 88.

⁹⁷ James Lightwood, *Methodist Music of the Eighteenth Century*, (London: Epworth Press, 1927) p. 9.

⁹⁸ W. Cowper, 'Mr Village and Mr Town,' *The Connoisseur*, 1756; quoted in *The Englishman's Magazine*, no. 30, p. 152.

The grounds for reinstating organs after the Restoration are neatly summarised by Nicholas Thistlethwaite in his monograph on the Richard Bridge organ at Christ Church Spitalfields. They included its ornamental value, as an aid to a decorous liturgy and as a means to 'relieve the tedium of a service which might last three hours'.⁹⁹

These, however, represent only part of the equation. A whole variety of other factors came into play, suggesting something altogether more complex. This is especially so where no direct correlation is immediately discernible between, for example, the decision to have or not have an organ in a church and how this might have reflected upon, or affected the locality.

They concern the desirability of organs and why, to quote Sir William Wynne,

Most certainly an organ is not necessary in a parish church for the decent performance of divine worship ... but though it is not necessary, it is extremely decent, proper, and even customary in a parish... of extent and opulence. Music has always been used in divine worship; therefore the ordinary never would think of discouraging, and never did discourage an organ...¹⁰⁰

It should be noted that Wynne's comment uses the words, 'decent, proper, [and] customary in a parish.... *of extent and opulence* [author's italics]' and that he also notes that, 'the decent performance of divine worship' is not contingent on the use of an organ. In other words, two conditions surrounding its use at all seem uppermost in his mind: that the organ is optional in worship and that parishes with organs are large (of extent) and opulent. The organ was a sign of wealth and propriety, and its use put down to custom rather than necessity.

Wynne's opinion is one expression and an example of the lengthy persistence of the arguments swirling around Europe some 250 years earlier during the Reformation and which produced such profoundly conflicting ideas about the place of the organ in

⁹⁹ Nicholas Thistlethwaite, *The 1735 Richard Bridge Organ in Christ Church Spitalfields*, (London: The Friends of Christ Church, Spitalfields, 2015) p. 16.

¹⁰⁰ Sir William Wynne, Dean of Arches, in *Pearce & Hughes v. Rector of Clapham*; Haggard, 1832b: 12.

church. At the more extreme end of the spectrum was the influence of Heinrich Bullinger, the Swiss evangelical reformer and successor to Huldreich Zwingli in Zürich. Zwingli's destruction of the organs in the Grossmünster in Zürich in 1527 inspired Bullinger to a negative view of the organ in church which he expressed in a passage from his 'Decades' concerning singing:

I say nothing at this present of their music which they call figurative, and of their musical instruments, all which are contained in a manner in their organs, as they term them.¹⁰¹

Bullinger had a profound influence on the course of the English Reformation through personal contact with Thomas Cranmer and there is the suggestion that he was indirectly responsible for the removal of organs from one cathedral in England.¹⁰²

Another view, less radical and proscriptive, was advanced in 1661 by Theophil Großgebauer, a theologian in Rostock who published a treatise entitled *Wächterstimme aus dem verwüsteten Zion*. This was a denunciation of the use of art-music in church and sought to restrict organs and other instruments to the support of psalm and hymn singing by the congregation. The composer Heinrich Scheidemann took considerable offence and induced his brother-in-law, Hector Mithobius, to write a rebuttal, *De Psalmodia Christiana*, in which he affirmed the traditional view of music [organs] as *adiaphora*: things neither forbidden nor required by scripture but which are permissible for Christians or allowed in church.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Heinrich Bullinger, Fifth Decade in the fifth sermon 'Of Prayer' p197 ed Rev. Thomas Harding for the Parker Society (CUP, 1852).

¹⁰² The subject of the destruction of organs during the English Reformation and later the Commonwealth is given exhaustive treatment in Margaret Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation* (CUP, 2016) pp. 488-542. Bullinger is believed to have influenced John Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich and a close friend. Under his watch, four prebendaries with puritan views destroyed organs in Norwich Cathedral in 1570, see Aston, p. 511.

¹⁰³ See William Porter, 'Hamburg Organists in Lutheran Worship' in Kerala J Snyder ed. *The Organ as a Mirror of Its Time, North European Reflections, 1610-2000*. (OUP, 2002) p. 67.

The argument rested on a statement of Philip Melanchthon, the renowned German Reformation theologian, who collaborated with Martin Luther in the development of Protestantism in Europe. In it, Melanchthon said:

The true adornment of the churches is godly, useful, and clear doctrine, the devout use of the Sacraments, fervent prayer, and the like. Candles, golden vessels, and similar adornments are fitting, but they are not specifically unique adornment belonging to the Church...¹⁰⁴.

Melanchthon's teachings, as with Bullinger's, were instrumental in guiding the English Reformation; both Henry VIII and Thomas Cranmer were at pains to try and persuade him to visit England though despite regular correspondence and the dedication by Melanchthon of his *Loci Communes* to Henry VIII, the visit never came about. Henry was anxious to align himself with Melanchthon as someone who sought a 'via media' between Rome and the more extreme Protestant factions, one in which secular authority effectively held the balance of power between religion and politics.^{105 106}

The sense of the 'via media' nonetheless finds expression, albeit obliquely, in Article 34 of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion which states:

It is not necessary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one, and utterly like; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word... Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish, ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Philip Melanchthon, Apology of the Augsburg Confession, Ap XXIV:51.

¹⁰⁵ The role of Melanchthon in the first steps towards establishing the English Protestant Church is discussed fully in Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

¹⁰⁶ This is set out in Article 37 of the Thirty-nine Articles which defines the role of the Crown in Church matters.

¹⁰⁷ <<https://www.churchofengland.org/prayer-worship/worship/book-of-common-prayer/articles-of-religion.aspx>> [accessed 27/06/2017]

Arguments over the desirability of organs in church spread beyond Germany and the British Isles. Henry Bruinsma has set out the position of the organ in the Netherlands at the time of the Dutch Reformation.¹⁰⁸ This is significant because there are similarities with events some 100 years later in England and, because of the aforementioned proximity of the Netherlands to the East Coast of England.

The first concerns the involvement of civic authorities. The Dutch Reformation, begun in the latter half of the sixteenth century did not automatically result in the wholesale removal of organs from previously Catholic churches (disapproval of the organ by the early Reformers is notably absent), rather a form of 'transfer of ownership' took place whereby municipal authorities assumed their care.¹⁰⁹ The situation was complicated by the fact that many corporations had paid for the erection of organs in town churches well before the Reformation, as for example Bergen-op-Zoom (1472, 1555), Elburg (1517), Haarlem, St Bavo (1545), Delft, Oude Kerk (1545), indicating that municipal involvement in providing them was already an established practice. This bears comparison with England primarily because after the Restoration, the ecclesiastical authorities themselves did not, as a rule, fund the erection of an organ in a church. The motivation almost always came from a decision by, for example, a corporation or a group of parishioners, thus ensuring that a civic element had an interest in the instrument.

Secondly, where organs later came to be threatened by a ban, mainly where Dutch ministers trained in Geneva under Calvin were influential, then, despite synodical decrees to this effect, municipal authorities would step in to protect them and guarantee

¹⁰⁸ Henry Bruinsma, 'The Organ Controversy in the Netherlands Reformation to 1640', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* vol.7, no.3, 1954, p.205. The first organised meeting of the Dutch Reformed Church, the Synod of Wezel, was in 1568.

¹⁰⁹ Bruinsma, pp. 205-6.

their availability albeit for secular purposes, notably organ recitals and as a replacement for the town waits so ensuring the organist became the most important musician in the community.

As will be discussed later, the latter is evidenced in Great Yarmouth by the status accorded to Musgrave Heighington as the Borough's first organist in 1733, and in 1850 to Henry Stonex, organist of the parish church for most of the latter half of the nineteenth century. Both were regarded as the principal musicians in the town. They were, arguably, ex-officio members of the Corporation, the former by dint of the position accorded him by that body in 1733, the latter through the profile he created for himself by virtue of his position within the church and as musical director of the Great Yarmouth Choral Society. A further point of comparison, not discussed by Bruinsma but noted by Peter Williams, is the manner in which the organ case became a vehicle for the proclamation of marks either of ownership by a corporation or signifying under whose authority it was being used.¹¹⁰

Quite how much influence Dutch municipal authorities had is shown by the fact that magistrates ensured not a single organ was removed from a church despite Synodical decrees that this was the stated aim of the Church. There are also instances where communities installed organs at civic expense as for example at Middelburg (1602) and Goes (1608) where the town organist was to be remunerated from the poor fund.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Peter Williams, *The European Organ 1450-1850*, (London: Batsford, 1966) p. 27. The coats-of-arms of the Burgomasters of Gouda are displayed on the organ in the Janskerk, dwarfing those of the church ministers of the same date. Haarlem is the only city in The Netherlands where anyone wishing to play the organ has to apply to the civic authorities - confirmed in a contract of 1817 between town and church after years of disagreement about ownership. Information kindly provided in an e-mail by Anton Pauw of the Civic administration at Haarlem.

¹¹¹ Bruinsma, p.209

Returning to this country, an example which illustrates the degree of optionality associated with acquiring and using an organ is that of Lancaster Priory. In 1726, the initiative to provide a new instrument for the Priory started out as a joint one between the Corporation and the Church. The Corporation ordered that, 'the Mayor and Bailiffs subscribe £100 towards purchasing an organ, the amount to be paid in three equal yearly payments'. However, the Corporation then decided otherwise and withdrew from its initial commitment instead deciding they would, 'pay £5 per annum in lieu of the said £100 for and towards the salary of the organist as soon as a proper organ can be procured for the Parish Church'.¹¹² This passage raises questions which, though it may not be possible to answer them directly, nonetheless are the types which need to be asked if we are to move towards a broader, more societal view of the organ and those concerned with it, and which will help define the parameters of this study: why did the Corporation renege on its original commitment? Why was the subscription put down to the mayor and bailiffs and did this imply a degree of personal liability? Had the Corporation miscalculated the likely cost of the organ? What was the financial position of the Corporation at the time and why? Were the townsfolk of Lancaster not sufficiently persuaded of the need for the organ? Was the prestige attached to the erection of an organ in the parish church, on further consideration, insufficient to persuade the Corporation to hold to their original decision: might it not have reflected sufficiently on the Corporation for them to see it as a desirable signifier of the town's wealth and status? Finally, in a situation which almost exactly parallels that of Halifax Parish Church in 1765, might the Corporation have risked public disquiet if it set the charge for the instrument against the parish rate without the support of the parish?¹¹³

These are questions which treat the organ not just as an instrument of music for

¹¹² Gerald Sumner, *Lancaster Priory A History of the Organs*. (Lancaster, 2013), p. 3.

¹¹³ David M. Baker, 'We have won the day: an eighteenth-century English organ controversy', *The Organ*, vol. 54, 1976, pp. 85-88.

musicians, but rather as an object indicative of status, scientific and artistic advancement, and of public curiosity.

A further example is that of Christ Church, Spitalfields where Richard Bridge erected an organ in 1735, said to be his largest. The church building, designed by Nicholas Hawksmoor and completed in 1729, originally had no provision for an organ; the west gallery over the centre aisle is understood to have been intended for the use of the men of the vestry, overseers of the parish, and led off to a room in the tower. Quite late in the building of the church, ca. 1728, it seems it was decided to modify the gallery substantially to take an organ, though when that would be was, as yet, undecided. It was to be another five years before an organ was thought about and then, according to a vestry resolution:

In case an Organ be purchased by such Subscription... all charges attending the repairs thereof & the Salary of an Organist & all other expenses relating thereto [shall] be paid out of the Surplus money arising out of the Burial moneys.¹¹⁴

A third example is that of a wealthy parishioner, one Colonel Pierce, who in January 1701/2 applied to the Parish of St Swithin's, London Stone to erect an organ in the church. This was to be 'a present' for which there would also be no charge to the Parish for its upkeep for the first twelve months. A gallery to hold it was to be erected. It seems however that the parish took a sceptical view of the offer because it transpired that it had to foot the bill for the gallery work and actually had no real use for an organ. The vestry minutes record that, '7th July 1703. No organ to be brought into the Church or erected therein without Order of the Vestry' and that, '12th May 1704. This Parish to pay for the Gallery, and for the future no private person to erect and build anything in

¹¹⁴ Thistlethwaite, Christ Church, Spitalfields, p. 17.

the Church without consent of the vestry. Committee to peruse and adjust the joiner's bill.¹¹⁵ An organ was not installed until 1809.

These examples show that an organ as part of the 'music equipment' of a church in the eighteenth century was not always regarded as a necessity let alone a priority. In the case of Lancaster, the Corporation effectively washed its hands of having anything to do with the purchase of the organ, settling instead for a token gesture towards the salary of the organist. In the case of Spitalfields, the *surplus* [author's italics] arising from burial fees was to be used to pay for the organ's upkeep and the organist, suggesting that a charge upon the parish rate would have been unacceptable and so a more indirect means had to be found. At St Swithin's, the parish could not or would not contemplate an organ despite the apparent largesse of the colonel's offer, though the value of a gallery providing additional seating accommodation and hence increased pew rents was clearly appreciated even if the parish ended up paying for it.

Elsewhere, the picture might be different. In Hull, the organ in Holy Trinity, erected in 1712 and said to have been obtained presumably either secondhand or as a cancelled order from another buyer (certainly the three months or so which elapsed between the decision by the vestry to obtain one and its erection in the church was too short to account for an instrument being built specifically to order), was provided through the efforts of a Mr John Collings who became Mayor of Hull in 1713, and a Mr Nathaniel Rogers, elected MP for Hull in 1716. It was probably due to Rogers' connection with Hull Corporation that it provided much of the funding for the instrument which cost £586.12s.7d.¹¹⁶ At King's Lynn, Dr Charles Burney, the organist at St Margaret's from 1751 to 1760, found the existing organ had been 'erected in 1676'

¹¹⁵ Wren Society, vol. 19. pp. 54-55.

¹¹⁶ G H Smith, A History of Hull Organs and Organists: Together With an Account of the Hull Musical Festivals And the Formation of the Various Musical Societies In the Town. (London: A. Brown, 1910) p7.

and 'was then an old one removed from a college in Cambridge [Emmanuel] ... so much decayed in its several parts as to be rendered useless.'¹¹⁷ The Corporation, however was amenable to the idea of a new one and on 7th March, 1754 it was:

Agreed by the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council to Borrow £200 of Mr Geo. Hogge upon their Common Seal and pay him interest after the rate of £4 per centum per annum for the same which is to be applied towards paying off Mr Snetzlar [sic] Builder of the New Organ a much larger sum.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ NRO Lynn Corporation minutes, 12th October 1752. The Town Hall, King's Lynn: Hall Book, KL/C7/13, fol. 251.

¹¹⁸ Quoted in Percy Scholes, *The great Dr. Burney : his life, his travels, his works, his family and his friends*, 2 vols., (London : Geoffrey Cumberlege, OUP, 1948) vol. 1, p. 77.

General Historical Context of Parish Church Music: the Nineteenth Century

Attitudes towards the choral aspect of Anglican church music until the early part of the nineteenth century are perhaps best summed up by S S Wesley in his *A Few Words on Cathedral Music*, published in 1849. As a leading exponent he wrote:

the Choral Service of the Church presents not one feature in its present mode of performance which can interest or affect the well-informed auditor; except so far as it may remind him of a grandeur that exists no longer, and of a great school of musical composition, which, as far as the Church is concerned, seems almost to have passed away.¹¹⁹

Wesley's sentiments reflected a view which was to have far-reaching consequences for the Church throughout the century and was a reaction against an institution which, from the late seventeenth century, had been emasculated by the Crown and held-bound by an unwillingness on the part of a predominantly Whig administration to become involved in any major reform. The Toleration Act of 1689 which allowed all non-conformists - Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, except Unitarians - freedom of worship, was seen as a threat. This is illustrated by Robert Ingram's account of the life of Thomas Secker, Bishop of Bristol then Oxford, who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1758. In it he paints a picture of a Church which, ever since 1717, had become moribund and subjugated by the State when the Crown's interpretation of the Royal Supremacy effectively prevented the Church's governing body, the Convocation (the equivalent of today's General Synod), from conducting any substantive business.¹²⁰

It was a situation which continued until the middle of the nineteenth century made worse by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828, and the passing into law of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. Of the Test and Corporation Acts, both

¹¹⁹ S S Wesley, *A Few Words on Cathedral Music and the Musical System of the Church with a Plan of Reform*, (London: 1849; repr. London: Hinrichsen, 1965) pp.12-13.

¹²⁰ Robert G Ingram, *Religion, Reform and Modernity in the Eighteenth Century, Thomas Secker and the Church of England*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007).

dating from the Restoration, hitherto, anyone who was a member of a corporation, who held office either in the armed forces or civil service or was employed in any capacity by the Crown including the royal household, had to show proof that he or she had received holy communion according to the rites of the Church of England, within the last six months. Failure to do so meant immediate dismissal, a bar on access to the courts for legal remedy and a penalty of five hundred pounds. The provisions of the Act had lapsed but had not been repealed but when it was, it was seen on the one hand as a major triumph for Non-conformists and on the other, a weakening of the influence of the Church of England. The Catholic Emancipation Act, while deeply unpopular, was seen as the last in a number of acts which relieved Catholics of the disabilities imposed by almost a century and a half of repressive legislation and permitted them to sit in the House of Commons.

William Stukeley, the natural philosopher and cleric complained in a letter to Secker's predecessor, Archbishop Thomas Herring, 'It is a great grief of mind, whenever I think of that ill-fated day that the convocation gave up their right of granting money to the crown... Before then, the clergy were on a good footing, had some real worth in the eye of the government.' At stake was real political influence now reduced to hanging by 'the cobweb thread of a minister's favour' and the prospect of the opening of the 'floodgate of dissenters'; the 'neglect and desecration of the Sabbath'; 'popery, with its subtleties, triumphant'; and 'the infidelity daily spreading among us, chiefly from the impunity in printing wicked, blasphemous, anti-Christian, atheistic books', a predictable result of Convocation's inactivity.¹²¹ Even Secker, one of the most, if not the most, distinguished archbishops of the eighteenth century, was obliged to defend the status

¹²¹ The Convocation of 1665 saw the Church of England renounce its tax-raising powers in favour of the right to vote at Parliamentary elections. Source: [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia_\(1913\)/Convocation_of_the_English_Clergy](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia_(1913)/Convocation_of_the_English_Clergy) accessed 06/09/2017.

quo and helps us understand the ease with which Victorian critics in the not too distant future could interpret it as an admission of how impotent the Church had become.

To Secker, Convocation's enforced inactivity meant that the English people 'have nothing to fear from us, but rather expect all manner of good things'. He insisted that critics did 'not understand the times we live in, or what our present position is'. Furthermore, if Convocation were allowed to do business, debating the 'thousand specious, or not even specious, plans for reform' threatened to split the clergy. Paramount, however, was that the government, embroiled in wars with France and Spain, with power struggles in the Caribbean, Africa, India and North America, had no wish to burden itself with ecclesiastical matters as well as military ones fearing it would be overwhelmed if Convocation was unleashed.¹²²

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, population increases meant people became concentrated in areas not traditionally served by the Church of England and which required the creation of new parishes. This was something needing parliamentary authority which was notably absent. As a result, large areas of the country, particularly the north, remained under-staffed and under-resourced. There was also the problem of a laity which was less receptive to orthodox belief or had a different understanding of it from the Church authorities.¹²³

How this affected the Church's music provision aside from the question of organs, has been the subject of considerable research and what follows is a short summary.¹²⁴

¹²² Ingram, *ibid.*

¹²³ Rosman, *ibid.* pp.144-145.

¹²⁴ Principal sources include Bernarr Rainbow, *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church 1839-1872*, (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1970); Temperley, MEPC; Horton Davies, *From Watts and Wesley to Maurice, 1690-1850 Worship and Theology in England*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press 1961).

The Anglican Church Choir in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century:

An Overview

If the Church as a body was suffering from torpidity, then its musical condition was also the subject of concern. Historically, Church choirs and music provision in general throughout the eighteenth century had varied between two main camps. Singing might either be communal consisting of the congregation accompanied by a group of singers and instrumentalists drawn from within the parish or it might consist of a choir of 'charity children' leading the congregation accompanied by the organ. The former was much more a rural phenomenon and the latter more the preserve of towns and cities, 'country psalmody' and 'town psalmody'.¹²⁵ The two were neatly summarised by John Arnold in *Church Music Reformed*, published in 1765:

In the churches of London and Westminster, which abound chiefly with large congregations, it is customary for the people, who chiefly sing by the ear, to follow the organ, in those churches that are furnished with that most excellent instrument; but, in churches where there is no organ, they generally follow the clerk, who sings the melody of the tune [from memory]...

In most country churches the psalms used to be sung formerly much after the same manner as is now used in the churches in London, &c. that is, the Clerk used to sing the melodies, and the people used to follow the clerk in singing the psalms, till about half a century ago, when several books of psalmody were printed and published... of which the people in the country soon became particularly fond, so that in a few years almost every country church had one belonging to it; which, in some places had the distinction of the *Choir of Singers*, in others the *Society of Singers*; and, in very remote places where they were not quite so polite, they had the appellation of *the Singers* only, being, for the most part, placed in a gallery or singing pew, erected for that purpose.¹²⁶

By the time of the early nineteenth century, opinion regarding Anglican church music would see it transformed from a communal activity to something much more diverse led by what has been termed the Anglican Choral Revival. To begin with, the

¹²⁵ Temperley, MEPC, p.97.

¹²⁶ John Arnold, *Church Music Reformed or the Art of Psalmody Universally Explained unto All People*, (London: 1765) preface p.iii, v.

interior arrangement of church buildings underwent a radical overhaul. As Addleshaw and Etchells have noted, the eighteenth century had seen a concerted effort to bring people and clergy closer together so that at least the congregation could see and hear what was happening. In so doing, church interiors had been configured like a box with the pulpit erected in a prominent position to assist the preacher. The function and symbolism of the chancel was demoted and new buildings were designed to optimise convenience in offering the liturgy. What distinguished a church building was not so much its shape but the use to which it was put. One result of this was that it became difficult to distinguish an Anglican church from a non-conformist church or chapel.¹²⁷ A look at the interior of Great Yarmouth, St Nicholas prior to the restoration of the building in 1864 will show what is meant (see Illustrations appendix).

The Oxford Movement and its parallel organisation, the Cambridge Camden Society (later Ecclesiologists) saw things in a very different light.¹²⁸ Founded in 1833 by a group of clergymen from Oxford University, the Oxford Movement and its later incarnation, known as the Ritualists, sought renewal and a move away from increasing secularisation in favour of what was termed the Catholic revival in the Church of England. Among its main proponents were John Henry Newman, John Keble, Edward Pusey and Richard Hurrell Froude.¹²⁹ The Cambridge Camden Society was founded in 1839 and, in 1846, changed its name to the Ecclesiological Society.¹³⁰ The Ecclesiologists as they were known, chief among whom were John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb, were concerned with a church imbued with meaning and symbolism, a

¹²⁷ G W O Addleshaw and Frederick Etchells, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1956), pp204-205.

¹²⁸ For a recent treatment of the Cambridge Camden Society, readers are referred to Dale Lawrence Adelman, 'The Contribution of Cambridge and the Ecclesiological (late Cambridge Camden) Society to the Revival of Anglican Choral Worship, 1839-62', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 1991).

¹²⁹ <<http://www.puseyhouse.org.uk/what-was-the-oxford-movement.html>> accessed 28/09/2018.

¹³⁰ <<http://www.victorianweb.org/religion/eccles.html>> accessed 28/09/2018.

form of religious theatre within which a liturgical drama was enacted. They saw their ideal in a church from the fourteenth century with its long chancel; if it had transepts and aisles, so much the better, not because of the space they provided for chantry chapels, but because the floor-plan was cruciform signifying atonement and, if provided with aisles, the Trinity. The chancel, however, was what distinguished a church designed for worship according to the *Book of Common Prayer* from a non-conformist building. Initially, it was to be the place where the clergy were seated and to provide a setting for the celebration of the Eucharist. At first, the organ and choir would remain in a small gallery at the west end of the building 'a shallow stone projection... such as we meet on the continent'.¹³¹ This view was to change a couple of years later when Neale, voicing a common complaint about west gallery choirs, stated that:

In country churches, the singing loft, during the performance of the Psalm or Hymn, becomes the cynosure of all eyes: the worshippers... generally turn to it as to a centre of attraction. Messages, too, pass during the time of Divine Service between the "first violin" and the clerk, if that anomalous personage be employed, and the noise on the gallery stairs frequently overpowers every other sound. Then, what can be more ludicrous than the slate suspended in front of the gallery stamped with the letters AN. or PS.? Nothing, too, can be worse as respects the singers themselves. Removed too great distance from the clergyman's eye, having a separate entrance to their seats, possessed of strong *esprit de corps*, and feeling or thinking themselves indispensable to the performance of a certain part of public worship, and too often, alas! privileged to decide what that part shall be, - what wonder if they generally acquire those feelings of independence and pride, which make the singers some of the worst members of the parish...¹³²

His solution was simple in principle: to remove the west gallery and place the choir (and organ) in the chancel.¹³³

¹³¹ J M Neale, Cambridge Camden Society, *A Few Words to Church Builders*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1841), p23.

¹³² J M Neale, Cambridge Camden Society, *Church Enlargement and Church Arrangement*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1843) p15.

¹³³ Neale, *ibid.* p16.

The changes however, were profound and occasioned a whole complex of views accompanied by equally complex problems. As Vic Gammon describes it, a 'vigorous plebeian culture that existed in England before the mid-nineteenth century', would be later contrasted with the 'class-bound nature of the forms of artistic perception we have inherited'.¹³⁴ The latter at its most extreme is exemplified by the experience of a visitor to Magdalen College, Oxford in 1895 who wrote of a card displayed prominently in the entrance to the College chapel which requested visitors 'to join silently in the service. Hymns are rarely sung, the music being of primarily the impressive order...'. This was during John Varley Roberts' period as organist and is reinforced by an anecdote:

Whenever anyone in the congregation in Magdalen College was so presumptuous as to sing along with the choir, Roberts would lean over the edge of the gallery and yell, 'Shut up!' On one occasion the gentleman concerned protested, saying 'This is after all, the House of God!' 'True,' responded Roberts, 'But it is also Magdalen College Chapel, and I will thank you to hold your peace, Sir!' ¹³⁵

From the above, it is evident that tensions would arise especially given the avowed Catholicity of the Oxford Movement. These could amount in some cases to physical violence examples of which were the Pimlico riots of 1850 and events at St George-in-the-East in 1856.¹³⁶ More locally, the dynamiting of an organ at Little Walsingham church in West Norfolk on November 5th 1866 showed the strength of feeling towards what was imagined to have been a 'more efficient, but purely "harmless"

¹³⁴ Vic Gammon, "'Babylonian Performances": The Rise and Suppression of Popular Church Music 1660-1870' in *Popular Culture and Class Conflict 1590-1914, Explorations in the History of Labour and Leisure*, ed. by Eileen and Stephen Yeo (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1981), p62.

¹³⁵ Magdalen College Archives, PR/2/10, p449-450, quoted in David Baker, 'John Varley Roberts and the Music of Halifax Parish Church, 1868-1882', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, 21 (2013) pp114-115.

¹³⁶ Temperley, *MEPC*, p269.

musical service'.¹³⁷ The incident received national coverage and was accompanied by the defection of large numbers of the congregation to the Methodists.¹³⁸

All of the acts listed above are examples of the extent of popular resistance and fear of a return to 'popish' practices, exacerbated by a papal brief in September 1850, which sought to re-establish a Catholic diocesan hierarchy in England with Nicholas Wiseman as Roman Catholic archbishop of Westminster.¹³⁹ Local reaction is discussed later in this study but at this juncture is illustrated by a leading article which appeared in the *Yarmouth Independent* as late as 1874 entitled 'Ritual and Patronage in the Church of England'. Such was the fear of 'the mummeries of Catholicism' and the potential for even a 'weak propensity for ritualism' that proposals for controls on the excesses of the Ritualists, culminating in the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874, were greeted with alacrity.¹⁴⁰ Ritualism which sought to introduce a range of Catholic liturgical practices into worship, was seen as one of the main outstanding areas of controversy within the Church and as the *Yarmouth Independent* put it:

With the present Conservative majority, composed principally of Church and State supporters, there should be no difficulty in passing remedial measures with a view to the immediate suppression of ritualistic practices and abuse of Church patronage, which serve only to create public scandal and disgust even the staunchest supporters of the Establishment.¹⁴¹

The churchmanship at St Nicholas, Great Yarmouth was what was termed 'Broad Church', moderate, neither evangelical nor high Anglican, something the vicar at the height of the organ controversy in 1868-69, Reverend H R Nevill, was at pains to

¹³⁷ NorChron, 10 November 1866, p5.

¹³⁸ Gammon, *ibid.* p80. Articles appeared in the Kendal Mercury, Birmingham Daily Post, Sherborne Mercury and Royal Cornwall Gazette among others
<<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/search/results/1866-11-01/1866-11-30?basicsearch=%2Bwalsingham&freesearch=walsingham&retrievecountrycounts=false&sortorder=score&page=2e&page=2>> accessed 02/10/2018.

¹³⁹ Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church part one 1829-1859* (London: SCM Press, 1997) p291 et seq.

¹⁴⁰ see page

¹⁴¹ *YI*, 25 April 1874, p

make clear, albeit diplomatically, 'we trust that our well-known opinion on such matters [ritualism], and our conduct as minister and churchwardens for many years past will, in the dispassionate judgment of the parishioners, be a sufficient answer'.¹⁴² Indeed, as this study will show, it was unlikely that Henry Stonex would have been able to mount anything as musically ambitious as a high Anglican service anyway due to the competing claims made on singers (the Great Yarmouth Choral Society was very active at that time), antipathy towards a high Anglican style of worship and the difficulties posed by the unsatisfactory state of the organ. It is also likely, though we have no direct proof of it, that Stonex's sympathies would not have lain in that direction either though his one known composition, a double chant in F sharp minor, would not have been out of place in such a liturgical setting.¹⁴³ What was achieved is discussed in detail later but it does seem that the congregation was encouraged to sing the hymns, chant psalms and canticles with a modicum of elaboration, and generally participate in the sung portions of the service.¹⁴⁴

Seen in a wider context, Great Yarmouth was one example of the breadth in worship styles which had developed, unwittingly, out of the original aspirations of the Oxford Movement. This has been discussed at length by Bernarr Rainbow in *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church 1839-1872*, such that, in essence, the proponents of this revival, including men such as Thomas Helmore, Frederick Oakeley and John Jebb, while motivated by the highest ideals, hadn't reckoned with the range of practical considerations attendant on realising their objectives and, arguably, the unsustainability of such an undertaking. Rainbow refers to a survey entitled *Phases of Musical England*

¹⁴² *YI*, 17 October 1868, p6.

¹⁴³ Henry Stonex, Double Chant in F# minor, *The Anglican Chant Book* (Seven Oaks: Novello & Co., 1956) p44.

¹⁴⁴ NRO PD 28/392. *GYPM*, January 1884, carried a short article by the vicar, Reverend George Venables on the practice of chanting the psalms alternatim so that the congregation chanted the even verses with the choir the odd verses in order to 'produce excellent and delightful effects in our congregational worship.'

carried out by F J Crowest in 1881 which considered the state of music-making in England at the time.¹⁴⁵ Topics covered included 'Encores and Singing', 'Street Music', 'Women and Music', and 'Musical Commercialisms'. A lengthy chapter was devoted to Church music which painted a confused picture of music at parish level and an absence of uniformity which is, perhaps, hardly surprising given the range of ability and inclination involved. Crowest's survey was followed by a much more detailed and systematic one carried out by Charles Box in London in the same year entitled *Church Music in the Metropolis*.¹⁴⁶ Box and Crowest had different standards and ideals but both recognised the variety of forms which music could take in worship. Regarding choirs, for example, Crowest noted:

Here we meet with little regard as to the fitness of things; but the prevailing idea seems rather to be the utilisation of all surrounding talent that can with the slightest pretence be termed musical. Thus we meet with choirs partly paid and partly voluntary; mixed choirs... choirs wherein boys' voices are regarded as intolerable... choirs whose ranks are recruited through the advertisement columns of newspapers...¹⁴⁷

Given such a welter, it is no wonder, as Rainbow so eloquently summarises it, that:

... the latter course of the Choral Revival should have departed so extensively from that projected by the pioneers of the movement. Its path unsettled by transformed circumstances, its main stream swollen by a flood of nominal supporters, after 1860 the course of the Choral Revival inevitably veered aside, breaking away into a maze of subsidiary branches, and leaving only a minor stream representing staunch Anglo-Catholic practice to mark its course.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ F J Crowest, *Phases of Musical England*, (London: Remington, 1881), p81.

¹⁴⁶ Charles Box, *Church Music in the Metropolis*, (London: Reeves, 1884)

¹⁴⁷ Crowest, p.81.

¹⁴⁸ Rainbow, p299.

The Yarmouth Situation

The provision of organs for the two churches in the borough, especially the instrument for St Nicholas's, was regarded as a civic project on a par with the building of a new assembly hall or a theatre. It was an indicator of the prosperity of the Borough rather than a liturgical and musical necessity. It was also characterised by considerable optimism, expectation and novelty tinged by a hint of uncertainty about quite what to expect of the organ and its first organist, Musgrave Heighington. The Corporation, as we shall see, regarded the instrument's procurement and erection much in the same light as its other commercial and civil business, viewing it principally as a desirable primary asset to the Borough.

However, it seems not to have considered quite what an organist should do. The Corporation's answer to Heighington's request for a schedule of his church duties was only specific up to a point relying on practice elsewhere namely, that he should emulate London churches, 'The Psalms and voluntaries to be played in the same parts of divine service as in the parish churches in London where they have organs'. They seemed much clearer about the music required to announce the arrival of the Corporation and were clearly mindful of the role music could and should play in the ceremonial aspects of its conduct and business, '... at church every Sunday, Scarlet Days and Sessions a voluntary be played before divine service when the mayor and the Corporation are going into their seats'.¹⁴⁹ The church of St Nicholas, situated at the north end of the Market Place, was never far from both the commercial and political centre of the Borough and, by implication, from people's thoughts and actions. Peter Borsay, speaking of ritual and ceremony in urban centres, notes how parish churches were often

¹⁴⁹ NRO Y/C 19/11 Assembly Book 1718-1737 no. 11, fol. 219-220.

used for part of the inauguration ceremony of a new mayor, how at Preston, 'the old mayor delivered him [the new mayor] the staff in church'. At Colchester there was a special sermon, and at Norwich a procession to the cathedral.¹⁵⁰ As David Palliser observes when commenting on Richard Gough's account of the Parish of Myddle in Shropshire:

Only in the church did large numbers meet regularly, and in that church seating was carefully ordered to reflect status, with the gentry at the front, yeomen and husbandmen in the middle, the servants of the gentry in the north aisle, and the cottagers at the back. Myddle church, like nearly all the 9000 or so parish churches in the land, was at one and the same time a reflection of the social and political order, as well as the religious order, of the community.¹⁵¹

In Great Yarmouth, the only place aside from the parish church where people could meet regularly was the Guildhall, a situation which persisted until May 1713 when it was decided to build a new civic hall 'for the entertainment of the mayor and gentlemen of the Corporation upon the public feasts'.¹⁵² The parish church however, was the one place where the *entire* populace of a community could meet under one roof and, leaving aside the hierarchical seating arrangements, where everyone could gaze upon everyone else. In Bristol, where there was not one but eighteen parishes, the Corporation was actively involved in overseeing the religious life of the city, the civic calendar including a complex round of visits to the parish churches as well as celebrations to mark major public holidays with processions to churches and sermons especially written for the occasion.¹⁵³ Similarly in Great Yarmouth, the Corporation demonstrated its leadership every Sunday by filing into their pews in order of

¹⁵⁰ Peter Borsay, ed. Peter Clark, 'All the town's a stage': urban ritual and ceremony' quoted in *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns*, (London: Hutchinson, 1985) p. 230.

¹⁵¹ D M Palliser, 'Introduction: The Parish in Perspective' in *Parish, Church and People, Local Studies in Lay Religion 1350-1750* ed. Susan Wright. (London, Hutchinson 1988) p. 5.

¹⁵² NRO Y/C19/10 fol. 243^v.

¹⁵³ Jonathan Barry, ed. Susan Wright, 'The Parish in Civic Life: Bristol and its Churches 1640-1750' in *Parish, Church and People, Local Studies in Lay Religion 1350-1750*, (London: Hutchinson, 1988) p. 154.

precedence in full view of the townsfolk. Corporate events such as the Black Friday audit, St John's Day elections and the so called 'Scarlet Days' marking popular religious holidays or political anniversaries, were celebrated by church services and public feasting sponsored by the munificence of the Corporation and dignified by their processing, fully robed, through the main streets of the town on their way to and from the parish church.^{154 155} In Hull, the Anglicans and Methodists 'went to Holy Trinity or St Mary's... following the example of the Mayor and Corporation... who on special occasions went to the parish church complete with ceremonial mace and sword underlining both the close link between the church and state, and clergy and influential members of the community – the vicar of Holy Trinity was appointed by the Corporation'.¹⁵⁶

The extent of the interaction between church and state authority is further underlined by the instruments themselves as demonstrated by the restoration in 2015 of the organ by Richard Bridge in Christ Church, Spitalfields (see above). The central tower of the case is surmounted by a representation of a large red velvet cushion bearing the crown of state trimmed with ermine. Prior to the restoration work, the case had had its colour scheme reduced to a brown monochrome through the application of a dark glaze and varnish which had aged and discoloured by the time the church was closed at the end of the 1950s. As Thistlethwaite remarks, 'The visual splendour of Richard Bridge's organ lay obscured and unimagined beneath four subsequent decorative schemes which had gradually muted the baroque vitality and joyousness of the original case'.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ so-called because the aldermen wore scarlet gowns in procession.

¹⁵⁵ Gauci, p. 35.

¹⁵⁶ Gordon, Jackson, *The Economic Development of Hull in the Eighteenth Century*, (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Hull, 1960), <<http://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.551651>> [accessed 10/10/2017]. pp 42-43.

¹⁵⁷ Thistlethwaite, Christ Church Spitalfields, p. 38.

Significantly the cushion and crown occupy the middle and form the apex of the case design while the signs of episcopal authority – two mitres – are effectively demoted to the tops of the two side towers. The symbol of state authority is placed as if to form the centrepiece of the organ case and, by implication the subjugation of the Church; this not an isolated example. Similar statements can be observed elsewhere and as far afield as St Mary's, Haverfordwest (Harris & Byfield, 1737), St Helen's, Abingdon (Jordan, 1725) St Clement Danes (Father Smith, 1690, Freeman's photograph of 1911 shows the case bearing a crown above a royal cipher) and St James, Garlyckhythe.¹⁵⁸ The other organ supplied under the Yarmouth contract, for St George's Chapel (a smaller version of that at Spitalfields), had the same arrangement of crown and mitres.¹⁵⁹ At St Nicholas, the centrepiece of the case was a statue of an angel with the crowns atop the side towers. The organ case thus became a visible expression of what has been described as the 'pacific union'¹⁶⁰ existing between Church and State; as Benjamin Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor, wrote:

as God approves of everything necessary to civil government, it is necessarily implied in that, that [sic] he approves of no powers or privileges in any persons on earth, which are in such sense independent upon it as to be inconsistent with it.¹⁶¹

What is also significant about the St Nicholas organ case is the absence of mitres. Although there is no direct evidence, it seems likely this was in deference to the large number of dissenters living in the Borough. Gauci notes that the presence of a

¹⁵⁸ This is shown very clearly in Andrew Freeman's photograph of St Clement Danes taken before the organ was destroyed in the 2nd World War which had just the crown with orb and sceptre placed over the monogram of George III.

[<http://calmview.bham.ac.uk/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=XFreeman%2f191&pos=4>] [accessed 30/06/2017].

¹⁵⁹ Stephen Heywood, *The Chapel of St George King Street, Great Yarmouth, An Architectural History*, Norfolk Historic Environment Record no. 4336 (Norfolk County Council), p. 16.

¹⁶⁰ Thistlethwaite, p. 34.

¹⁶¹ Benjamin Hoadly: *A Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Non-Jurors: Works: vol. 1* p. 579 (1773) quoted in Norman Sykes, *Church and State in England in the Eighteenth Century*. *Historical Association* Leaflet no. 78, p. 3.

large dissenting congregation was an 'enduring source of tension' because a significant number were wealthy merchants and capable of major disruption to the complex and delicate patterns of social and religious connections.^{162 163} In this, Yarmouth was not an isolated example. At Berwick, 'trade is in the hands of a few rigid Dissenters, who ensured that, 'no one with any zeal for his Majesty or the Church can ever hope for... any considerable place, traffic, or friendship in the town'. At Abingdon, an electoral observer complained that, 'many of the Dissenters are so rich that many beholden to them, though not of their judgement, dare give no votes'.¹⁶⁴

Since most organs stood on west end galleries and directly in the line of sight of the clergy and members of the town administration, the crown and mitres – in quite a few cases just the crown- were an ever-present reminder of where ultimate jurisdiction over the English church lay.¹⁶⁵ It also raises the question as to why an organ should have been chosen to bear these emblems and not, for example, the tester of a pulpit, which was in full view of the congregation.¹⁶⁶ Be that as it may, the organ had become a symbolic embodiment of rule and order under God and King both in its visual appearance and in the hands of a capable player, as well as in its ability to give effect to the regulation of the musical order and content of worship and ceremonial.

Significant too is the manner in which a powerful corporation could effectively dictate terms and conditions regarding the governance and conduct of its parish church

¹⁶² Gauci, p. 11.

¹⁶³ Geoffrey Holmes, *Politics, Religion and Society in England 1679-1742*, (London: Hambledon Press, 1986), pp 194 -195, 201. A tentative estimate suggests between fifteen and twenty per cent of the total electorate were Dissenters. In major towns and cities such as Norwich, Dissenters amounted to almost a third of the population. This is relevant because of the practise of 'Occasional Conformity' which, despite the Test and Corporation Acts, enabled Dissenters to hold municipal office provided they took Communion in an Anglican Church just once in the twelve months prior to local elections. It can be imagined that a Dissenter, so disposed, could take offence at the sight of emblems of episcopal authority displayed on an organ case.

¹⁶⁴ Basil Henning ed., *The House of Commons 1660-1690* (London, 1983) quoted in Gauci p. 91.

¹⁶⁵ see 82. At St Nicholas, Stanford-on-Avon, the crown is placed over the mitre.

¹⁶⁶ It has been pointed out that a bishop only wore his mitre at a coronation so that, as an emblem of ecclesiastical authority, it was unlikely to have figured largely in the popular imagination (source unknown).

and what role it should play. Henry Manship records how, at the dissolution of the monasteries, the patronage of St Nicholas (responsibility for the provision of clergy) passed to the Dean and Chapter of Norwich. Poor administration led, after much fruitless petitioning of the Bishop and Dean and Chapter, to the town obtaining an agreement in 1610, under which it was to have the sole, 'appointment and nomination of preachers and ministers, to preach in and for the said cure' and towards their maintenance, the Corporation were to have:

all the rights and duties belonging to the said church, (viz.) all offerings due and payable, and which ought to be paid by all such as were or ought to be communicants; and all dues for marriages, burials, and church-goings...

The minister was instructed by the Corporation to preach on session days, festival days, and scarlet days; and to commence Morning Prayer in summer at 08.30 and in winter at 09.00; and to administer the Sacrament on the first Sunday in every month.¹⁶⁷ Similarly, Heighington addressed himself to the Corporation regarding the music to be played and it was they who dealt with him regarding his salary, the employment of deputies and ultimately his dismissal through having absented himself too often for their liking. In other words, his contract of employment was with the Corporation since at no time is there any mention of any formal arrangement with a vestry or rector as might be understood today.

To paraphrase Joseph Addison, 'the whole parish politics [are] generally discussed in that place [the parish church] either after sermon or before the bell rings'¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ C J Palmer ed., Henry Manship, *The History of Great Yarmouth...*, Great Yarmouth, 1854 vol. 2, p. 148.

¹⁶⁸ *The Spectator*, 9 July 1711, quoted in Horton Davies, *From Watts and Wesley to Maurice, 1690-1850 Worship and Theology in England*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press 1961) p.55. Though Addison is speaking of a country Sunday as opposed to one in a town, the sentiment is much the same.

and where, 'it does not seem inappropriate to mix church-going with mercantilism'.¹⁶⁹

The Church had become an adjunct to the political and mercantile life of the Borough and everything to do with it was regulated accordingly.

What becomes clear as this study proceeds is how much of a shift in the balance of power between Church and Civic authority had taken place between 1730 and the latter half of the nineteenth century when the study ends. Not only is this palpable in the relocation of the organ in St Nicholas from its original position in the south west to the east of the building but also in the put-down administered by the Churchwardens to the Borough's chief magistrate, E H L Preston.¹⁷⁰

As will be shown later in detail, Preston objected vehemently to the relocation and enlargement of the organ believing that the Borough still had a veto over what should happen in its parish church. However, he was reminded by them that even though:

... it is the intention of yourself and your friends 'to take steps for putting over the organ such a case as may appear requisite to prevent danger to the instrument' [*P*]ermit us to remind you that you have no legal right or power whatever to touch the organ, or anything else within the church, without the previous consent of the Minister and Churchwardens. ...
[author's italics]¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ Horton Davies *ibid.*, p. 61.

¹⁷⁰ Edward Harbord Lushington Preston, (1806-1872), the son of Isaac Preston a noted shipbuilder in Great Yarmouth whose family traced its ancestors back to the late 1500's. The business had prospered as a Government contractor and was noted for its close involvement in local politics; Isaac Preston was three-times mayor and various other members of the family had also served in that capacity. E H L Preston was educated at Norwich Grammar School and early on took an active part in the politics of the borough; at the time of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, he was the only Conservative member of the Yarmouth Corporation, the remainder being Liberals. He had an extensive business in the borough as a timber merchant and as a commission and shipping agent and was also engaged in marine insurance. He latterly held the office of Consul and Vice-Consul for Belgium, Holland, Ottoman Empire, Parma, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and Norway and, in 1867, received the decoration of the Order of Leopold, in recognition of services to Belgium. In November 1870, he was elected mayor and had the honour of presiding over the visit of the Prince of Wales to the borough in June 1872. He left estate valued at £16000. His death was widely reported but it would appear the *Yarmouth Independent* and *Norfolk Chronicle* were the only newspapers to print detailed obituaries.

¹⁷¹ *YI*, 7 November 1868, p. 6.

A situation which since 1733 had been very straightforward musically, liturgically, architecturally and, importantly, in terms of the relationship between Church and Corporation, became far more complex. Within the space of barely a decade it precipitated a bitter and prolonged struggle not only between Church and Borough in the person of the Borough's elder statesman who, despite his standing and reliance on historical precedent now found himself isolated and without a voice, but also between liturgical requirement and the reality of what was then understood about the acoustics of buildings and organ technology (and its limitations). That the Church won out and in so doing revealed how far apart it had grown from its secular associates had a certain inevitability about it; that such a victory, long term, was a pyrrhic one seems unavoidable as another manifestation of the slow but inevitable distancing of religion and state at a national level from the 1870s onwards. Seen from today's perspective, the 'damage' wrought to what had at one time been the Borough's jewel in the crown is hard to comprehend. The gradual subsuming of the organ's original identity through relocation and the less than systematic adaptation and supplanting of its fabric occasioned by attempts to make it conform to new ideas, begs the question what constituted that identity at various stages of its life? Was it in the case front so carefully preserved on the north side of Binns's comprehensive rebuild of 1903¹⁷², was it in the epithets which continued to be applied such as: an instrument which has but few equals in Europe,¹⁷³ 'remarkably fine... instrument'¹⁷⁴, was it in Henry Smart's much vaunted preservation (at the insistence of the Parish) of the existing pipework as part of something much greater or was it in something altogether less tangible?

¹⁷² The *Musical Times* commented on the decision to use the casefronts to cover the backs of the two halves of the organ, 'It seems strange that these two old cases should form the *backs* instead of the fronts of the present organ, which would have certainly been more picturesque and added greatly to the dignity of the instrument', vol. 48, no. 774, 1 Aug 1907, p. 516.

¹⁷³ *NorChron*, 6 January 1844, p. 3.

¹⁷⁴ *MT*, 1 August 1907, p. 514

Preston's championing of the organ as he knew it in 1869 and his fierce opposition to any alteration pitted the physical reality of the instrument as it was then against an altogether more functionalist, workaday approach adopted by the Church tempered by the need to satisfy calls for the organ to maintain its status by being brought up to date. By so doing, a state of seemingly perpetual flux was set in motion as organ technology and musical fashion changed with increasing rapidity.

Both Preston and, to a lesser extent, Henry Stonex encapsulate a continuity of awareness. Preston had known the organ almost from the time of his birth in 1806. His father, Isaac Preston, a noted shipbuilder in East Anglia and then Church and Chapel warden, had had oversight of work carried out by Gray to both the St Nicholas, and the St George's Chapel organs in 1827, and E H L Preston had been a member of the committee overseeing the 1844 repairs and alterations by Gray & Davison as it then became.¹⁷⁵ Likewise, Stonex, born in Norwich and a pupil of the renowned Dr Zechariah Buck, organist of Norwich Cathedral from 1817 until 1877, would have had an awareness of it from the late 1820s and both would have heard it played on a regular basis by at least one able practitioner, George Warne, organist at St Nicholas from 1843 to 1850. In Preston's case, it is possible, if not probable, that he would have also heard it played by three eminent musicians of the early nineteenth century: James Hook, William Russell and Samuel Wesley. Hook's visit in 1810 was reported by the *Norfolk Chronicle*, 'Mr Hook, the celebrated composer, from London, lately arrived at Yarmouth, and on Sunday last gratified the congregation at the church with a most beautiful voluntary on their organ, which is esteemed the first in England.'¹⁷⁶ William Russell opened the organ in 1812 after its overhaul and reconstruction by George Pike England, when, following two performances by him, it was reported that, 'the fine

¹⁷⁵ British Organ Archive, Gray & Davison Accounts 1827-28, vol. 1, p. 57.

¹⁷⁶ *NorChron*, 22 September 1810, p. 2.

organ... was opened here last week, in a masterly stile [sic], by Mr W Russell, of Oxford'.¹⁷⁷ Samuel Wesley, writing to Vincent Novello after a visit in 1815, described the instrument as, 'the most magnificent organ I have yet heard'.¹⁷⁸

For Preston, at least, material for the instilling of a 'folk memory' was amply at hand. When the relocation of the organ was being actively debated, his letters to the *Norfolk Chronicle* and *Yarmouth Independent* newspapers revealed the extent of his concern. In one of several written early in 1868, he gave his reasons for opposing the move:

... however pleasing may be the voices of singing men and singing women, I infinitely prefer the splendid swell of that dear old organ which I have listened to from infancy with delight, to its playing second fiddle, as it is now proposed, to the choir... In thus calling the attention of parishioners to this subject I do so solely with a view to prevent even the risk of destroying an instrument which has ample capacity for all the requirements of the church and which is celebrated for its mellowness, and sweetness of tone.¹⁷⁹

Another letter written shortly after is significant for its reference to the ornamentation of the case and, in particular, to the emblems of religion and state, the angel and crowns, 'I fear the figure so triumphantly surmounting the beautiful case will undergo the same destructive process of removal, not to resume its position; the crowns may also be found objectionable and will follow suit'.¹⁸⁰ For him, the relocation of the organ was nothing short of 'sacrilegious'.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ *NorChron*, 19 September 1812, p. 2.

¹⁷⁸ *MT*, 1 August 1907, pp. 517-518. Letter dated 18 July 1815 from Samuel Wesley to Vincent Novello. Wesley describes having played the St Anne Fugue on the organ and that he proposed trying the Goldberg Variations the following day. Quite how this was accomplished is not known but there is a reference to a Charley Smith, a composer and bass vocalist, and colleague of Wesley. Since the organ had been fitted with pedals in 1812, it is possible they were used to fill out the pedal line with Smith playing them in the St Anne Fugue. He could have simply blown the organ while Wesley played at least for the Goldberg Variations.

¹⁷⁹ *YL*, 7 March 1868, p. 5.

¹⁸⁰ *YL*, 21 March 1868, p. 5.

¹⁸¹ NRO PD 28/232, Minutes of General Committee, 28 August 1868.

Though these words appear sentimental in places, there is ample evidence to show that Preston's views were not unique and that he understood the wider implications of what was proposed. W E Dickson, Precentor of Ely Cathedral, paraphrased by Preston at a meeting of the Vestry on Thursday, October 10th 1868 held that:

old organs, like old pictures, were bequeathed to us by artists who left their stamp on the time in which they flourished. Their works were their memorial; and when we wantonly altered and defaced them, we committed an act of injustice to the memory of men who laboured to advance the art, and who little thought of the irreverent treatment which their grand instruments would receive from posterity.¹⁸²

Equally salutary in this respect if not more so is Sir John Sutton's *A Short Account of Organs Built in England* (1847), mentioned in the introduction to this study which shows that Preston's estimation of an organ and its necessary qualities was not so far removed from a source quoted by Sutton, the Reverend John Jebb. Jebb had been a major contributor to the debate over what constituted a choral service in a work entitled *The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland* (1843). His views on organs were trenchant with his ire directed towards what he termed 'these enormous music-mills', meaning organs of a size and power comparable with the great Dutch instruments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and to the then recent introduction of the German system of organ building in England.

For him:

Their barbarous crash is more fit for Nebuchadnezzar's festival, than for that sweet and grave accompaniment for which our best Cathedral organs were fully sufficient. Unhappily the deference to foreign authority, especially in musical matters, for which the English nation is so remarkable, has caused the modern improvement, as it is ludicrously called, of the hitherto unrivalled organs of St. Paul's and the Temple. The more modern instrument of Westminster Abbey, whatever it may have gained in loudness, has certainly lost in sweetness and equality of tone.

¹⁸² *YI* 17 October 1868, p. 6.

The English Cathedral organ, it should be remembered, is intended to be an accompaniment of a Choir, not a vehicle for Voluntaries or Concertos, as abroad, where its Choral use is generally subordinate.¹⁸³

Drawing on Jebb for support, Sutton held there was ongoing 'great destruction of the fine old organs of this country,' and hoped his book might amount to, 'a few pages in their defence, with the hope they may have some effect in preventing their wanton destruction in future'. Sutton blamed the losses on organists who persuaded their clergy and those in authority:

that the instruments in question are not fit to play upon; by which they mean that it is impossible to show off upon them in the most approved fashion, for they have neither pedals, swell, or any of those contrivances with which these modern Music Mills (as Mr Jebb most aptly calls them in his lectures on the Choral Service) are crowded.¹⁸⁴

If the situation at Great Yarmouth in the early part of the century is anything to go by, it is not difficult to understand how Jebb would have concluded what he did. His interpretation, for example, of a choral service was antithetical to congregational participation:

if it be meant, that the congregation is to form the Choir; that everyone, how unskilled or ill endowed by nature soever, ought, as a matter of duty, audibly to join, ... it would be better to drop all pretence to Choral music where singing by the congregation, especially of the psalms, was to be discouraged unless done softly and by those who really understood how to.¹⁸⁵

The Parish Church had not had a competent organist since the days of Henry Chicheley. He left in 1788, effectively creating a vacuum which was not to be filled by a player of equal standing until George Warne in 1843. In the intervening years there was little positive to report. Regarding John Eager, who presided from 1803 until 1833,

¹⁸³ Rev'd John Jebb, *The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland*, (London, 1843) pp. 202-203.

¹⁸⁴ Sir John Sutton, *A Short Account of Organs Built in England*, (London, 1847) pp. 1-3.

¹⁸⁵ Jebb, pp298-299

Wesley's letter to Vincent Novello was less than complimentary, describing him as a 'bad player', while acknowledging, 'as a musician he has had no advantages whatever but from his own industrious and persevering assiduity...'¹⁸⁶ Eager, who was principally a violinist, was succeeded by David Fisher, also a violinist, who came from a locally renowned theatrical family and he, in turn, was succeeded by a man describing himself as an organist, Joseph Baxfield. Whether Baxfield was correct in his estimation of his own abilities is open to debate. A letter which appeared in the *Norwich Mercury*, 6 March 1841, provides evidence of the depths to which things had sunk:

Open Letter to the Hon. and Rev. Edward Pellew. 6th March 1841.
Assuming that for the time being the Church of St Nicholas is yours, it is a fair inference that you have a like interest in all that pertains to it. On this ground, and after the occurrences of Sunday last, I entreat that the Organ may be closed and not again opened until it was [sic] undergone the repairs of a master, and received those additions which of late have been bestowed upon the principal Organs of the kingdom.
That done, I trust it will not be touched until a first-rate Organist has been chosen [author's italics]. To patch it up, will only render bad worse. The unlooked-for and unfortunately timed moaning sounds which escaped this once noble instrument on Sunday last did not appear to me, although to many, a subject of merriment, but as proceeding as it were from a consciousness of its degraded state, from a dread of the infliction it is weekly subjected to, and as appealing to the pity and sense of all present to save it from a repetition of the injustice to which it has so long been subjected. I am &c. A B.

The letter is as much a description of the condition of the organ as it is of the ineptitude of Baxfield. The two combined would have been excuse enough for the authorities to abandon the instrument and seek to build anew. It had reached such a low point that, if we were to compare it with the present-day, logically, it could well have been consigned to history and been replaced either by a music-group or an electronic instrument. No musician of any real competence could be found to play and the choral element, such as it was, was ineffectual and poorly schooled, if at all, so that altogether,

¹⁸⁶ *MT*, 1 August 1907, Wesley, p. 518.

the arrival of George Warne would have been the first time for as much as a couple of generations, when music of any quality would have been heard.

Yet, despite the evident musical nadir then prevailing, as Temperley notes, 'It is important to recognise... the Victorians' ... same desire for decorum, elegance and propriety that had activated their Georgian ancestors'¹⁸⁷ and that the organ, far from being an optional musical accessory, had become a necessity. As far as Preston was concerned, it was all that was necessary; the choir could be dispensed with since it seemed to fulfil no obvious role and in view of that, what mattered most was that the organ should be heard to best effect leading the congregation.¹⁸⁸ This could be taken as code for anti-papal and anti-ritualist sentiment and would have been as much as Preston could have allowed himself in the way of a public utterance on the matter, especially given his position and official links with countries with strong Catholic followings.

Yet despite bad playing and the poor physical state of the instrument it retained an enduring quality as a musical representation of authority, power and majesty. New organs might no longer carry the emblems of Church and State: crown and mitre had been replaced by Gothic crocketing and pinnacles, the bond had loosened markedly over the preceding century, such that to display them suggested something superfluous and a denial that change had and was taking place. This is evident, for example, in James Davis's new organ for Wymondham Abbey built in 1793. This was an instrument of three manuals and twenty-one stops with a tall, narrow case of four towers interspersed with rather diminutive flats on two levels. The decoration was gothic but with no allusions to any relationship between Church and State though, curiously, bearing masonic symbols.¹⁸⁹ By the early 1820s, the trend was confirmed as in Samuel

¹⁸⁷ Temperley, MEPC vol. 1, p. 277.

¹⁸⁸ Warne's attempts to form a choir had not borne fruit.

¹⁸⁹ Maxwell Betts, *A Jewel or Ornament : The Illustrated Story of the Historic Organs and the Choral Tradition in the Church of Saint Mary and Saint Thomas of Canterbury*. (Wymondham, 1974)

Renn's organ for St Mary, Prestwich, Lancashire which was not only completely 'Gothick' but also had decorated façade pipes setting a style for the rest of the century. In both, neither crown nor mitre were anywhere to be seen.¹⁹⁰

Instead the focus shifted to other qualities. Much as decorum and propriety were necessary virtues, they were now aligned with adoration of the Godhead in a way far removed from an age which, 'relegate[d] to the background whatever [was] paradoxical and remote from ordinary ways of thinking.'¹⁹¹ John Antes LaTrobe, writing in 1831, described it thus:

No instrument on earth can be compared to the organ for fulness [sic], majesty, richness, modulation, and condensation of sound; and no instrument seems therefore so suited to the exclusive adoration of Him, 'whose voice is mighty in operation, and full of majesty. ' Perhaps no work of man's device can claim equal power of exciting and arresting the feelings. It not only soothes without inducing languor... but rivets the senses, as to apply their agency to fill the mind with images of the sublimest realities. A large and powerful organ in the hands of a master... is inferior to no source of the sublime in absorbing the imagination.¹⁹²

At play was an argument between what the organ represented to some such as Preston and the tantalising prospect that it might represent all of that and more in the minds of others, which is why it had to be subject to reconstruction and removal. The intervening years between the departure of Chicheley and arrival of Warne had seen it diminished materially for want of real care and attention so that when 'A.B.' referred to 'a consciousness of its degraded state... a dread of the infliction it is weekly subjected to, and [the] injustice to which it has so long been subjected', it was really a plea for the restoration of that projection of the ideal described in such fulsome tones by LaTrobe.¹⁹³ The plea went to the heart of what the organ was about. As the eminent Danish organ

¹⁹⁰ Michael Sayer, *Samuel Renn English Organ Builder*, (London: Phillimore, 1974) p. 8.

¹⁹¹ Davies, p. 52.

¹⁹² John Antes LaTrobe, *The Music of the Church Considered in Its Various Branches*, (London, 1831) pp. 350-351.

¹⁹³ *NorMerc*, 6 March, 1841, p.3.

builder and architect, Poul-Gerhard Andersen said, speaking much later in the mid-twentieth century:

the organ cannot claim a very long period of evolution, but its length is enough to reveal the sensitivity with which the instrument reacts to the intellect of changing times and places. As a 'cultural barometer' there is scarcely a more delicate apparatus to be found; it registers many details.¹⁹⁴

Warne's ineffectiveness in improving the singing on account of his blindness and his virtual suspension from office due to the building work in the south aisle, left the field wide open to the young Henry Stonex, who as an energetic and capable musician might have been expected to provide the necessary impetus. Stonex's attitude towards the organ was typical of the time and viewed in this light, was entirely consistent. In his affidavit sworn during the Consistory Court hearing in 1869, he stated that while the organ had:

always been esteemed as a fine toned instrument... it is deficient in many particulars and especially in mechanical appliances so that great improvements are needed to meet modern requirements... As at present constructed it is impossible to play upon it the best Organ Music, and it is difficult, and in some cases impossible, to perform with proper effect the best modern compositions or the music now required for the ordinary services of the Church.

Left at that, it might be argued there was no case for moving the organ to the east if it was simply a question of repertoire, but the pressure exerted from a clerical perspective was unmistakable. Prior to 1869, Stonex and the choir were together in the organ loft in the south west corner of the building over thirty metres removed from the focus of the liturgy and with no line of sight; a situation which looks to have persisted

¹⁹⁴ Poul-Gerhard Andersen, Joanne Curnutt transl., *Organ Building and Design*, (London: Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1969) p. 322.

until within a year of the organ being taken down.¹⁹⁵ When, finally, the south aisle was closed off for repairs, the vicar commented in the Parish Magazine:

Christmas Eve [1868] ... service at the parish church was full choral, and showed to perfection the immense advantage which has been gained by the choir and organist being together in the centre of the church, though the instrument at present is only a harmonium.¹⁹⁶

Affidavits submitted during the Consistory Court hearings in 1869 only add to the sense that the organ had to be moved to conform with prevailing taste: Gore Ouseley was emphatic:

I am of opinion that the organ and choir in every church should be placed as centrally as possible, and that the choir should be among the people and in close proximity to the organ in order to lead the psalmody...¹⁹⁷

The Dean of Norwich, Dr Meyrick Goulburn stated:

The special object of putting an organ into a church is that it may accompany the choir and lead the congregation in their singing. It should therefore be always near the choir, and both choir and organ should be as centrally placed as possible... it is essential to the discipline and good conduct of a choir, that they should be placed as much as possible under the eye of the clergy.¹⁹⁸

It should be noted that neither appeared interested in the possibility an organ might have the capacity to lead the congregation itself in the singing without the intermediary of a choir. Since a choir was considered a necessity, the organ had to be tailored to suit and hence denied the opportunity to fulfil that role unaided; the core of E H L Preston's argument. During the consistory court hearing Henry Hansell, proctor for the party of E H L Preston, made the suggestion that a small organ be installed in the east of the church to accompany the choir while the Jordan instrument remained where it was. While this fell on deaf ears at the time, and indeed a small, single manual organ

¹⁹⁵ Stonex's affidavit of December 17, 1868 confirms the situation, see NRO DN/CON 140.

¹⁹⁶ NRO PD 28/381 *GYPM* 1869, January 1869 'Notes of the past months 24 December.'

¹⁹⁷ NRO DN/CON 140

¹⁹⁸ NRO DN/CON 140

by Mack was installed in the east in 1886 to accompany the daily office, it reveals on the one hand part of the inconsistency of the approach to the Yarmouth organ question, and on the other, a good grasp of the issues at stake. Some years later, Gore Ouseley modified his opinion, albeit grudgingly. In a paper given to the Royal Musical Association in 1886, he appeared to acknowledge the differing requirements of choral and congregational accompaniment in relation to the positioning of organs:

In a large church where there was no choir, but the whole congregation were in the habit of singing hymns at the top of their voices, what would be imperatively needed would be a large and powerful organ in a west end gallery, to dominate and lead the singers, and to drown their shouts if the cacophony became intolerable.¹⁹⁹

Four years later and the June 1890 edition of the *Yarmouth Parish Magazine* carried the following remarks:

Meanwhile, it is satisfactory to learn that the small organ serves very well as an instrument to accompany the choir. Its proximity to the choir gives them a most necessary support, while its moderate power gives the human voices a fairer share of the music of the church.²⁰⁰

It seems Preston and Hansell had achieved a partial victory.

Little really changed however. Stonex's preoccupation with developing a solid choral society tradition within the Borough indicates that despite the major reconstruction of the organ by Bishop in 1875, it was an event which for all its magnitude, seemingly failed to inspire him to work more with it. Surviving service music lists do not reveal anything of any great moment and it was not until the early 1880s that the organ was used as a regular recital instrument either by visiting organists or Stonex himself. Evidence of the service music performed by Stonex at St Nicholas's (see Appendix D) points to his own repertoire having been limited, drawn mainly, one

¹⁹⁹ Sir Frederick A. Gore Ouseley 'On the Position of Organs in Churches'. *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, vol. 12, 1885, p84. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/jrma/12.1.75>> [accessed 11/10/2017].

²⁰⁰ NRO PD 28/398 *GYPM*, 1890.

suspects, from collections such as Novello's and formed almost exclusively of transcriptions of popular movements from oratorios, mass settings and operas.²⁰¹ Later, in the series of recitals he gave beginning in 1883, pieces by Guilmant, Lefébure-Wély, Bach and Merkel were included.²⁰²

At any rate, organ music in church beyond that required by the services, for example in regular series of summer organ recitals, was a low priority. It could be argued that historical events had proved so unsettling and his memories of the organ so mixed that what he surmised about its future meant that despite the vast sums of money spent addressing the organ question he declined to capitalise on it and realise it as a living asset to the Borough. This attitude was to have further disastrous consequences in 1890 when it was discovered that the roofs of the north and south chancel aisles were decayed and in urgent need of replacement. This was where the organ stood. However, instead of dismantling it to allow work to be undertaken without risk, it was decided to encase it and leave it where it was. This lack of interest, such as it was, signified a slow yet perceptible loss of attachment to the organ and the esteem in which, historically, it had been held. It is true that various stops were added by way of an attempt to complete the scheme post-1875 yet the evidence again suggests this happened more in hope than expectation. A large part of the blame lay with Bishop & Son for having miscalculated the winding of the instrument such that part of the Pedal Organ never spoke properly as neither did various other registers, and for having imagined the blowing of such a large instrument could be undertaken by human power alone. Up to five men were needed to blow it under normal circumstances, one assumes for a Sunday service. That being the case, the logistics of arranging practice on a large instrument, and especially the matter

²⁰¹ Vincent Novello, *Select Organ Pieces from the Masses, Motetts, and other Sacred Works of ... Classical Composers of the German and Italian Schools, arranged ... by V. Novello*, (London: Jos. Alfred Novello, 1832).

²⁰² *YI*, 31 March 1883, p. 5; 21 April 1883, p. 5.

of blowing it, could have been a disincentive; something which should not be underestimated when considering how organs were used at the time and almost unimaginable today when electric blowing is almost universal.

Practising a full recital programme would have been a major undertaking: arranging the time to suit organist, registrant and the men to blow. Depending on the programme, practice time could be restricted in order to avoid fatigue and loss of concentration so that much of the organist's preparation could have had to be done on a small practice organ or at the piano; if access to the former were restricted too, then a thorough acquaintance with the parish church instrument and its potential would be difficult if not impossible. In addition, there would have been the need to pay the blowers. The vestry minute books' 'Summary of Accounts' for the period Easter 1886 to Easter 1887 records a figure of £39. 12s. 6d for organ blowing alone, amounting to the equivalent sum of £3974 in 2016.²⁰³ Admittedly, this sum of money would not have come from Stonex himself but, as a component of parish expenditure, it is considerable and while there is no direct evidence for downward pressure on that figure, the vicar's wish that a blowing engine might eventually be installed must have had this in mind.²⁰⁴

Ultimately, Stonex found the reward for his musical efforts came from his directing the Great Yarmouth Choral Society and one suspects that he had come to the same conclusion as Jebb, that the organ was ultimately there to accompany the liturgy and as such had no particular role to fulfil as a solo instrument except, as has been previously noted, 'to relieve the tedium of a service lasting anything up to three hours'.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ NRO PD 28/375 Vestry minutes (signed) 1855-1971.

²⁰⁴ NRO PD 28/232 insert in Minutes of Restoration Committee, 21st January, 1887.

²⁰⁵ Thistlethwaite, Christ Church Spitalfields, p. 16.

Part 2: The Eighteenth Century

The Corporation's decision in 1732 to provide organs for St Nicholas's church and St George's chapel, prompted by representations from parishioners, was a major expression of civic confidence and certainty of belief in a settled period to come in the town's history. This event also forms an interesting counterpoint to the character of the self-styled "Dr" Musgrave Heighington, who became the first organist of St Nicholas after the Restoration, encapsulating the pattern of musical activity in a major seaport on the East Coast during the mid-1700s.

For all the controversy surrounding some aspects of Musgrave Heighington's appointment - the claims made regarding his Doctorate, his lineage, his absenteeism and charges of nepotism, - to him must be given the credit of having instigated the development of the key musical resources in what were the two main focal points of religious activity in the town until the Second World War: St Nicholas's Parish Church and St George's Chapel. This culminated in the appointment, in 1895, of Dr Haydon Hare as organist to St Nicholas's church. Arguably Great Yarmouth's most distinguished musician, he was to hold the position until 1944.

The Corporation minutes or 'Assembly Books' reveal much of interest regarding the organs' procurement and Heighington's appointment. The minutes of the Assembly meeting of Friday 31 March 1732, record as follows:

Organs [-] The Churchwardens having reported to the Assembly that they have been applied to by several parishioners of this parish to move the Assembly for leave to erect an Organ in the Church and another in the Chapel The Assembly taking the motion into consideration do order and direct that Organs suitable for the Church and Chapel be provided on the best terms, and that in order to raise money for building a compleat organ for

the church the Chapel Committee and the following Gentlemen are desired to accompany the churchwardens to make a collection or take a subscription and that the charge of the organ for the chapel (in case one can be raised for the church) to be paid for out of the chapel revenue ...

On Friday 28 April 1732 The Organ Committee reported:

The Committee appointed for the Organs report that Mr Ferrier (foreman of the said committee) who is now at London hath recommended to the committee Mr Abraham Jordan one of the most eminent organ builders in the kingdom to make the organs for both church and chapel; that hereupon the committee wrote to Mr Jordan to come to town to treat with them thereabouts who is come, and hath brought with him compositions for both the said organs done by himself and Mr Phillip Hart an organist in London (who is likewise one of the most eminent in his profession): but whereas none of the committee are masters of musick enough to judge of the compositions, they also desired Mr Humphry Cotton, the organist at the cathedral in Norwich (to whose judgement in musick most masters pay a deference) that he would also come to town to be consulted thereabouts - that according to the request of the committee Mr Cotton has been in town and hath examined the compositions corrected some parts thereof and hath declared to the committee that as the foundations are now laid, they will be large and strong enough for the respective places they are intended, and that as the compositions are now designed, they will be very compleat and most harmonious and not inferior to any organ yet in the kingdom.

By 3 May 1732 sufficient funds had been accumulated to enable articles of agreement between Abraham Jordan and the Great Yarmouth Assembly to be drawn up and signed (sealed) to build two organs for the parish:

That your committee has treated with Mr Jordan whose lowest price for the church organ according to the draft thereof is £900 and for the chapel organ £500: he to compleatly finish and erect the same according to the designs and models annexed and to find packing cases of all sorts for bringing the same to Yarmouth... That the committee has made some progress in a subscription and collection towards the charge of the church organ which already amounts to upwards of £370 and by the encouragement they have already met with your committee are of opinion that the collection and subscription will far exceed what might be expected The Assembly doth approve of this report and doth desire the committee not to advance more than £1400 for both the said organs and they are desired to get them done under that sum if they can; and the committee of the hutch are desired to seal with St Nicholas's seal articles of agreement between the Corporation and the said Mr Jordan for making and compleatly finishing both the said organs according to the drafts or designs and models and or the erecting and setting up the

same.^{206 207}

The description of the preliminaries is interesting because of the detail it records. Phillip Hart probably drew up the stoplist. He was organist of St Dionis, Backchurch from 1724 to 1749 and had a close association with John Harris and John Byfield, the latter having witnessed his will in 1747. Hart had a hand in specifying the Backchurch organ since his name appears in the contract for that instrument with Renatus Harris, as stipulating the keytouch to be, 'easy and free, and to be entirely to the satisfaction and good liking of Mr Philip Hart.'²⁰⁸

John Byfield was responsible, together with Abraham Jordan and Richard Bridge, for the building of the two organs at Great Yarmouth. Although eighteenth century English organ stoplists tend to be very repetitive, the organ for St Nicholas was of a similar size to the Backchurch instrument with three manuals, 26 and 28 stops respectively, and the third manual enclosed as a Swell organ. Both instruments included a novelty register, the French Horn (listed in the Backchurch organ as a 'Half French Horn'.)

The involvement of Humphry Cotton as consultant suggests he had a considerable knowledge of organ design of the time, though there is evidence that his presumed expertise did not always manifest itself appropriately. Cotton was elected organist at St Peter Mancroft church, Norwich on 11 November 1717 succeeding an organist called William Pleasants. He was to receive of the churchwardens the usual

²⁰⁶ NRO Y/C 19/11, Gt Yarmouth Assembly Book 1718 - 1737 pp. 200-201.

²⁰⁷ NRO Y/C 20/1, Hutch Book, fol. 118: Thursday 3 May 1732 the committee met present - Mr Foreman, Mr Chamberlain, Mr Churchwarden Miller, town clerks - Mr Shippee & Mr Cutting; and pursuant to an Order of Assembly sealed by articles of agreement between Mr Jordan and the Corporation for building two organs for ye Parish.

²⁰⁸ LMA P69/DIO/B/066/MS11276A: Articles of agreement between Renatus Harris of Bristol, organ builder, and the rector, churchwardens and other parishioners of St Dionis Backchurch, for building and erecting an organ in the parish church (with counterpart); also miscellaneous vouchers and correspondence.

<https://search.lma.gov.uk/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/LMA_OPAC/web_detail/REFD+P69~2FDIO~2FB~2F066~2FMS11276A?SESSIONSEARCH> [accessed 17/10/2017].

salary of £20 per annum.²⁰⁹ His period of tenure lasted just over three years, the relative shortness of the time probably on account of the state of the organ, which was cause for persistent complaints from the parishioners.²¹⁰ From 1721 to 1749, he was organist of Norwich Cathedral and between 1726 and 1748 received an annual payment of £5 'for keeping the organ' meaning tuning and care.²¹¹ He died in 1749.

In 1721 the organ in St Peter Mancroft was in danger of becoming useless, 'unless some speedy care be taken about it - and a rate may be made to defray charge of repaying same' and had apparently been in decline since 1714 (it was built new by Renatus Harris in 1707).²¹² On his appointment to Norwich Cathedral, Cotton, as was common practice, took over the tuning of the organ from Christian Smith, though not until 1726. However, in 1741, the Cathedral decided to whitewash the interior walls of the building and had two large sail cloths placed over the organ to protect it. In September 1742, John Byfield submitted a bill of £10 for repairs to the organ which suggests it had been severely damaged by the decorating work and had probably suffered from neglect and inexpert attention when being tuned. Byfield made no secret of his displeasure at the work entailed noting:

It was taken all to pieces (being clog'd with dust) several stops entirely useless, were repair'd. A great many pipes in both fronts damag'd especially the east, all made good. Most of the conveyances to the front pipes bruiz'd & damag'd. all repair'd. Several pipes broke in the inside, mended. On the whole about 3 times the work was done as at other times, one with an assistant as usual, cou'd have done the business in the common way in a week's time, whereas on this occasion three have been employ'd for 3 weeks - one on purpose from London. For which a demand is made of £10 [signed John Byfield Organ Builder].

In a footnote he says, ' More money sav'd in the common way at £5 than £10

²⁰⁹ NRO PD 26/73, fol. 128.

²¹⁰ Extract from NRO PD26/140: Vivien J. Palmer (*St Peter Mancroft, Norwich 1650 – 1800*), (Norwich, 1955) ch. 2 p. 10 et seq.

²¹¹ Ian Atherton, Eric Fernie, Christopher Harper-Bill and Hassell Smith, *Norwich Cathedral: Church, City and Diocese, 1096–1996*. (London: Hambledon Press, 1996) p. 697.

²¹² Vivien J. Palmer, *St Peter Mancroft*, ch. 2, p. 10.

extraordinary for this job'.²¹³

The Yarmouth organ committee was to consist of Samuel Artis Esq; George Ward Esq; Robert Ward Esq; Mr Cooke, Mr William Browne, Mr Thomas Horsley, Mr John Parson, Mr William Fariner, Mr Samuel Spanton, Mr James Dawson, Mr Thomas Mantarke, Mr William Cullyer, and Mr Barry Love, or any other nine gentlemen. They were charged with considering, 'waise & meanes for erecting the said organs at church and to treat contract and agree with any person or persons for building and finishing the same'. On 23 February 1733, the London *Daily Journal* carried an announcement that:

The following organs are contracted for by Mr Abraham Jordan, Organ-builder of Budge Row, London; two for Yarmouth, one for the Great Church, the other for the Chapel, two for Scotland, one for St Andrew's Banff the other for Montrose; and one for the Parish Church at Fulham, near London.^{214 215 216}

The organs were virtually ready for erection in Great Yarmouth as Dr Arthur Mann in his volume 'Great Yarmouth Musical Events' records. The *Norwich Gazette*, 8 December 1733, announced that:

On Thursday the 20th instant, the fine Organ at the Great Church in Yarmouth, made by Messrs Jordan and Harris and approved of by most Judges of Musick in London as a Masterpiece, will be opened with great solemnity, there being a sermon on the occasion, likewise Mr Purcell's grand Te Deum and Jubilate, will be performed by several voices and instruments. In the Evening will be an assembly, introduced by a Concert of Musick. The

²¹³ NRO DCN 12/76.

²¹⁴ The organ was destroyed by fire in 1746. Source: National Pipe Organ Register: Banff, St. Andrew, R00222.

²¹⁵ This could be the organ for St Peter's Qualified Episcopal Chapel, Angus which is listed on the NPOR as having been built by James Bristow in 1734 and is discussed in an article by David Welch. Welch evidences the erection of the organ in 1734 but not the builder only speculating about Bristow. The chapel minutes for 29th May, 1733, state the organ was to be brought from London and that three months was to be allowed for alterations to be made to the chapel to receive it. Given the date of the minutes and the preparation time, this places the date of the organ's installation at around September 1733 which is some four months before the opening of the Yarmouth instruments. Given the announcement in the Daily Record and the time line suggested by the Chapel minutes, the probability the organ was built by Jordan is very high. BIOSR vol. 32, no. 1, January 2008, p. 31.

²¹⁶ All Saints, Fulham is recorded as having had an organ built by Jordan in 1732 (see NPOR Middlesex Fulham, All Saints, Church Gate N17192). In the light of the Daily Journal announcement this must be in error and the organ actually installed in 1733/34.

Church will be open at 10 in the morning.^{217 218}

Further, 'On Dec. 20. 1733. Mr Humphrey Cotton opened the organ at Great Yarmouth, having previously been called in, in consultation, as to its size and construction'.²¹⁹ For this, Cotton received a fee of two pounds.²²⁰

At the Assembly meeting of 7 February 1733 the matter of 'Organs to be paid for' appeared on the agenda:

Upon the motion made by Richard Ferrier Esq. setting forth that Mr Jordan having acquainted him with that the church and chapel organs will be compleatly finished by the 14th instant and that by the agreement made by the Corporation with the said Mr Jordan, the sum of £1000, the remainder of the money contracted for as the price of both the said organs, will be then due. This Assembly doth order the chapel committee to pay so much money as (with what money they have already advanced will make up £500 the price of the chapel organ; and that the committee of the Waterbailiff's Office advance out of the money in that office and in Mr Burton's hands what will be necessary to supply the deficiencies of the subscriptions for the church organ, and if such money will be not sufficient then the committee of the organs are hereby empowered to borrow in the name of the Corporation so much money at 4% as shall be necessary for that purpose and for paying for the organ loft and decorations thereof at church and the committee of the Hutch are hereby desired to seal any security or securities for the same. And this Assembly doth further order the chapel committee to pay all the charges of making the platform and decorations for the chapel organ loft out of that revenue.²²¹

This minute indicates that the Corporation regarded the instrument in the parish church as by far the more important of the two and that contrary to initial expectations of the subscription levels, there was a shortfall which was to be made up by taking money from the water bailiff's account and by borrowing the remainder at a small rate

²¹⁷ NRO Mann Ms 442 'Great Yarmouth Musical Events' fol. 28-29.

²¹⁸ There seems to be some difference in the reporting of who actually formed the consortium to build the organ. The 'Daily Post' of 6 and 8 March 1733 carried a notice to the effect that Jordan, Harris and Harris's son-in-law, John Byfield were involved.

²¹⁹ NRO Mann Ms 431, 'Norwich Cathedral Musicians' vol.2, fol. 66, from *Norwich Gazette*, 20 December 1733.

²²⁰ *MT*, 1 August, 1907 p. 514; Ernest Adcock, 'The Organs in St Nicholas's Parish Church and St George's Chapel-of-Ease. *The Organ*, vol. 14, no. 56, April 1935, p.195.

²²¹ NRO Y/C 19/11 Gt Yarmouth Assembly Book 1718 - 1737 pp. 221-222

of interest. As far as the cost of the organ in St George's Chapel was concerned, this was to be met from chapel revenues. To what extent the purchase of the two instruments impinged on the Corporation finances overall is a matter for further research.

Nevertheless, by 1745, the Corporation had accrued an unsustainable level of debt.

Three articles which appeared in the *Yarmouth Mercury* during June and July 1902 coinciding with J. J. Binns's substantial reconstruction of the organ in St Nicholas's give further details. On 15th February 1733/4, Abraham Jordan signed an acquittance which stated that he had:

well and workmanly built the two organs, the largest in the Parish Church and the smallest in St George's Chapel, and had voiced and tuned them to the general satisfaction and good liking of the Mayor, Aldermen, Burgesses and Commonalty of the town.

The article further noted that the contract came in at just under £1400.²²²

Several months before, Dr Musgrave Heighington had arrived in Norfolk from London.

The *Norwich Gazette* carried a series of advertisements from June to July of 1733 which suggest he was losing no time in making himself known to the locality:

On Wednesday the 27th June, at Mr Christian's Great Room in Norwich, will be performed a CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental MUSICK, by four voices from London: the Vocal consists of of some fine Italian Songs and and Duetto's [sic], some parts of Mr Dryden's celebrated Ode on St Cecilia's Day called Alexander's Feast, lately composed by Dr Heighington, (some time of Queen's College, Oxon) and performed by Subscription at the Oratory in York-Buildings; and for the curious, Integer Vitae, an Ode of Horace, by the same composer. NB some parts will be sung by a surprising boy 7 years old. Tickets to be had at Woolfe's and Brathwaites Coffee-Houses in the Market Place, at half a crown each. Beginning at 7 a clock.²²³

A repeat performance was advertised in the same newspaper to be given on 11th July.²²⁴

Further concerts followed on 11 July and 31 July, the latter was tantalisingly billed as

²²² *YM*, 14 June 1902, F. Johnson 'The History of the Parish Church Organ'

²²³ *NorGaz* no. 1393, 9-16 June 1733 p. 2.

²²⁴ *NorGaz* no. 1395, 23-30 June 1733.

follows:

On Tuesday the 31st of July, a Grand Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Musick will be performed at Norwich: The Vocal Part by Several Voices; and the instrumental in all probability will be the finest which has been here, several Gentlemen having consented (for their pleasure) to honour the performance with their assistance. The particulars of the Entertainment will be expressed in the next advertisement, and by Bills. Beginning exactly at Six a clock.^{225 226}

A similarly worded advertisement appeared the following week but also gave details of the programme, 'At Mr Christian's Great Room in Norwich ... the Instrumental consisting of an overture and Concerto's of Corelli, Vivaldi, and Geminiani, the performance of which several Gentlemen will honour with their assistance...'

Heighington's penchant for publicity and novelty together with an undoubted talent for ingratiating must have borne fruit because following a concert in Great Yarmouth given on 4 August at the Town Hall, the *Norwich Gazette*, 1 September 1733 reported: I hear from Yarmouth, that on the 29th [August] past, at a Grand Assembly held there, Dr Heighington was unanimously chosen Organist of both the churches in that Town, with a salary suitable to so great a Master.

At a Corporation Assembly held on 27 September 1733, the organ committee requested that:

the churchwardens wait on Dr Macro to desire him to preach a sermon at the opening of the church organ and that he be likewise desired to give notice that daily prayers be suspended at the chapel from Monday next until the organ is finished.²²⁷

Dr Macro's sermon was subsequently published and in it he warned of the

²²⁵ *NorGaz* no. 1396, 30 June - 7 July 1733.

²²⁶ *NorGaz* nos. 1398 and 1399, July 21 and 28 1733.

²²⁷ NRO Y/C19/11, Assembly Book 1718-1737 no. 11, fol.220/221.

dangers of too liberal a view of the instrument's musical capabilities. From Dr Macro's sermon 1733:

Since the organ for its excellency and comprehensiveness hath been adopted into the service of Christian worship, let the hand that plays it know its bounds and make it minister to the end of true devotion, to the delight and edification of the people, that we may by its means be pleased ourselves and be well pleasing to God, by being more attentive, vigorous, and devout in recording His mercies, and glorifying his name.

Let not the harmony of its sounds be frisking, airy, or ludicrous, which tends to dissipate the thoughts and break the attention of the mind; but let it be always accommodated to the pure and heavenly matter and to the sublime and majestick style of those Divine psalms and hymns that are appointed to be sung to it...²²⁸

What is also interesting about the organ committee's request is that they were mindful of the need for the organ builders to work uninterrupted on the erection and finishing of the organ. In other words, the organ builders were to be left alone to work especially when it came to tonal adjustments and tuning. A modern-day equivalent may be found in the Institute of British Organ Building's standard contract from 2006 which states:

During the period of voicing and tonal finishing the Purchaser will ensure freedom from distraction or interruption, a reasonably constant ambient temperature and adequate quietness for tonal work to proceed undisturbed by extraneous noise within the control of the Purchaser.

On 2 November 1733, the Organ Committee reported to the Corporation

Assembly as follows:

...Doctor Heighington... had applied to the committee desiring they would proceed to settle the duty he is to perform in that office and to propose the stipend he is to have for the same. The committee ... are of opinion that the Doctor by reason of his great skill be allowed eighty pounds a year he providing an assistant to be approved of from time to time by the said committee and to keep up both organs in tuneable repair and to instruct the hospital children and the charity children in singing to

²²⁸ Thomas Macro, *The melody of the heart. A sermon Preach'd at the Opening of an Organ in St. Nicholas's Church, in Great Yarmouth, December the 20th 1733...* (London, 1734).

the organs the psalm tunes now in use and such new ones as shall be thought proper - - And that the salary shall commence from Michaelmas next - And he the foreman of the said committee further reports that they met again the 14th September last and came to those further resolutions about the duty of the organist (to wit) - That the Doctor and his assistant shall alternately play every Sunday forenoon and afternoon at church and chapel and also on every holyday in the forenoon at each place and every Wednesday in the forenoon at church The Psalms and voluntaries to be played in the same parts of divine service as in the parish churches in London where they have organs (unless when any alterations are directed) And that at church every Sunday, scarlet days and sessions a voluntary be played before divine service when the mayor and the Corporation are going into their seats...²²⁹

What is evident from this passage is the element of initial

unpreparedness on the part of the committee as to what their organist should do. That it took two meetings to decide his salary and a comprehensive list of duties points to the novelty of having organs and organists in the Borough. It also highlights how significant and, arguably, how absolute had been the break with any previous traditions, for example, from before the Commonwealth, whatever they may have been. That precedents established in London had had to be referred to, as opposed to King's Lynn for example, which had had an organ and organist since 1677 or St Peter Mancroft where an organ had been used since 1707, is indicative both of the newness of the undertaking and also a wish to follow perceived best 'metropolitan' practice. One of the first duties Heighington undertook was to countersign the acquittance between the Corporation and Abraham Jordan of 15 February 1734.²³⁰ Heighington took up residence in a house once occupied by the Reverend John Welham of Caius College, Cambridge, one of the first two clergymen appointed to St George's Chapel, Great Yarmouth. The house stood on the south side near to the King Street end of Row Sixty Nine. Swinden's map of Great Yarmouth from 1772 clearly shows this Row as a very

²²⁹ NRO Y/C19/11 Assembly Book 1718-1737 no. 11, fol. 219-220.

²³⁰ NRO Mann Ms442 'Great Yarmouth Musical Events' fol. 30.

narrow lane running west to east with two small courtyards opening off it.²³¹

Dr Musgrave Heighington

His father was Ambrose Heighington of Durham and White Hurworth, a man of some distinction who had been educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. Ambrose Heighington's wife was Catherine Musgrave, daughter of Dr Thomas Musgrave, Dean of Carlisle. They had four children, William Heighington, baptized at St. Margaret's, Durham, 12 March 1677/8, of Queen's College, Oxford, who matriculated on 16 June, 1694, aged 16; Musgrave, who was baptized at St. Mary in the South Bailey, Durham on 2 March, 1679/80; Catherine, baptized at Pittington, 16 August 1681; and Mary, who was baptized at the Cathedral, 20 June, 1683 but died in 1684.²³²

As far as can be ascertained, Musgrave Heighington's doctorate was entirely spurious. Enquiries with Queen's College, Oxford however, revealed that Musgrave's elder brother William, a gentleman, did enter the College on 26 May 1693 as an Upper Commoner²³³. This meant that he presented the College with a piece of silver and was allowed to dine with the fellows in Hall indicating he was from a wealthy family. From information supplied by Michael O'Riordan, Archivist at Queen's College, the

²³¹ Edmund Saul Dixon 'The Norfolk Gridiron' in *Household Words conducted by Charles Dickens*, 160 (April 16th 1853), 163-165; ...A row is a long narrow lane or alley, quite straight, or as nearly so as may be, with houses on each side, both of which you can sometimes touch at once with the fingertips of each hand, by stretching out your arms to their full extent. Now and then houses overhang, and even join above your head... In some rows there is little more than a blank wall for the double boundary. In others, the houses retreat into tiny courts, where washing and clear starching are done, and wonderful nasturtiums and scarlet-runners are reared from green boxes... Most of the rows are paved with pebbles from the beach... A few rows are well paved throughout with flag-stone... Hence they are the chosen locality of numerous little shopkeepers... Some few of the most distinguished and fashionable rows have names to them, but [most] are known simply by their numbers - and that only since 1804...

²³² *Publications of the Surtees Society*, vol. 124, (1914), p. 105.

²³³ NRO MS33221 Letters Dr A H Mann/Musgrave Heighington. Dr Musgrave's brother William became a captain in the Life Guards [letter to Dr Mann 4 April 1906 from Queen's College: correspondent's signature illegible], letter states that William entered as an upper commoner 26 May 1694, and matriculated 16 June, the same year aged 16.

assumption is that Musgrave came to Queen's with William as what is known as a 'poor scholar' though this group leaves no record behind them. Essentially, he would have studied with William, paying his way by working as his servant as he did so. It is most likely that Musgrave received much of what teaching was to be had for a BA on the back of his brother although William did not graduate.²³⁴ However, any formal education in music was quite another matter. Susan Wollenberg sheds an interesting light on the study of music at Oxford around this time. She writes:

Supplicants for degrees in music did not follow taught courses in residence at the university but simply matriculated shortly beforehand under the aegis of an Oxford college in order to take the degree. Because music was not taught and examined regularly in the manner of other arts subjects, the work presented by candidates varied greatly in size, scope and quality.....[it was merely necessary to have spent a period in the study or practice of music and to submit an exercise] In effect, recipients of music degrees need not have had a university education."²³⁵ The matter of quite what constituted a musical education is also discussed by Roger Fiske who notes that, as Roger North put it, 'more teach themselves, than are taught', and he was well aware that it was 'an unhappyness in England that there are not musick scools for yong people to be taught, as well as reading and writing scools'..... student-composers got no help from the wealthy. The lucky ones had been choristers in the Chapel Royal like Purcell and Croft, and picked up a few wrinkles in cathedrals and universities. But our playhouses were the nearest equivalent to a continental patron. For most of the century each of them employed a house composer to supply additional interval music, songs for plays, dances, and occasionally operas. Some like Samuel Arnold learnt as they went along, profiting from the manuscript full scores they could study in the theatre library, from regular discussions with orchestral players, and from being able to hear what they wrote as soon as the parts could be copied. Orchestral players themselves sometimes learnt to compose in this atmosphere... The word 'learn' needs qualifying, however, for none of these composers acquired the professionalism of the younger Linley or Storace with their continental experience. Nevertheless they got by. Outside London it was much harder to learn how to orchestrate. Orchestral music was normally published only in parts, and if you wanted to see how they fitted together you had to write out a score of your own.²³⁶

²³⁴ Electronic correspondence with Michael Riordan, College Archivist, 30 September 2011.

²³⁵ Susan Wollenberg, 'Music in 18th-Century Oxford', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 108, (1981) pp. 70-71.

²³⁶ John Wilson ed. 'Roger North on Music' (1959) in *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain, Vol. 4: The Eighteenth Century*. ed. by H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990[1991]), p. 4.

This suggests very strongly that Musgrave Heighington was largely self taught, at least in music, and that the period spent at Oxford would have probably enabled him to pick up the 'wrinkles' necessary to pass for a musician and composer. As we shall see, his background would have given him something of the manners and habits associated with a member of the gentry. As to his being the grandson of Sir Edward Musgrave, baronet, of Hayton Castle, Cumberland, a connection printed quite blatantly on the title page of his *Six Select Odes of Anacreon in Greek and Six of Horace in Latin...* research shows conclusively that this was not the case.²³⁷ He was the grandson of Dr Thomas Musgrave, Dean of Carlisle. The deceit appears to have been compounded by the origins of Dr Thomas Musgrave as recorded in Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714*.²³⁸ He was the fifth or sixth son of Sir Philip Musgrave of Hartley Castle near Kirkby Stephen in Cumbria and became Dean of Carlisle in 1684, a post he held until his death in 1686.²³⁹ Sir Edward died in 1673, six years before Musgrave Heighington was born. Heighington's first appointment as organist is most likely to have been at Holy Trinity, Hull. The records of Holy Trinity were visited by Dr Mann and he notes the appointment on 16th September, 1717 at a salary of £30 per annum. Mann also notes that 'from a payment of £25 made by the Churchwardens on May 15th 1718, 'To the organist for his sallary', it appears probable that Heighington commenced organist duties as early as July 1717, and this £25 he then received was his salary at the rate of £2.10s per month [ie. £30 per annum] for 10 months. His commencing as early as July 1717 may have been a voluntary act on Heighington's part, to enable him to show his

²³⁷ Heighington, Musgrave. *Six Select Odes of Anacreon in Greek and Six of Horace in Latin, Etc.* (London: John Simpson, for the Author, 1744). British Library: Music Collections DRT Digital Store E.520.

²³⁸ Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714* 4 vols. (London: Parker & Co. 1891), 3,1047

²³⁹ *A General Nomenclator and Obituary, with Reference to the Books Where the Persons are Mentioned, and Where Some Account of Their Character is to be Found* compiled by Sir William Musgrave, 6th Bart., of Hayton Castle, Co. Cumberland gives him as the fifth.

ability, in hopes of gaining the official position, which he eventually did on 16 September'.²⁴⁰ Heighington's period of tenure was a short one because the parish records of 7 November, 1720 show that Heighington had vacated his seat to be succeeded by William Avison and another called Barlow.²⁴¹

Around 1726, Heighington started to use the title 'Doctor'. An advertisement in *Faulkners Journal* of 1 February 1726 appeared as follows:

Just published:- The Songs, Dancing and Airs in the New Musick of the Entertainment call'd "The Inchanter or Harlequin Merlin, consisting of 20 Folio plates - the vocal part composed by Dr Heighington, and by him carefully corrected. Printed and sold by Mr Neal in Christchurch Yard etc.

This work was advertised extensively in various Dublin newspapers: the *Dublin Journal*, *Faulkners Journal*, *Faulkners Dublin Post Boy* and *Dublin Gazette* during 1726.²⁴²

It was about this time too that Heighington was seemingly implicated in a scandal since he was forced to issue a denial of bigamy in which, curiously, he is addressed by his detractor as plain Mister Heighington. From *Dicksons Dublin Intelligence and Weekly Gazette*, Saturday, 17 September 1726:

Advertisement. Dr Heighington thinks himself oblig'd, in Justice, not only to his own, but to all the honourable families where he is concern'd, to confute a Report, which has been industriously spread, viz. : - That the said Mr. Heighington has a wife living in England, or that he is not married to Mrs Mary Connor, his present wife. Therefore this is to certifie to the World, that the said Report is false, scandalous and malicious; his first wife's death, being most certain, and prov'd as likewise his lawful and just marriage to the said Mrs Mary Connor. Musgrave Heighington.

The above was repeated in the next edition of the *Dublin Intelligence, or Weekly*

²⁴⁰ NRO Mann MS451 fol. 4/5

²⁴¹ Mann 451, fol. 8/9

²⁴² Mann 451 fol.10

Gazette on Tuesday, 20 September 1726.²⁴³ Heighington appears to have quit Dublin some time in 1727. Letters written to Mann from Dr Grattan Flood state that Heighington performed in St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin on 22 November 1726.²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵
²⁴⁶ On this occasion, the music included his "Ode to St Cecilia" and probably his setting of Dryden's "Alexander's Feast".²⁴⁷

Whether it was necessary for Heighington to have assumed the persona he did is hard to decide. He was an intelligent, dynamic individual, who, whatever the formality of his education, had acquired enough knowledge and application to enable him to consort with others of learning and ability on an equal footing. As to the matter of the bogus doctorate, from what we know of him, there was sufficient in his character for it not to enter the heads of most people to question it. He also seems to have been acquainted with musicians of standing, and the gentry and aristocracy. This is suggested by the subscription list to the 'Six Odes...' which includes the names of Handel, Maurice Greene, Pepusch, Charles Avison, alongside those of the Duke of Chandos, Sir Edmund Bacon of Gillingham near Beccles, the Earl of Huntingdon and Lord Walpole.

Heighington's appointment to Great Yarmouth marked the start of a period of

²⁴³ Mann 451 fol.12

²⁴⁴ Mann 451 fol.16

²⁴⁵ NRO MS 33221, 725x7. Dr Flood wrote to Mann in a letter dated 3 November 1922 'In a recent acquisition of broadsides printed by R. Dickson of Dublin there is the word-book...'

²⁴⁶ William Grattan Flood 1859-1928 was born in Lismore, County Waterford and educated at Mount Melleray and the Catholic University, graduating in music. He was organist at Thurles Cathedral, at Belfast Pro-Cathedral in 1879, and at Enniscorthy Cathedral in 1895. He was Professor of Music at Clongowes, at Cotton College, Staffordshire, and at St Kieran's College, Kilkenny and was created a Knight of St Gregory. In 1922, Pope Benedict XV gave him the title of Chevalier. He wrote prolifically and among his works are *Stories of the Harp*; *Bagpipes*; *History of Enniscorthy and Ferns* and a *History of Irish Music* which is a university textbook. He also edited *Moore's Irish Melodies and Selected Airs of O'Carolan*. Adapted from *The Dictionary of Ulster Biography* <<http://www.newulsterbiography.co.uk/index.php/home/viewPerson/504>> [accessed 30/5/2017]

²⁴⁷ Cudworth, Charles. "Heighington, Musgrave." *Grove Music Online*. January 01, 2001. Oxford University Press,. Date of access 10 Oct. 2018, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000012678>> . It appears both these works are lost.

considerable industriousness. It was also the start of a change in the musical fortunes of the town and heralded the rise of a new cultural consciousness which will be discussed later in this chapter. Soon after his arrival, advertisements began to appear in local newspapers which not only shed light on his musical activity but also on the programme material and on the social conduct of such events:

Norwich Mercury Saturday 12 October 1734. Yarmouth 11 October 1734. On Wednesday the 30th Instant, being his Majesty's Birthday, will be an ASSEMBLY, and a CONCERT of MUSICK wherein several Gentlemen will perform: There will be a New ODE on the Occasion written and set to Musick for several voices and instruments by Dr HEIGHINGTON, Organist of Yarmouth. None to be admitted without tickets, which are to be had at Dr HEIGHINGTON'S House, at 2s. 6d.

Norwich Gazette, 26 July 1735. On Thursday the 31st Instant, at the Assembly Room in Chapelfield House in Norwich, will be a concert of vocal and instrumental musick; the vocal will consist of the favourite songs and Duetto's in the oratorios of Athaliah and Deborah and some songs of Farinelli in the operas of Polypheme and Ariadne wherein little Master Heighington sings a part; the Duettos being sung by Mr and Mrs Heighington, assisted by several good hands. NB the Musick begins about five and will be over before seven. Tickets &c.

[Mann notes: this is the first time I have met with these oratorios by Handel being performed to a Norwich audience - both Deborah and Athaliah having been produced by Handel in 1733. Both the operas may have been written by Porpora - Handel however did produce an opera o.f Aridae (Ariadne?)]²⁴⁸

Not content with the prospects afforded by the immediate locality, Heighington began looking further afield:

The Gentlemens' Society of Peterborough. 30 June 1736:

This evening one Dr Heighington having a publick consort in ye school, he himself playing upon ye Harpsichord very finely, his wife and son singing very agreeably several opera songs and others, being assisted also by ye instruments of 3 or 4 Gentlemen of ye Town: made his performance very entertaining to a great number of ladies and gentlemen. He and his wife sang a duet of his own composition, Donec gratus eram (Hor. L III, ode 9) which was well approved by ye best judges [p23 6 odes of Anacreon] publ. after 1744. The doors betwixt ye school and society room were thrown open so that we had ye pleasure of ye musical voices, we treated the ladies with red

²⁴⁸ Both operas were written by Handel in the 1730's for London.

and white wine and gave Master Heighington ten shillings for his performance. When ye consort was over the Dr. came into ye society room and stay'd with us about an hour, and entertained us with several whimsical songs of his own composing, himself singing the part and playing another upon ye fiddle at ye same time, which is very difficult to do. He is organist at Yarmouth and has followed this method of travailing in ye summer time for above 20 years.²⁴⁹

In the *Norwich Gazette* 23 October 1736, Heighington announced the commencement of a music club evidently, according to Mann, in response to one just previously started in Norwich:

Yarmouth October 20th 1736 His Majestys Birthday being on Saturday next the 30th instant. The Assembly will be kept at the Town Hall here on Monday the 1st day of November; which will be introduced with a full concert of vocal and instrumental musick; and a song for the Day. The room for cards, coffee, tea etc. will be open.

Tickets half a crown each, are to be had at Dr Heighington's House; where a musick clubb of gentlemen was opened last week, will be held every Wednesday during the season, and where all gentlemen will be acceptable.

A similar advertisement was repeated in the *Norwich Mercury* 16-23 October 1736.

In the *Norwich Gazette* of 19 February 1737, there is a reference to the members of the music club being drafted in to assist with a concert and to the exclusivity attaching to such events:

Yarmouth. At the Town Hall on Tuesday March the 1st being his Majesty's Birthday will be an assembly, introduced with a fine concert of vocal and instrumental musick, consisting of a great number of performers, being assisted by several gentlemen of the musical clubb [&c.] Beginning at six o'clock. Tickets to be had at Dr Heighington's house, half a crown each. NB No Gentlemen's servants to be admitted into the Hall, the gallery being appointed to them.

The Town Hall was then the principal venue in Great Yarmouth for grand occasions. It was described by C J Palmer in his *Perlustrations* and by John Preston, Comptroller of His Majesty's Customs in the following:

Palmer: The Town Hall

Situated on a site on the Quay at Furlong's End. Completed in 1713 and long referred to as the New Hall. Designed to afford better accommodation for dinners, balls, and other entertainments* [*footnote adds "The hospitality exercised by the Corporation for centuries was of

²⁴⁹ Mann MS451, *Fenland Notes and Queries*, vol. 14, fols. 31-32.

a profuse character. Not only were royal, noble, and eminent persons sumptuously entertained, but the corporation were in the constant practice of making presents to their lord high steward, the bishop, the recorder, the members, and others filling public positions in connection with the town; and no services ever went unrewarded in this respect.]

The principal "feast" given here was that on Michaelmas day by the newly-inaugurated mayor; to which he usually invited upwards of two hundred guests. It was generally attended by the high steward, the recorder, the members for the county and the Borough, some of the neighbouring nobility and gentry, the principal inhabitants, and such military and naval officers as happened to be in the town. [cont]. The feasts... finally ceased in 1834.

For many years after the erection of the New Hall, it was customary to hold evening assemblies there during the winter season, which were attended by most of the families in the town and immediate neighbourhood; the young people dancing and the others amusing themselves with conversation and cards; tea and coffee being the only refreshments provided.

and Preston:

The Town Hall is situated towards the north part of the shipping Quay, is a grand and handsome edifice, with a portico of the Doric order ... cost £880. Description of the Great Room: The grand entrance to which is at the west front, through the garden, by a flight of stone steps under the portico. Its dimensions are length 61' 6" breadth 27' height. about 17'... At the north end of the room, over the chimney-piece, is a full-length portrait of George I, in his coronation robes. This painting was presented to the Corporation the third of April, 1728, by a Mr Worsdale, who, it appears was then painter to the Board of Ordnance. On the east side, in a recess, stands a handsome model of Nelson's pillar; [Nelson's column on S. Denes]... Over the doors of the south entrance is a railed gallery, extending in length across the room, and though not always used for that purpose now, was originally appropriated for an orchestra... The richly-embossed ceiling of this room is certainly worth notice, and from it are suspended three very superb cut-glass chandeliers, which, when lighted up, display a splendid and brilliant appearance. At the south-east corner hereof you ascend by a flight of steps to The Card Room; The dimensions of which are length 25 ' north - south, width. east - west 19'.

In July 1736, Heighington applied for membership of the Gentlemen's Society of Spalding. This society, still in existence today:

was instituted for Supporting mutual Benevolence, raising and preserving, & rendring of general Use a Publick Lending Library pursuant to the Statute of the 7th of Queen Ann Chapt. 14 And the Improvement of the Members in All Arts and Sciences, Upon Proposals tried from & approved of and subscribed to, 3d November 1712.

These words were written by Maurice Johnson, the Society's founder and secretary. Johnson's acquaintance with the social and intellectual life of the Metropolis during a time when, as Dr Samuel Johnson put it, Englishmen were becoming 'clubbable', left him with a desire to create a similar environment in his home town in the form of a learned society which would reflect the sociability and intelligent

discourse he had known in London in his early years.²⁵⁰ What was to distinguish the Spalding Gentlemen's Society from others was the meticulousness of its minute-keeping and the volume of correspondence generated. Honorary members of the society included John Gay, Alexander Pope, Sir Hans Sloane and Sir Isaac Newton.

Maurice Johnson (1688–1755) was an antiquary and barrister born in Spalding, Lincolnshire. He was educated at Spalding Free Grammar School and possibly subsequently at Eton College. He trained in the law at London, was called to the bar in 1710 and held various legal positions in the region around Spalding. In 1712, proposals were set out for establishing 'A Society of Gentlemen, for the supporting of a mutual benevolence, and their improvement in the liberal science and in polite learning' and Johnson took on the role of secretary. He appears to have been a friendly, amiable man, who 'acquired general esteem from the frankness and benevolence of his character'. He was laid to rest in the church of the Blessed Virgin and St Nicholas, Spalding.²⁵¹

Heighington commenced application on 15 July 1736 and seems to have made an immediate impression. The minutes of the society from 29 July 1736, give an account of

an elaborate discourse entitled a short Introduction to Musick compiled by Mr Bogdani... This Ms. Introduction to Musick has since been with pleasure perused by the learned Musgrave Heighington Dr of Musick and a delightful composer & performer, Mr Allan, Organist of Boston, Dr Lynn and Mr Beecroft who hath wrote a Treatise on that Divine Science and all of them & other masters have given it the character of being a very ingenious and useful performance intended for the use of my sons. [signed] M[aurice]

²⁵⁰ Simon Fleming, 'The Musical Activities of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society' *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 2017 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14723808.2016.1271572>> notes the significant rise in the number of clubs and societies in the English-speaking world especially after the Glorious Revolution when they were increasingly regarded as a necessary component of public sociable activity numbering some 25000. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14723808.2016.1271572>> [accessed 21/11/2017]

²⁵¹ David Boyd Haycock, 'Johnson, Maurice (1688–1755)', abridged, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14908>>, [accessed 19 Oct 2017]

Johnson Soc. Gen. Sec.²⁵²

He had to wait until 16 September 1736 to be elected upon ballot.

That Heighington should have chosen to establish his music club in Great Yarmouth shortly after may not be put down solely to the establishment of one in Norwich. One of Maurice Johnson's stated aims in establishing the Spalding Gentlemen's Society was, through the keeping of records of the meetings, to encourage, "other gentlemen my acquaintance and friends in Lincoln City, Peterborough, Stamford, Boston, Oundle, Wisbech, and elsewhere, to institute and provide the like design, and hold correspondence with us. In some of these places this succeeded..."²⁵³ Heighington might well have had designs on a club like the one at Spalding. As head of a similar enterprise in Great Yarmouth his prestige would have received a considerable fillip; an ideal opportunity to increase his standing in the locality.

In 1738, Great Yarmouth was treated to a performance of the burlesque opera, *The Dragon of Wantley*. This must have been something of a sensation for the town since the work, a send-up on the conventions of Italian opera, had its first performance barely a year earlier in London. Dr Mann commented, 'this is the first time this well-known work is mentioned in East Anglia that I have yet found. It was performed at Norwich on Friday August 4th following'.²⁵⁴

The piece was a collaboration between the English composer and librettist Henry Carey and the German composer and bassoonist, Johann Friedrich Lampe. It was based on the ballad *A True Relation of the Dreadful Combat between Moore of Moore-*

²⁵² Mann Ms451 fols. 32-33.

²⁵³ D M Owen, & S W Woodward eds., *The Minute Books of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society 1712-1755*, Lincoln Record Society, (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1981) 73 (1981)
in Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance, Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770*
Oxford Studies in Local History, (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1989), p.136.

²⁵⁴ Mann MS 451, fol. 37.

Hall and the Dragon of Wantley (1685), and provided a sophisticated and entertaining parody of the more outlandish conventions of Italian opera and the rivalries surrounding leading castrati and female singers of the day. It opened at the Little Theatre, Haymarket, 10 May 1737 and had a first season run of 69 performances at Covent Garden.²⁵⁵

Some six years after his appointment at Great Yarmouth, he was to experience a cut in salary as the following minute from the Assembly of 3 October 1740 records:

At this Assembly Mr John Lewis is appointed assistant organist to Dr Heighington at Church & Chapel in the room of Musgrave Heighington the Dr's son and this Assembly do order that said Mr Lewis be allowed twenty pounds yearly as a salary to be paid by the waterbailiff the said twenty pounds to be deducted and taken from out of the present allowance of eighty pounds to Dr Heighington The salary to commence from Christmas next and this assembly direct that Dr Heighington and Mr Lewis do the duty of organist at church and chapel as the Dr and his son did the said Mr Lewis to continue in his said office during the pleasure of the Assembly and no longer And further this Assembly do order that when there shall be occasion for an organist and assistant organist for church and chapel for the future the choice nomination and appointment shall be in the Assembly entirely an order of Assembly made the 2nd November 1733 or any other order or orders of Assembly to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding.²⁵⁶

Further at an Assembly of 24 August 1742:

This Assembly order that Dr Heighington shall play on the church organ as well before noon as afternoon on all Sundays and such days as are particularly distinguished by the Corporation - called Scarlet Days and that at other times the said organist and his assistant shall play alternately at church and chapel.²⁵⁷

The inference seems to be that Musgrave Heighington jnr. had failed to give entire satisfaction whether through incompetence or failure to attend adequately to his

²⁵⁵ Peter Holman, *The Dragon of Wantley*, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O006844>> [accessed 19 October 2017].

²⁵⁶ NRO Y/C19/12, Assembly Minutes, fol. 46.

²⁵⁷ Y/C 19/12, fol. 83.

duties, and even that it was eventually perceived by the Assembly as a ruse on the part of Heighington snr. to secure a greater emolument than was warranted. The reduction in salary to £60 per annum and eventually £40 per annum would have begun to compare unfavourably with salaries paid to Burney and Sly at King's Lynn. Of interest too are the order of the Assembly that they alone, in future, should be responsible for the organist's appointment and the stipulations as to his additional duties.

By 1745, it seems the Borough finances were unable to support not only its musical institutions but also several others. At an assembly held on 11 September 1745, a committee which had been appointed to examine the Borough's financial affairs reported that in the period Michaelmas 1735 to Michaelmas 1744 inclusive, there had been a shortfall of £6816. 7s. 9d. and that, despite reductions having been made annually between 1741 and 1744, the loss for 1744 had been £302. 13s. 11d.

The Committee advised:

From this state of things appears the necessity of a standing committee frequently to inspect the incomes and disbursements of this Corporation and report the same to the Assembly as one principal method to prevent for the future such large sums of money being so wantonly wasted as have been for these ten years last past and to retrieve the credit of the Corporation and make its incomes not only sufficient to answer the outgoings but in time to pay of [sic] that large debt it at present labours under...

The Committee then went on to make recommendations which included cutting the salaries of the town musicians and that of Musgrave Heighington:

That the musicians' salaries of five pounds a year each cease and that they be allowed 2s. 6d. a day each for their attendance when there's no dinner, but upon such day 5 [shillings] each which will amount to supposing the number five complete £6. 5s. annually saved... That the salary of the church organist be reduced from Michaelmas next from sixty to forty pounds a year which shall be paid by the churchwardens and the twenty pounds to the Chappel organist by the Water Bailiff by which there will be annual saving to the chappel account [of] £10.

Others whose salaries were reduced or cut completely included the gaoler, the serjeants, and the clergy at St Nicholas and St George's who were to have their duties varied and their stipends paid by the churchwardens.²⁵⁸ Though there is no direct evidence to prove it, it is possible that the cuts were a result of Yarmouth, as an important naval base, being caught up in the War of Jenkins' Ear.²⁵⁹

This must have been felt acutely by Heighington because at the very next session of the Assembly, held 1 November 1745, he petitioned for his salary to be raised back up by ten pounds. That he was successful is surprising because the increase was hedged around with a number of conditions suggesting that Heighington had not been altogether a good and steady employee. Furthermore, the increase was to be paid by the churchwardens, so avoiding any increase in expenditure on the part of the Corporation. Noteworthy too is that he was no longer being addressed as 'Doctor' but plain 'Mister' Heighington which suggests his behaviour had given rise to some suspicion as to his qualifications and background.

Addition to Organist salary £10 pa. On the petition of Mr Musgrave Heighington, it is agreed and ordered by this Assembly that the sum of ten pounds per annum be added to his present salary as organist of this town and to commence from Christmas past and shall be paid him by the Churchwardens of this parish out of their rate and this additional allowance to continue during the pleasure of the Assembly and the said Mr Heighington's due attendance in his said office It being the directions of this House that he should not for the future go out of town so frequently and for so long time as he has done, and that whenever he has business to journey abroad he shall acquaint the churchwardens of this parish for the time being of his intention to go out of town in order for

²⁵⁸ NRO Y/C19/12, Assembly Book 1737-1750, no.12, fols. 146-149.

²⁵⁹ The War of Jenkins' Ear was a conflict between Britain and Spain lasting from 1739 to 1748. Its unusual name refers to an ear severed from Robert Jenkins, captain of a British merchant ship following the boarding of his vessel by Spanish coast guards in 1731, eight years before the war began. Popular response to the incident was tepid until several years later when opposition politicians and the British South Sea Company hoped to spur outrage against Spain, believing that a victorious war would improve Britain's trading opportunities in the Caribbean. Abridged from <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/War_of_Jenkins%27_Ear> [accessed, 19/10/2017]

their leave to do so.²⁶⁰

Despite these conditions, Heighington would or could not abide by them. The Assembly minutes of 9 April 1746 note that 'Mr Musgrave Heighington Organist of the Church and Chapel in this Parish having lately absented and removed himself and his family from this Parish he is by this Assembly discharged from his said office of organist'.²⁶¹

Some idea of Heighington's character can be gathered from an undated letter written to Maurice Johnson. From the reference to the card subscription club, it must have been written between 1736 (the year Heighington became a member) and 1745 [spelling as in the original]:

Sr, Your most Elegant, and Obligeing Letter I received on the 24th Janry and am asham'd to be tax'd with so great neglect in not returning an answer sooner but I hope a tolerable apology may be accepted, viz. your Ditty ravish'd me so much that I imediately put pen to paper and Compos'd the enclos'd Tune [lost] and parts that very night, and design'd to send it the next post to surprise you, and this is that very Original as you may Judge by its Complexion; but as I was then Composeing another piece of Musick, viz. a new Overture to Alexanders Feast, I deferr'd sending till I coud send you a taste of it, which I have likewise enclos'd in parts, they are two Airs at the Conclusion of the Overture; ... I am Glad to hear the Gentlemen Improve and Practise that sweet part of the Muses, Harmony, and likewise pleased to hear you will have so Convenient a place for it, as your fine hall, will be when finish'd, My Spouse and I design, god willing, to pay our respects at the Anniversary, and Mr Porter a young gent who plays, now, a fine fiddle and German flute has promis'd me to come likewise, and another at Norwich will come; I have Got the history of Yarmouth transcrib'd in the Size you desire but cannot send that so shall bring it with me, I am glad you have so satisfactorily and advantageously fixd your young Gentlemen ['History of Yarmouth' was an unpublished manuscript by Manship completed in 1619 and recorded as kept in the Town Hutch] [young gentlemen refers to Maurice Johnson's older sons]

I should rejoice to hear (as you have done hitherto) that you may have the same satisfaction in disposing of your Angelick Females.

We have had a Severe winter here, and yesterday and this day we have as

²⁶⁰ NRO Y/C19/12, fol. 161.

²⁶¹ NRO Y/C19/12, fol. 164.

cold Snow & Hail as any in the winter, tho for this month past, we have had fine weather, I have had a Card Assembly once a week by Subscription at my house, and is reckon'd the politest diversion they have had in Yarmouth, and much exceeding Norwich Card Assembly -

It is time Now Sr to pay our respects for all yours, and your Good familys Civilitys to us, which I, my wife and family do with all Sincerity, and Likewise, to all the Gentlemen of the Society, Nay I think we may Include the whole town of Spalding, by your kind Influence, and hope we shall remain in health, to meet you and all the rest, blest with the same next August

I am Dear Sr Your most oblidge'd humble Servant, Musgrave
Heighington.

From the letter above and what else we know of his life, Heighington appears a complex character.²⁶² That he felt able to converse with Maurice Johnson in the way he did suggests considerable familiarity and, from what we know of Johnson, Heighington seems to have taken advantage of his benevolent spirit. Nonetheless, there is a palpable obsequiousness to the way in which he addresses Johnson which is at odds with what one might otherwise expect of someone with Heighington's professed level of education. There is more than a hint of the strolling player who had a certain way with fine words.

It is difficult not to impute some kind of strategy to Heighington's appointment at Great Yarmouth. The announcement in the *London Daily Journal* of the building of the two new organs; his journeying the same month to Cambridge giving a concert on 15 February announced in the *Cambridge St James's Evening Post*; his arrival in Norwich supposedly from London then the mecca of fashionable music in England, would have aroused considerable interest, the various claims he made for himself, the 'doctorate' and the alleged descendancy from a minor aristocratic family in the North of England adding to the allure. The question of organs for St Nicholas and St George's

²⁶² D & M Honeybone, eds., *The Correspondence of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society 1710-1761*, The Lincoln Record Society, vol. 99, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010) itm. 331, pp. 120-121.

chapel had been under discussion since April 1732. Construction was under way during 1733 (had he heard on the grapevine about the Jordan contract?), and within a few months, Heighington was making himself known in Norwich, ingratiating himself with the local gentry by soliciting their assistance as players. He lost no time in ensuring he was suitably available for consideration in Great Yarmouth and it is a fair assumption that they would have provided the requisite testimonials. Given what we can surmise of his character, Heighington would have done everything he could to guarantee success including making much of the spurious claims about his education and family background, resorting to nepotism to ensure income from his church duties stayed within the family. The reward, initially, was a degree of approbation, a comfortable salary and all the trappings and prestige associated with playing organs which had been built by a renowned London firm, their design approved by the organist of Norwich Cathedral.

The parallels with later events at King's Lynn are unavoidable and suggest that municipalities such as these were involved in a degree of competition, especially as King's Lynn had had an organ and organists since 1677. It is worth noting that Gabriel Barlow, organist at King's Lynn from circa 1724 to 1744 was made a freeman of the town in October 1730.²⁶³ Great Yarmouth would have sought a musical foundation of similar stature given its position as a rich mercantile seaport. What also seems the case is that parishes were embarking on a learning curve as far as church music was concerned. There is no doubt that the manner in which the provision of organs was embarked upon was careful and thorough, involving consultants, models and planning in some detail though it is worth noting that 'value for money' was never far from the surface in the Corporation's dealings. No more than £1400 was to be allowed for the

²⁶³ (information from True's Yard Museum King's Lynn)

two Yarmouth instruments; less if at all possible.

What was not so carefully thought through was the way in which an organist would be appointed. There can be little doubt that Heighington's entry upon the scene as organist-elect was accompanied with great fanfare and ceremony, and that the Corporation, flattered by the various claims Heighington made for himself, clearly thought a large salary would augur well for the musical prospects of the Borough. The amount was almost as great as that later requested of King's Lynn Corporation by Dr Charles Burney when he became organist at St Margaret's there. At the time, King's Lynn rivalled Great Yarmouth in terms of wealth and mercantile prowess and was thus well placed to accede to Burney's demands. His fee was initially set at £100.²⁶⁴

Heighington's eventual discharge might have been avoided if enquiries had been made regarding his background and had uncovered the fact that he appeared never to have settled down to an appointment for very long, something which on the one hand must have put him and his family under considerable strain but on the other, demonstrates the extent of mobility possible at the time. Even when his salary was reduced, it could be imagined that, together with various other emoluments from teaching and benefit concerts, it would have still provided a degree of comfortable living coupled with the prestige of the position. How that salary compared at the time can be deduced from a notional average salary of £14 equating to £1840 today (2015). Heighington's salary, initially set at £80, would have been regarded as very favourable for an organist of a major parish church even by today's standards.²⁶⁵ There is no doubt that Heighington was a man of considerable energy who threw himself into the musical life of the town with vigour. Whether he was musically accomplished is of

²⁶⁴ Fanny Burney ed. *Memoirs of Doctor Burney*, 3 vols. (London, Edward Moxon, 1832) 1, p. 86.

²⁶⁵ Data taken from Greg Clark, 'What Were the UK Earnings and Prices Then?' Measuring Worth, 2017. <<https://www.measuringworth.com/datasets/ukeyearnpi/result2.php>> [accessed 21/10/2017]

almost secondary importance since for much of his time in Great Yarmouth he gave the town what it wanted - a vibrant musical life and an air of culture and good living.

Despite his frequent absences and the problems with the Corporation's finances, their decision to moderate the level of reduction in salary, on petition, albeit charged to the parish rate, indicates that still they valued his work, were still willing to give him the benefit of the doubt and were probably unwilling to dispense with his services despite his propensity for absenting himself without leave.

However, his reaction to his final pecuniary demotion suggests a man fiercely protective of the persona he had created for himself and possibly not a little unnerved by being reduced to plain 'Mister' Heighington. As it was, the economics of music provision within the Borough were such that with the Corporation strapped for cash and looking to make cuts, Heighington decided to take his business elsewhere no doubt feeling that he had been hard done by, especially if he was to maintain some standard of living. Clearly, any economic benefit deriving from having a fine organ played by a musician of ability was either not sufficiently appreciated or was inadequate to justify his salary.

Shortly after he left Great Yarmouth, questions were raised about the manner of his appointment and the way in which his salary had been paid. The Waste Assembly Book²⁶⁶ for the years 1745-1754 records two questions asked of Sir Samuel Prime²⁶⁷, a serjeant-at-law, at a quarter sessions held in Great Yarmouth on May 23rd 1746.²⁶⁸ The

²⁶⁶ Waste Assembly Books contained the rough draft of the assembly minutes before transcription.

²⁶⁷ Prime, Sir Samuel (1701–1777), serjeant-at-law, was born on 21 August 1701, the second son of Thomas Prime, a grocer at Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk, and his wife, Elizabeth. Educated Bury St Edmunds grammar school and St John's College, Cambridge, 1718. 1720 admitted to the Middle Temple, where he was called to the bar in 1724. Knighted in 1745. 1749, became the king's prime serjeant-at-law, and as such leader of the bar of England until retirement in Trinity term 1758. Died on 24 February 1777 and was buried in the Temple Church, where there is an inscription.

J H Baker <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/64028>> [accessed 21/10/2017) abridged

²⁶⁸ NRO Y/C19/24 Waste Assembly Book 1745-1754, 23 May 1746.

following is included as an example of how parish affairs, including the appointment and remuneration of the organist, were tightly interwoven with the general civic administration:

Query: In the year 1733 an organ was erected in the parish church of St Nicholas in Gt Yarmouth by subscription and assent of the principal inhabitants towards which the Corporation paid several hundred pounds out of their own private stock and the same year in Common Council assembled had an organist and fixed his salary which has been always since paid by the Churchwardens out of their rate without any objection or interruption from the parish but of late some of the parishioners pretend that when the organ was erected there was no vestry, called that the greater part of the parish subscribed towards it yet it was not agreeable to all & that therefore they were not bound to pay towards the organist's salary and insist that the churchwardens have no power to charge the same in their rate but that the Corporation having taken the electing upon themselves ought to pay the salary.

As there was no objection to the election of the first organist and as the parishioners have hitherto acquiesced in the same and submitted to pay the salary is not the right of election fixed in the Corporation and are not the churchwardens authorized to charge the salary in their rate?

Answer: It seems to me that the according to the custom above stated this corporation is to be considered as a select vestry and that their acts as such are binding upon the parishioners in the same manner as the acts of a general assembly of ye parishioners in a vestry duly summoned for that purpose would be in case there was no select vestry established in this parish".
[signed S: Prime May 23: 1746]

The dispute revolved around a group of parishioners objecting to paying for an organ and organist at the parish church on the grounds that when the matter of organs for the two churches had first been mooted, no vestry had been called to take a vote on whether the plan should go ahead. However, the greater part of the parish was still expected to subscribe to it even though not all were happy to do so. That being the case, they felt they were not bound to pay for the organist's salary through the parish rate and that this should rest with the Corporation. The complaint brought before the judge was that this group of parishioners had no right to object since there had been neither any

initial objection to the election of the organist by the Corporation nor any subsequent complaint to the churchwardens regarding paying the organist's salary out of the parish rate. The judge found for the complainants.²⁶⁹

Despite the judge's ruling, the matter remained a bone of contention and in April 1748, the churchwarden, Thomas Ellys, reported that objections were still being received on the grounds that the organs had been erected without a faculty. The Assembly then took advice and applied for a retrospective faculty granting the necessary permission. Later that year at the Assembly held on 27 September, it was reported that the objections had been raised against the granting of a faculty for the reasons given previously. However, the objections had since been withdrawn because the Corporation had given undertakings that it would not seek to claw back the money spent on the organs and further that they were to be regarded as a 'free gift' from the Corporation to the Borough in perpetuity. The Assembly Book for 1 April 1748 records:

Faculty to confirm the erecting of the organs in Church and Chapel to be applied for. Thomas Ellys Esq. Churchwarden of this parish reports to this Assembly that whereas several of the parishioners had given out that the Church Rate was not legal or to be justified by reason the organists salary was included in that assessment which the churchwarden had no right or power to raise the organs at church and chapel having been erected without a faculty, he had taken Dr Paul a very eminent civilian in the premises, who advises that a faculty be applied for to confirm and approve the present established organs which he says will legalise the same - And thereupon this Assembly consent and require the Churchwarden to apply in the consistorial court of the Rt. Rev. the Bishop of Norwich for obtaining such faculties for confirming and approving the present established organs in the Church and chapel of this Burgh.

and for 27 September, 1748:

Whereas it hath been suggested by several of the principal inhabitants of this town that the Corporation intended to endeavour to obtain and reimburse themselves out of the parish rate such moneys as they did in or

²⁶⁹ *Jay v. Webber* (1830), 3 Hagg. Ecc. 4, p. 1061.

about the year 1733 advance and pay out of their Corporation stock for and towards the building and erection of the organ in the parish church called St Nicholas's church within this Burgh and some differences and disputes have arisen on that account and been a motive to several of the inhabitants to oppose an application now made in the consistorial court of the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Norwich for faculties to confirm and establish the erections of the present organs in the said church and in the chapel of this Burgh and whereas the inhabitants opponents as aforesaid have agreed to withdraw their allegations exhibited in the said court and to consent that faculties as desired may be decreed they the said opponents being assured by some proper writing or instrument under the Corporation seal that the Corporation doth not intend to endeavour to reimburse themselves the said money or in any manner debet (sic) or charge the parish therewith. Now this Assembly declare that the money so as aforesaid advanced and paid by the Corporation towards the erection building and finishing of the church organ was a free gift of the Corporation and that is never was or is expected by the Corporation that the same moneys or any part thereof should be repaid or reimbursed the Corporation and this assembly do hereby declare that the Corporation do acquit release and forever discharge the parish and parishioners of and from the payment thereof..

Potts Crookenden

Musgrave Heighington's immediate successor was Potts Crookenden. Mann records his appointment as being immediately after Heighington's departure, 'April 9th 1746 "Mr" Musgrave Heighington and Family having left the Parish, he is discharged and - at the same meeting - Mr Potts Crookenden is appointed Organist in his place'.²⁷⁰ His name further appears in the Assembly Books for 1747/48 along with that of William Mully, who had recently been appointed organist at St George's Chapel, '

On April 21st 1747 Mr William Mully was appointed as Chapel Organist. In the Corporation Books 1747/8 it is ordered that Mr Potts Crookenden was to play alternate Sundays with Mr Wm. Mully...²⁷¹

Mann also noted the continued existence of the Great Yarmouth Musical Society, presumably that which had been established by Musgrave Heighington in 1736 and that Potts Crookenden had subscribed to Boyce's Sonatas on its behalf (coincidentally, John Christian Mantel, who was to succeed Crookenden at Yarmouth, had also subscribed).²⁷² Later that year, an advertisement appeared in the *Ipswich Journal* for a benefit concert for Crookenden including 'A concerto on the harpsichord' by Mr Crookenden. Whether this was his own composition or a solo item cannot be substantiated but the fact of its mention suggests he might have been the author.²⁷³ Crookenden's name as a composer is also to be found in a collection of songs entitled:

Amaryllis, in two Volumes, consisting of such songs as are most esteemed for Composition and Delicacy ... All Chosen from the Works of the Best Masters, and rightly Adapted for the Voice, Violin, Hauboy [sic], Flute and German Flute with a Figured Base for the Harpsicord...

²⁷⁰ Mann Ms 442 fol.39

²⁷¹ Mann Ms 442 fol. 40

²⁷² The reference is to Boyce's *Twelve Trio Sonatas for Two Violins and Continuo* published in 1747.

²⁷³ *Ipswich Journal*, 17 October 1747: On Friday 30th October 1747 a concert will be given on His Majesty's Birthday for the benefit of Mr P[otts] Crookenden, Organist, at the New Hall on the Key [sic]. A concerto on the harpsichord by Mr Crookenden. At six o'clock. Tickets 2/6 each.

The collection included works by, among others, Arne, Handel, Worgan, Chilcot, Alcock, Geminiani and Prelleur. Crookenden is represented by one song: *The Bee* for Soprano, German Flute and Flute.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁴ George Frederick Handel, *Amaryllis*, in two Volumes, consisting of such songs as are most esteemed for Composition and Delicacy ... All chosen from the Works of the Best Masters, and rightly Adapted for the Voice, Violin, Hauboy, Flute and German Flute with a Figured Base for the Harpsicord ... Second Edition, improved, etc. (London: Longman, Lukey & Broderip, 1775), British Library: Music Collections DRT Digital Store E.249.

Johann Christian Scheidemantel (John Christian Mantel)

Potts Crookenden was a caretaker organist since his successor, John Christian Mantel (Johann Christian Scheidemantel), a German from Erfurt, was an accomplished musician who had earned the favour of George Frederick Handel. Research carried out in the 1990's by David Galbraith, Helga Brück and Robert Hallmann, has allowed a much more thorough evaluation of Mantel's life and compositions to be undertaken. This section draws on the only substantial modern research to have appeared about him.

Mantel is not only interesting from the connection with Great Yarmouth but also because he was one of a handful of musicians, more especially organists,²⁷⁵ who decided to emigrate from their native country to England and with that, turn their backs on an organ type which was much more highly developed than the English one. This is all the more significant given that Brück's research has thrown up strong circumstantial evidence to suggest that Mantel's musical training could be traced back to Johann Pachelbel, one of Germany's foremost early Baroque organ composers and players.²⁷⁶

Johann Christian Scheidemantel was born 13th May 1706, youngest of 11 children. His father was Magister Wolfgang Jacob Scheidemantel, parish priest of the church of St. Kiliani, Gispersleben. His mother was Christiana Friederika Bronner, daughter of a cleric. Johann Christian was educated at the village school in Gispersleben (next to the vicarage) by the cantor and organist, Johann Lorenz Kaestner. He was then taught by his older brother Georg Friedrich in preparation for a university education which began in 1725. His parents died within three years of each other, his father in 1729 and mother in 1732. The link with Pachelbel is suggested by the fact that Erfurt

²⁷⁵ The Royal Society of Musicians' membership lists from 1738 to 1799 include the names of seven organists of presumed German origin (allowing for the anglicisation of names) working variously in London, Colchester and Birmingham.

²⁷⁶ Helga Brück, Robert Hallmann and David Galbraith, *John Christian Mantel = Johann Christian Scheidemantel : 1706-1761*, (Weimar: H. Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1998), pp. 25-32.

was home to two important musicians of the eighteenth century, Johann Heinrich Buttstedt (1666-1727) born in Bindersleben, and Jacob Adlung (1699-1762). Both worked as organists in the main Evangelical church in Erfurt, the Prediger or Ratskirche; Buttstedt from 1691 to 1727 making him the successor to Johann Pachelbel and also one of his pupils, and Adlung from 1727 to 1762. Buttstedt was the teacher of Johann Gottfried Walther and had connections with the Bach family through his wife Martha, (nee Lämmerhirt).

Adlung also came from Bindersleben and was the son of David Adlung, schoolmaster and organist. At the age of 12 years, he was sent to Erfurt to be taught by the cantor at the Andreaskirche, Ernst Rabe, in preparation for the grammar school which he attended from 1713 to 1720. He studied philosophy at Erfurt and Jena universities and at Jena was able to pursue organ playing and construction studies with Johann Nikolaus Bach [1669-1753]. He graduated in 1726, returned to Erfurt and became organist at the Predigerkirche. In 1736, Erfurt was engulfed by a great fire which destroyed his entire belongings. However, Adlung's theoretical treatise, the 'Musica Mechanica Organoedi' begun 1726 and published in 1768.²⁷⁷ survived from this time. Adlung had further connections with the Bach family since his 'Anleitung zur musikalischen Gelahrtheit' of 1758, had a foreword written by Johann Ernst Bach [1722-1777]. Both musicians could have been Scheidemann's teachers.

Mantel seems to have arrived in England around 1737. Research by Robert Hallmann indicates strongly that there was a connection between Mantel and George Frederick Handel though why Mantel should have begun his career in the small Essex

²⁷⁷ Jakob Adlung, 'Musica Mechanica Organoedi, Das ist: Gründlicher Unterricht von der Struktur, Gebrauch und Erhaltung, etc. der Orgeln, Clavicymbel, Clavichordien und anderer Instrumente, in so fern einem Organisten von solchen Sachen etwas zu wissen nöthig ist.' (Berlin: Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel, 1768) This was a two-volume treatise on the care and tuning of organs, harpsichords, clavichords and other instruments.

fishing village of South Benfleet is unclear. The background to Mantel's arrival in England has, as far as can be ascertained, to do with the will of a Dr Francis Clerke, rector of North Benfleet, who had died in 1734.²⁷⁸ In his will, he left a farmstead in North Benfleet to his cousin, Ann Bate; three houses in London to his sister, Sarah, and his farm in South Benfleet to his brother-in-law. The last two named were charged with providing an organ for South Benfleet church as well as a salary of £30 per annum for the organist. In addition, they were to see that the chancel of the church be floored with marble. The organist was to be chosen by an influential welfare society for the sons and widows of clergy. This society had connections with Handel and the assumption is that Handel suggested Mantel as a candidate for the post. This assumption is strengthened by Mantel's name appearing as a subscriber to Handel's opera *Faramondo* and, as if by cordial reciprocation, Handel subscribed to Mantel's op. 1 *Six Sets of Lessons for Harpsichord or Organ*.²⁷⁹ The name of another well-known German musician, Pepusch, also appears in the list as does the name of Ann Bate, cousin of Dr Francis Clerke. The title page of the work, along with that of his *Six Violin Sonatas* op.2, names Mantel as 'Organist of South Benfleet'. Following Mantel's appointment to St Nicholas's parish church in 1748, this was altered to 'Organist at Great Yarmouth in Norfolk & South Benfleet in Essex', leading to the possibility that he retained his post there either as organist emeritus or that his duties were covered by a deputy whilst he drew the salary.

J C Mantel is mentioned as organist in Yarmouth in a record of 11 February 1750 where he is noted as (Gevatter = godfather) at the baptism of the first child of his brother's marriage to the well-situated Witwe des Fuerstlich Schwarzbuergischen

²⁷⁸ Essex Record Office, D/DU 1812.

²⁷⁹ British Library shelfmark: Music Collections g.646.a. incomplete. Published in facsimile by JPH Publications cat. no. JPH019 <<http://www.groovycart.co.uk/cart.php?c=995&p=34989>> accessed 10/10/2018

Schlossvogts in Rudolstadt, Dorothea Sophia Vogler.²⁸⁰ As to his work as organist at St Nicholas, little is recorded beyond his salary which, at £40 per annum, was even less than Heighington's and compared very unfavourably with that of Charles Burney's £100 per annum. The newspapers carried sporadic advertisements for 'benefit concerts' occasionally involving players from the Musical Society (Club) founded by Heighington.²⁸¹ Mantel's death was announced in the *Ipswich Journal*, 23 January 1762. His successor was Henry Richard Chicheley.

²⁸⁰ Bibliothek des Evangelischen Ministeriums, Erfurt, Copulationsbuch der Augustinerkirche von 1750-1789, Eintragung von 11 Februar, 1750.

²⁸¹ See *IJ* 31 August 1751, 28 August 1756, 16 September 1758.

Henry Richard Chicheley

Henry Chicheley's appointment was announced in the *Ipswich Journal*, 6 March 1762:

Yarmouth, March 2nd, This Day, At the Vestry, there was a great Contest for an Organist for this Parish, vacant by the Decease of Mr Mantel; when Mr Chicheley, a young Gentleman born Blind, recommended by Dr Boyce, was chosen by a majority of 58.²⁸²

Chicheley was baptised on 5 March 1740, the son of Richard Chicheley, a woodcarver, and Elizabeth Chicheley of Rochester, Kent.^{283 284} Evidence of his musical training is derived from an indenture dated 7 January, 1755 with Joseph How, organist of Rochester Cathedral of seven years' duration for the sum of £94.10s.²⁸⁵ It seems that his apprenticeship was cut short (the reason is not known) because he applied for the post of organist at St Lawrence, Jewry in the City of London in 1758 but was unsuccessful.²⁸⁶ However, the notice which appeared in the *Ipswich Journal* (see above) indicates he had come to the attention of William Boyce, from which can be inferred that he was a talented musician. He did attempt a return to London in 1784 when he is recorded as having put himself forward for the position at St Dionis, Backchurch²⁸⁷ but withdrew on learning no deputy was to be allowed meaning that the appointed organist had to attend at all times in person. As discussed later, this would have prevented him from taking on other work or another organist post to increase the paltry income. In the case of St Dionis, this amounted to £30 per annum, a sum which had been fixed in 1724 when the organ in that church was inaugurated.²⁸⁸ He tried again in 1786 for a position

²⁸² p. 3.

²⁸³ <Ancestry.com. England & Wales, Christening Index, 1530-1980 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2008> [accessed 25/10/2017]

²⁸⁴ Medway Archives: Dean and Chapter of Rochester Estate records The Fabric of the Cathedral 1591-1830, Contract between the Dean and Chapter and Richard Chicheley for carving the circle in the dome 26 July 1731.

²⁸⁵ UK Register of Duties Paid for Apprentices' Indentures, 1710-1811, fols. 46, 51.

²⁸⁶ Donovan Dawe, *Organists of the City of London*, (Padstow: Dawe, 1983), p. 87.

²⁸⁷ Dawe, p. 39.

²⁸⁸ Dawe p. 2. Dawe notes this was the accepted level of salary until the end of the eighteenth century in London churches.

at St Andrew's, Holborn: 'many voted for Mr Chicheley the blind man, because he was blind, and had a large family... Mr Chicheley lost the place by a majority of 161'.²⁸⁹ He finally succeeded in obtaining the position at St Lawrence, Jewry in 1788 where he remained until his death in 1805. He is buried in the nave there.²⁹⁰

Mann records that Chicheley married during his term of office in 1766. His wife was Elizabeth Gallant, originally from Aylsham, north of Norwich. Mann says, 'Henry Richard Chicheley, single man, and Elizabeth Gallant spinster, both of this parish were married in this church (St Nicholas GY] by licence this fourth day of October 1766.

Chicheley makes his mark as he is blind'.²⁹¹ Chicheley clearly made an impression since he is mentioned in the Diaries of Parson Woodforde on a visit to Great Yarmouth with a Mr Cooke:

We had a very fine day. After we returned from the Sea we went to the Church and saw that, and heard I think the finest organ I ever did hear, the Organist, Mr Chicheley, stone blind played on it. Between 3 and 4 this afternoon we got into the same coach and returned to Norwich about 7 o'clock...²⁹²

It seems too that the impression was a lasting one since even as late as 1840, he was remembered by others as having, 'the soul as well as the hand and skill of a master'.²⁹³ As far as can be ascertained, he left no compositions behind.

Chicheley's salary at St Nicholas was £40 per annum. However, with a wife and family of eight children to support, he had to find additional means, one of which included playing the organ in St Nicholas to visitors.²⁹⁴ He was a landlord, since he is recorded as having the freehold of a property occupied by someone named Howes in

²⁸⁹ *IJ*, 17 June 1786, p. 2.

²⁹⁰ Dawe p. 87.

²⁹¹ NRO MS 428 fol. 54.

²⁹² Beresford, John ed. *Reverend James Woodforde, The Diaries of a Country Parson* vol 1 1758-1781. (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1926) 27 April 1775) p. 154

²⁹³ *NorChron*, 26 Dec 1840, Letter to the editor, p. 3.

²⁹⁴ NRO Y/C 39/4 Churchwardens' Accounts Great Yarmouth Michaelmas 1778 - Michaelmas 1779.

Martham, a small village about five miles north west of Yarmouth.²⁹⁵ However, his main income derived from a shop which he kept at the north end of the Market Place in Yarmouth itself.

Deborah Rohr, in *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850*, describes the situations of many church organists during this period and the prevalence of pluralities as a means of increasing income whereby organists were obliged to take on more than one post in order to make a living.²⁹⁶ Deputies would often be called upon to ensure one church did not go without the organ if the titular organist could for whatever reason not undertake the actual duty him or herself. The deputy would be paid a small fee by the organist thus ensuring the latter retained the position but could be free to fulfil a more lucrative engagement elsewhere. In Chicheley's case, such opportunities were not available which accounts for his needing to diversify into shopkeeping and property, almost treating the organist-post as a sideline, even though Yarmouth paid more than the average in London.

As one observer noted 'if a church organist had only one position [source of income]: he may look for a subsistence, but he will find none'.²⁹⁷ Why Chicheley came to Great Yarmouth in the first place can only be guessed at but it is probable that, as William Herschel found shortly after his arrival in England in 1757, London was 'so overstocked with musicians'²⁹⁸ and that it was going to be difficult to make much headway, especially as he was blind. William Herschel wrote to his brother in April, 1761, expressing the dilemma well and doubtless what many musicians felt:

²⁹⁵ A Copy of the Poll for the Knights of the Shire for the County of Norfolk Taken at Norwich 23rd March 1768, printed Crouse, Norwich 1768, p. 49.

²⁹⁶ Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians 1750-1850* (CUP, 2001)

²⁹⁷ On the Present State of Church Music in England, *QMMR* 24 (1824) p463, quoted in Rohr, p. 91.

²⁹⁸ David Baker, 'So uncommon a fullness': William Herschel and the organ of Halifax Parish Church, 1766' *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, (forthcoming).

You don't perhaps know that I have already some time been thinking of leaving off professing Musick and the first opportunity that offers I shall really do so. It is very well, in your way, when one has a fixed Salary, but to take so much for a Concert, so much for teaching, and so much for a Benefit is what I do not like at all, and rather than go on in that way I would take any opportunity of leaving off Musick; not that I intend to forget it, for it should always be my chief study tho' I had another employment. But Musick ought not to be treated in that mercenary footing.²⁹⁹

Chicheley was obviously a capable musician. While not abandoning the profession completely, he must have felt the need to generate income and the distraction of his attention away from his musical impulses acutely. As Ehrlich has observed, 'The need to piece together an income from diverse sources imposed a sense of vulnerability which tended to encourage mercenary behaviour, and the increasing influence of market forces required attitudes and skills more common among tradesmen than artists'.³⁰⁰ An advertisement (reproduced below) which appeared in the *Ipswich Journal*, 9 August 1777 gives some indication of the extent of diversification which Chicheley was obliged to entertain. It shows him to have been a book-seller, stationer and music-seller. However, the range of goods sold went far beyond that description and is perhaps surprising given his original vocation. It included navigation and other optical instruments, sea-charts, coffee, tea, musical instruments and music, and all manner of stationery including material for schools. Added to that was a large number of patent toiletries, medicines and remedies, and veterinary requisites chiefly for horses.

²⁹⁹ Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain Since the Eighteenth Century, A Social History*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985) p. 30.

³⁰⁰ Ehrlich, p. 31.

Benefit concerts provided another source of income which he undertook in partnership with William Mully, organist of St George's Chapel, the chapel of ease in

Great Yarmouth. Between 1762 and 1779, he gave over 26 concerts including one on 7 September 1774 which billed Dr Charles Burney, Musician Extraordinary to His Majesty, as harpsichordist in a solo concerto, and a flautist by the name of Tacet. Concert giving appears to have ceased after 1780 when Chicheley began making moves for his return to London though despite being appointed to St Lawrence, Jewry in 1788, he retained some links with the town, perhaps for business reasons, since his name appears in an advertisement for a proprietary medicine.³⁰¹ The advertisement reproduced here ran to 56 lines and, as far as can be ascertained, was not repeated. It is significant because of the likely cost

HENRY CHICHELEY, Bookseller, Stationer and Music-seller, at the Quadrant near the Angel in the Market-place, Yarmouth, begs leave to acquaint his friends and the public in general, That he has received great choice of Duke's much-admired fiddles, which he sells on the most reasonable terms; the superiority of Duke's instruments in fulness and richness of tone makes them particularly useful in concert; those gentlemen who may wish to be informed of Mr. Chicheley's terms, by sending a line as above, will be answered immediately. At the same shop may be had the following articles as cheap as in London: Musical instruments of all kinds, by the best makers, and new music as soon as published; all new books, pamphlets, magazines, reviews, and every other publication; bibles and common prayer books in the greatest variety; school-books and Stationary of all kinds, with good allowance to masters; account-books of all sorts ruled to any pattern; books bound in the neatest manner; maps, sea-charts, and books of navigation; cases of drawing instruments of all prices; Hadley's quadrants of the most approved gradations; Dolland's glasses; with all other optical, philosophical, and mathematical instruments; India glue, 1s. a stick; Swedes tea; English coffee; Bowen's patent sago; with the following genuine medicines:

James's genuine fever powders; ditto analeptic pills; Lowther's nervous powders and drops; Norton's Mercurial drops; Spillsbury's antiscorbutic ditto; Goadby's hypo drops; Beaume de vie, and true arquebuse; Speediman's stomach pills; Daffy's and Jother purging elixirs; Dalby's carminative; Radley's purging tincture; Ridley's, Hooper's, Anderson's, and other pills; stomach and Tolu lozenges; Turlington's balsam; Greenough's tincture; best Godfrey's cordial; all Hill's and Ward's medicines, and every other medicine advertised in this paper. Rowley's British herb tobacco and snuff; cephalic ditto for the head and eyes; Hardham's No. 37 and 31; best Paris and London perfumes by Raiband and other makers; such as pomatums, powders, wash-balls, essences, soaps, waters, and every other article in the perfumery, wholesale and retail, with allowance for carriage to ladies and gentlemen residing at a distance.

Mr. CHICHELEY begs leave to return his most sincere thanks to his friends in Yarmouth and the country, for the great encouragement he has met with, and assures such who are pleased to favour him with their commands, they may depend on being served with goods of the best quality in all the above branches, and their favours acknowledged with the utmost gratitude, By their most obedient,

Humble Servant, **HENRY CHICHELEY.**

At the above shop, and at no other in Yarmouth, are sold the following horse medicines, prepared by Mr. Radley, chymist in London: Purging balls, 2s. each parcel; diuretic balls, 2s. per pot; worm-powders and balls, 6d. each; cordial saffron balls, 3s. per pot; pectoral powders for coughs and colds, 2s. a parcel; fever powders, 3s. parcel; purging balls for dogs, 2s. 6d. per box.

of its insertion and, one suspects, because it represented a last attempt at drumming up

³⁰¹ *IJ*, 25 July 1789, p. 4. Newspaper image © The British Library Board. All rights reserved. With thanks to The British Newspaper Archive (www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk).

trade in the port. Advertising rates were expensive. As an example, the *Norfolk Chronicle* charged 3s 6d per fifteen lines, a little under 3d a line, which equates to roughly 13s 1d for this advertisement. Taking into account that Chicheley's salary of £40 per annum from St Nicholas represents the only hard evidence we have of his yearly income, roughly 15s per week, the advertisement is likely to have cost him his entire weekly earnings from that source.³⁰²

³⁰² Rex Stedman, *Vox Populi, The Norfolk Newspaper Press 1760-1900*. Thesis submitted for Fellowship of the Library Association, 1971, p. 127.

1788 – 1803: Interregnum

Chicheley's departure brought an almost unbroken period of 60 years of musical competency at St Nicholas's to a close. Between 1788 and 1803, the post was filled by various people who divided their time between playing at the Parish Church and St George's Chapel. These included Richard Eaton, Isaac Lewis and John Roope, as well as William Mully. Mully, while being officially the organist at St George's, had earlier shared the duty with Potts Crookenden³⁰³. Richard Eaton had a bookshop and advertised regularly in the *Norfolk Chronicle*.³⁰⁴ He made his living, like Henry Chicheley, from selling patent medicines as well as books and stationery. Lewis was a Customs Officer and is mentioned together with John Eager as organist of St Nicholas's in Henry Leffler's account.³⁰⁵ Eaton resigned four years after Chicheley's departure when an announcement appeared in the *Norfolk Chronicle* on 12 May 1792, which indicated that an election was under way to find a replacement.

The circumstances of the election are curious because three candidates were present, Mr Isaac Lewis, Mr Thompson and Mr John Roope. According to the poll, Isaac Lewis was the clear favourite with 303 votes, Mr Thompson polling 145 and John Roope only 16. The report in the *Norfolk Chronicle* noted, rather cryptically, that, 'the success of the election cannot yet be determined, as Mr Roope's friends have certainly kept back...' and that on the following day, 11 May 1792, the poll closed with Mr Lewis apparently having won the election. However, the minutes of the Borough Assembly for 15 May 1792 record that John Roope had been appointed organist of St George's Chapel with no

³⁰³ NRO Mann Ms 428, fol. 130.

³⁰⁴ *NorChron*, 9 July 1796, p. 4.

³⁰⁵ Henry Leffler, *An Account of Organs and Organ Builders, 1800*, facsimile edition (British Institute of Organ Studies, 2010) fol. 190.

mention of Isaac Lewis.³⁰⁶ Furthermore, the Assembly minutes for 7 April 1801 record that Roope, who was under investigation by a committee for alleged misconduct, is referred to as the organist of St Nicholas's. A letter written by Roope to the Committee suggests the investigation was for misappropriation of funds since he talks of, 'revenue that arose from the place and had in view the unhappy daughter of the late poor old man Mr Mully...!'

He was clearly very attached to the St Nicholas organ writing that:

I love the instrument being a fine one and am desirous of having it in my possession when I am at Yarmouth where I [intend?] to spend a great part of my time amongst people with whom my first ten professional years were spent in comfort and whom I hope to meet again with the same pleasure when I shall have full leisure to enjoy musically the fruits of my former exertions.³⁰⁷

The Corporation must have been satisfied with his explanation and were probably flattered by his attachment to the organ. It seems that he had appropriated church revenues not for his own gain but to help the daughter of William Mully. Mully died intestate and it is possible no provision for his daughter had been made.³⁰⁸ An invoice for fees payable to Mully dated June 25th, 1792 is written in Roope's handwriting and countersigned by Mully in a hand that is clearly very infirm. One written entirely by Mully some six months before is legible but begs the question whether, by 1791, he was no longer able to fulfill his duties, these being assumed by Roope.³⁰⁹ Mully was buried in Great Yarmouth on 4th March 1799.³¹⁰ It was shortly after Roope's appointment that Michael Beale Crotch, organ builder of Norwich, carried out repairs to the St Nicholas organ at a cost of £104. 4s. Details of the work done are not known but must have been

³⁰⁶ NRO Y/C/19/15 Assembly Book 1786-1801 f93

³⁰⁷ NRO Y/C 19/15 Assembly Book Sep 1786 - Sep1801 f266 v.

³⁰⁸ Information supplied by Gill Blanchard <www.pastsearch.co.uk> (Report 21 March 2017)

³⁰⁹ NRO Y/C 39/5 Churchwardens' Accounts 1790 – 1791.

³¹⁰ Blanchard, Report 21 March 2017.

extensive given the cost and the absence of any record of previous repairs.^{311 312}

John Eager

Roope died in 1803 and was succeeded by John Eager.³¹³ Eager, while not an organist in that it was not his first instrument, did bring a measure of competence to the post as well as a creditable general contribution to the musical life of the Borough. During his period of office, the organ too underwent a notable transformation in that it became an early recipient of Pedal Pipes.^{314 315}

Eager was born in Norwich in 1782, the son of a musical instrument maker and organ builder. Sainsbury's biography states that, 'by him the son was initiated in the first rudiments of music, and was thereby enabled, at a very early age, to contribute essentially to his support. This appears to have been to the detriment of his general education.'³¹⁶ At about the age of twelve, the Duke of Dorset visited Yarmouth and it seems Eager obtained an introduction since the Duke was an amateur violinist. The Duke was sufficiently impressed to offer to take John Eager under his wing and act as his patron at his seat at Knole in Dorset. However, the Duke's mental health deteriorated to the point where Eager was left without any means of support since no provision had been made for him. As a result, he was forced to leave Knole and return to Great

³¹¹ 'Great Yarmouth and Its Parish Church', *Musical Times*, 1 August 1907, p. 514.

³¹² Michael Beale Crotch was the half-brother of William Crotch, the organist and composer. His father, also Michael, was a carpenter who had built a small organ. Philip Olleson, 'Crotch, William (1775–1847)', <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6810>>, [accessed 31 Jan 2017]

<Ancestry.com. *Norfolk, England, Church of England Baptism, Marriages, and Burials, 1535-1812* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2016.>

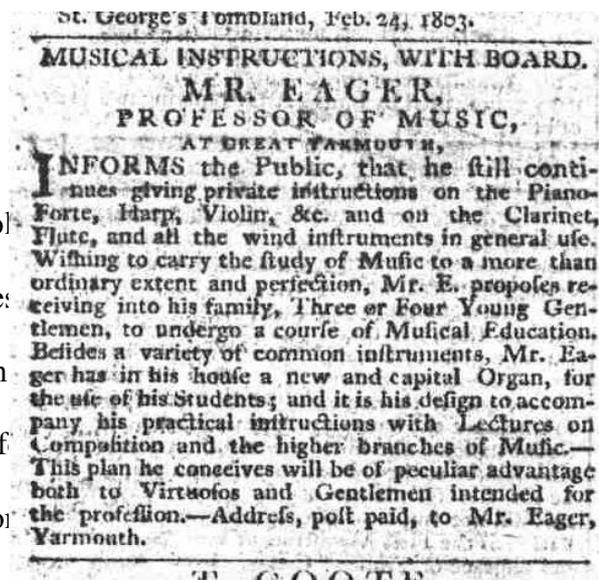
³¹³ NRO Y/C19/16 Assembly Book, fol. 41.

³¹⁴ Nicholas Thistlethwaite, *The Making of the Victorian Organ*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1990), table 2, p. 16.

³¹⁵ Leslie Stephen, ed. *Dictionary of National Biography, 1921–1922*. (London, England: OUP, 1921–1922) vol. 6, pp. 311-312.

³¹⁶ John Sainsbury, ed. *A Dictionary of Musicians from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time* 2nd ed. (London: 1827) vol. 1, pp. 225-226.

Yarmouth. How long this period at Knole lasted is uncertain but an advertisement for a benefit concert at Great Yarmouth for Master and Miss Eager which appeared in the *Norfolk Chronicle*, 18 June 1796, suggests it was perhaps only two years. At the early age of eighteen, he married Charlotte Barnby, younger than himself, who brought a considerable dowry. Inexperience resulted in the quick exhaustion of their wealth before the age of 21 such that Eager had to fall back on his musical ability to earn a living which he seems to have done with aplomb and not without some controversy. Eager had an undoubted flair for publicity as witnessed by the constant stream of advertisements which appeared in the local press. Typical is one which appeared in the *Norfolk Chronicle*, 26 February 1803, shortly before his appointment as organist.³¹⁷



Instruction on a whole
 school in the broadest
 Eager's rise to local fame
 John & Miss Eager Perform
 concert at Norwich. From

INFORMS the Public, that he still continues giving private instructions on the Piano-Forte, Harp, Violin, &c. and on the Clarinet, Flute, and all the wind instruments in general use. Wishing to carry the study of Music to a more than ordinary extent and perfection, Mr. E. proposes receiving into his family, Three or Four Young Gentlemen, to undergo a course of Musical Education. Besides a variety of common instruments, Mr. Eager has in his house a new and capital Organ, for the use of his Students; and it is his design to accompany his practical instructions with Lectures on Composition and the higher branches of Music.— This plan he conceives will be of peculiar advantage both to Virtuofos and Gentlemen intended for the profession.—Address, post paid, to Mr. Eager, Yarmouth.

become a musician
 by his father.
 8th 1799, Mr
 subscription

³¹⁷ Newspaper image © The British Library Board. All rights reserved. With thanks to The British Newspaper Archive (www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk).

Mr Eager - well known to the first amateurs - is principal violin with a Concert from the 5-8 Aug. 1800 at Neech's Ranelagh Gardens at Norwich.

Mann also added in a separate note that, 'Mr Eager was organist of St Nicholas Church Yarmouth in 1830 he is in a list of Corporation officers in the Yarmouth Free Library.'³¹⁸

Quoting from *Palmer's Perustrations*:

On the opposite side of North Quay Road there is a home, standing back, which was for some years occupied by Mr John Eager, dancing master, and organist of St Nicholas Church. Behind this house he built a large room for the reception of his pupils (the same as Randall & Hague at Cambridge I should think)... and in [1804] Handel's Oratorio Judas Maccabaeus was performed in St Nicholas' church under his direction. On leaving Yarmouth Mr Eager settled in Edinburgh where he died leaving two daughters, of the elder of whom (Mrs Bridgeman) a good pianist, there is an engraved portrait. The younger married Mr Lowe, professor of dancing to the Royal Family.

In 1818, Eager began advertising music tuition using Logier's system. An advertisement appeared in the *Norfolk Chronicle* 25 July which suggested that he also proposed opening a school in Norwich, 'as soon as a suitable situation can be procured...'. Logier, who had devised the system in 1814, made it available under licence, at a considerable fee, to any teacher who was interested. The system, which made use of a device called the 'Chiroplast' ultimately became the object of some ridicule since it suffered from a major defect. The Chiroplast device which held the hand and fingers in a rigid position over the keys, prevented the thumb being passed under the fingers making extended scale passages difficult if not impossible. Logier also made use of group teaching; as many as twelve pupils on as many pianos might be taught simultaneously. In a bid to counter arguments made against the system, Eager submitted himself and his pupils to a number of public examinations which took place

³¹⁸ NRO Mann MS428/2, Norfolk Musicians, fols. 73-74.

in Norwich in 1819 and which were reported at length by the *Norfolk Chronicle*. The outcome was summarised by the *Norfolk Chronicle* thus:

Like many other inventions of this age of discovery and *reform*, that of Mr Logier's, we think, professes more than it is capable of performing. Nevertheless, that portion of the truly meritorious and useful which may happen to be in it, being submitted to the infallible test of time and experience, will be made manifest in spite of prejudice and opposition, and be rendered alike conducive to the author's profit and permanent fame, and to the public gratification and advantage.³¹⁹

It would appear that Eager realised he did not stand to benefit from pursuing the system since no further advertising appeared mentioning it. He did write a tract entitled *A brief account, with accompanying examples of what was actually done at the second examination of Mr. Eager's pupils in music, educated upon Mr. Logier's system*, published in London in 1819, more in defence perhaps of his own position than any merit the system might have had.³²⁰

³¹⁹ *NorChron*, 26 June 1819, p. 2.

³²⁰ John Eager, *A brief account, with accompanying examples of what was actually done at the second examination of Mr. Eager's pupils in music, educated upon Mr. Logier's system...* (London: R. Hunter, 1819)

James Woolman

Eager also had to contend with professional enmity, notably from another organist, James Woolman, who, for a brief while between 1819 and 1822, was in partnership with Alfred Pettet, organist of the Norwich churches of St Peter Mancroft and St Stephen's.³²¹ Woolman was one of the two professional observers at the Norwich trials of the Logier system and was opposed to it. He also presided at the organ in St Nicholas's at the celebration of George IV's coronation when the service included items drawn from Handel oratorios and the *Coronation Anthems*. The chorus *From the censer, curling rise* from *Solomon* was sung by a choir of forty voices and Mrs Hammond, from Norwich Theatre sang *Let the Bright Seraphim*. Woolman was cited as, 'a musical amateur of this town, who has on every opportunity displayed his zeal ... in this instance great praise is due to Mr Woolman, for the able manner in which he conducted the performance on the organ'.³²²

Woolman was also to preside in similar circumstances at the celebration of Queen Victoria's accession in 1838.³²³ If Samuel Wesley's assessment of John Eager's abilities as an organist is anything to go by, it would seem that, for special occasions, Woolman was probably the superior player.³²⁴ An advertisement for his teaching activity in Great Yarmouth appeared in the *Norfolk Chronicle* in July 1823.³²⁵

³²¹ Information kindly supplied by Dr Tom Roast. *NorChron*, 21 July 1821, p. 3.

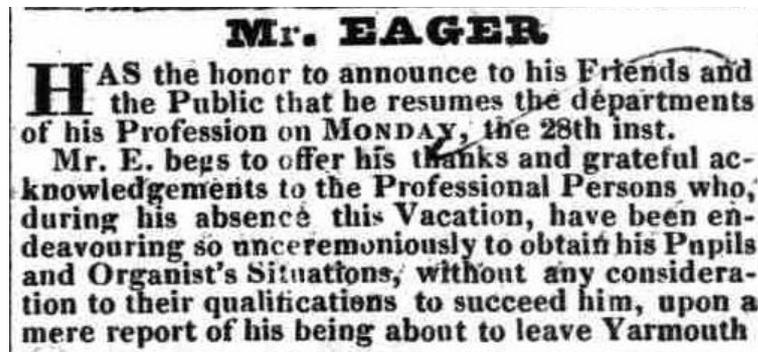
³²² *NorChron*, 28 July 1821, p. 3.

³²³ *NorChron*, 7 July 1838, p. 3.

³²⁴ see footnote 186.

³²⁵ *NorChron*, 26 July, 1823, p. 3.

That Eager was sensitive to any machinations on the part of his detractors is evidenced by a notice which appeared in the *Norfolk Chronicle*, 19 January 1833:³²⁶



Mr. EAGER
HAS the honor to announce to his Friends and the Public that he resumes the départements of his Profession on **MONDAY**, the 28th inst.
Mr. E. begs to offer his thanks and grateful acknowledgements to the Professional Persons who, during his absence this Vacation, have been endeavouring so unceremoniously to obtain his Pupils and Organist's Situations, without any consideration to their qualifications to succeed him, upon a mere report of his being about to leave Yarmouth

It would seem that success as a music and dancing master had come at a price. That others could not wait to see him gone appears self-evident and indeed, within the year, Eager had tendered his resignation and moved to Edinburgh. His business was sold to David Fisher, organist of St George's Chapel.³²⁷ During his time there, Eager taught violin to the royal children at Balmoral and was principal violin at many concerts in Edinburgh and Glasgow. He died in Edinburgh on 1st June 1853.³²⁸ As a composer he left little if anything of note: a *Concerto for the Pianoforte* was dedicated to Her Grace the Duchess of Dorset, and a *Collection of Songs* was dedicated to Lady Beddingfield.³²⁹

The period following John Eager's departure seems to have marked the nadir of both the organ and church music at St Nicholas's. There is little to record beyond the names of Joseph Baxfield and David Fisher. The former appears to have been unremarkable and the latter, while a competent violinist and dancing master, was

³²⁶ Newspaper image © The British Library Board. All rights reserved. With thanks to The British Newspaper Archive (www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk)

³²⁷ *NorChron*, 24 August 1833, p. 3. *NorMerc*, 24 August 1833, p. 2.

³²⁸ James Brown, Stephen Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, (Birmingham, 1897), pp. 133-134.

³²⁹ Sainsbury, vol. 1, pp. 225-226.

organist at St George's Chapel, resigning the position in 1838. This left a period of five years before the appointment of George Warne during which Baxfield acted as a caretaker. It was Warne's appointment which marked the end of the era begun by Musgrave Heighington and, by default, prepared the ground for Henry Stonex. With him, began a new chapter in the history of the organ and music at St Nicholas's.

Part 3: 1843 -1850, George Warne

George Warne was the last organist to fill the post at St Nicholas's before the turn of the half century. His period of office was short, from 1843 to 1850, and was marked by an appreciation of his undoubted skills at the organ tempered by disquiet at his seeming inability to establish and train an effective choir, especially in the latter part of his tenure. This was disrupted by considerable upheaval occasioned by the restoration of the parish church building and was to prove a major hindrance to his efficacy as a church musician. While he did enjoy a modest refurbishment of the organ, circumstances conspired to prevent him capitalising on it. By the time he stepped down, there was a tacit recognition that change was unavoidable.

Quite why George Warne, having been obliged to relinquish a position of some standing in London, should return to the county of his birth is not known, but there is a hint that family pressures played a part since his father, also named George, had a music business in Norwich and, by the time George junior succeeded to the position at Great Yarmouth, George senior was an old man and a widower.

Birth and Early Years

George junior was born in the parish of St Peter Parmentergate, Norwich on 14 July 1797, the eldest child of George Warne senior and Mary Smith. He was a contemporary of the renowned Norwich cathedral organist, Zechariah Buck, and is likely to have been acquainted with him since they lived in the same neighbourhood.³³⁰ It is not known who was involved in George Warne's early musical education, but there is evidence to suggest his father possessed, for the time, adequate competency in the rudiments and more of music. There are no direct references to anyone else who might

³³⁰ Information supplied by Gill Blanchard, Norwich, member of the Association of Genealogists and Researchers in Archives. Report dated 12/02/2014.

have been involved. The advertisements which appeared in the *Norfolk Chronicle* give no hint except that it could be inferred that it was his own father, particularly as both father and son were blind. Elsewhere within the advertisements, George's sister Harriet was billed as a pupil of Sir George Smart which implies that, had George been receiving instruction from a teacher of note, it would have been made known.³³¹ There is the possibility that he was linked with John Charles Beckwith, organist at Norwich Cathedral, since he performed at two or more of George Warne senior's concerts, but this is only a supposition.³³²

An advertisement which appeared in the *Norfolk Chronicle* 13 November 1790 for a popular song of the time, *The Death of Edwin*, describes it as adapted for harpsichord and voice, and published by George Warne senior.³³³ Another insertion in the same newspaper for 29 July 1809, advertised new and secondhand pianofortes by the 'first makers' for sale and hire, and tuning undertaken in city or country. The address of his house and shop is given, 196, King Street, Norwich, which was an area noted more for brewing and tanning, though with plenty of passing trade and not far from the city centre. Warne senior's advertisements appeared periodically in the local press and, it seems, for a time his business flourished because he was enabled to take premises in Prince's Street, Norwich, closer to the city centre and close to the cathedral. It was also near Noverre's Music Room at St Michael at Plea. It was this venue which increasingly became the platform for performances by the young George Warne and his sisters. A substantial advertisement was placed in the *Norfolk Chronicle* at the end of November 1815 which effectively marked the beginning of some four years of intense concert

³³¹ *NorChron*, 3 March 1821, p. 2.

³³² *NorChron*, 21 October 1815, p. 2; 11 November 1815, p. 2.

³³³ Charles Wilton, (1789). *The Death of Edwin and Emma, a favourite Song, sung by Miss Harwood, etc.* (Liverpool: J. B. Pye, 1789)

activity on the part of the Warne family.³³⁴ This was to culminate, in 1819, in George Warne junior leaving Norwich to take up the position of organist at St Helen, Bishopsgate, in the City of London. During this time, Warne junior acquired proficiency in teaching pianoforte and violin, and the tuning of musical instruments. He also had some skill at improvisation.^{335 336}

George Warne junior was appointed organist at St Helen's, Bishopsgate on March 18th, 1819 but resigned just over a year later when he took the position at St Magnus the Martyr, London Bridge, where he remained until 1826.³³⁷ His appointment as organist of the Temple Church in that year marked the high point of his career path in London and was, initially, a successful one since he is known to have resided in Sloane Street, Chelsea from 1834. His salary was £80 per annum which was substantial for the time and compared favourably with other organists' salaries in London.³³⁸ However, it would seem this was not enough to secure an adequate living since he felt obliged to carry on his father's trade as a music publisher and seller as well as being involved in other ventures. During that time, Warne moved among the most illustrious musical circles including Sir George Smart, and was particularly concerned with promoting a new instrument, the Aeolophon. This was a free-reed keyboard instrument similar to the Seraphine, a forerunner of the Harmonium, and had been invented by Francis Day of London. Day was a joint patentee for both instruments (British patent no. 5802, 19 June 1829). Warne's involvement appears to date from 1834 when he gave a series of concerts at the Hall Concert Room, Norwich.³³⁹ In August 1835, he gave a month-long series of hourly recitals at the makers', Day and Myers, manufactory in Poultry.³⁴⁰ The exercise was repeated in January 1836.³⁴¹ In one concert, it was demonstrated with him apparently playing the Aeolophon and a pianoforte simultaneously.³⁴²

Warne seems to have arranged a number of visits to East Anglia including King's Lynn, Great Yarmouth, Bungay, Beccles, and Norwich. The instrument had been developed in the meantime to incorporate two sets of reeds at 8' and 4' pitch as well as a pedal division so extending its range and it was said 'the power of his instrument [was] sufficient to imitate a band of music'. The novelty aspect of the Aeolophon was also exploited in that 'His imitation of tuning of a number of instruments was so striking that we had but to close our eyes to render the deception complete'.³⁴³ However, the likelihood of the Aeolophon finding a ready market in East Anglia seems small and it was not advertised extensively beyond London. Warne did not have sole rights as the performer on the instrument at the various concerts arranged by Day and Myers and it could be that he eventually found it distasteful to be exhibited playing it in venues given over to various scientific and artistic novelties such as the Colosseum, Regent's Park,

³³⁴ *NorChron*, 11 November 1815.

³³⁵ *NorChron*, 7 November 1818, p. 3. At a concert held in Wymondham, Norfolk, Warne jnr. is billed as performing an *Extempore* on the grand piano-forte.

³³⁶ *NorChron*, 6 February 1819, p. 2. A concert given at Noverre's Room on 9 February 1819 has George Warne junior performing on the organ and extemporising a voluntary. This was only a month before his appointment at St Helen's, Bishopsgate.

³³⁷ Donovan Dawe, *Organists of the City of London 1666-1850*, (Purley: Dawe, 1983), p.152

³³⁸ *Calendar of the Inner Temple*, vol 9. fol. 384. By way of comparison, the salary of the organist at the Foundling Hospital is given as £100 pa.

³³⁹ *NorChron*, 26 July 1834, p. 2.

³⁴⁰ *Morning Post*, 20 August 1835, p. 1.

³⁴¹ *Morning Chronicle*, 20 January 1836, p. 2.

³⁴² *NorChron*, 7 November, 1840, p. 2.

³⁴³ *NorChron*, 14 September 1839, p. 2.

or the Adelaide Street Gallery of Practical Science in the Strand.³⁴⁴ The former was a building designed to exhibit a vast panorama of London from a viewpoint at the top of St Paul's cathedral and included a 'saloon of arts', an aviary and exhibitions of mechanical inventions. The venture, begun by Thomas Horner in 1829, fell into financial difficulties and was sold in 1843. By 1840, interest in the Aeolophon had waned, it having been usurped by the Harmonium. As to Warne's position at the Temple Church, this too was under review and was to lead to his enforced resignation in 1843. The comparison with later events at Great Yarmouth, as they were eventually to prove, is unmistakable.

In 1842, the benchers of the Inner Temple received a report from the Church Committee, setting out the manner in which a permanent choir might be established for the singing of the services. Until then, the provision of singers had been the responsibility of Mr Warne who engaged them on a salaried basis. The choir was small and consisted of two singers.³⁴⁵ The report of 1842 recommended the establishment of a choir of men and boys under the direction of a choirmaster. It also proposed, *inter alia*, that the salary of the organist might be reduced from £80 to £60.³⁴⁶ A resolution passed on 15 February 1843 confirmed the recommendation of the 1842 report and on 22 May 1843, a further resolution was passed as follows:

It is resolved, that this Committee, having considered the peculiar duties required from the organist of the Temple Church in connexion with the choir, and from their own observations together with the opinions of several musical professional gentlemen and others, the Committee consider that in consequence of the present organist's affliction of blindness, it is impossible with a due regard to the perfect performance of the Choral Service as now established at the Temple Church, that he can any longer be continued organist with the choir. The Committee therefore consider it their duty to recommend to the respective Benchers of the two Societies that he should be removed, and that an organist fully competent to the performance of Cathedral Service should be appointed in his room. The Committee beg to observe that they have come to this Resolution with a feeling of deep regret, considering that Mr. Warne has now been the Organist for a period of 17 years, and that he has executed the duties hitherto required of him with considerable skill and ability, and much to the satisfaction of the congregation formerly frequenting the Temple Church; but that his unfortunate affliction totally disqualifies

³⁴⁴ *The Times*, 15 December 1843, reported a visit to the gallery in the following terms, "THE ADELAIDE GALLERY OF PRACTICAL SCIENCE. —We were somewhat surprised to witness at this place last night a series of exhibitions, we cannot say entertainments, which bear no sort of relation to science either in practice or theory, and which are certainly neither adapted to enlighten an audience nor confer much respectability on the establishment in which they were displayed. There was an elderly and somewhat heavy-looking person whose tedious narrative of old Americanisms was occasionally relieved by the songs of a confederate in his absurdities; this part of the entertainment met with occasional sibilations, and fortunately was finished before the hisses were general. A bell, similar to that used by dustmen, was then rung by a person who announced that, by the payment of an extra 6d. a piece, each lady and gentleman present might inspect the studies and labours of the industrious fleas. Shortly after this, half-a-dozen of that class of persons who are not inappropriately termed "snobs" inhaled the laughing-gas, and managed by the display of various antics to make themselves greater fools than nature perhaps designed them to be. This sort of exhibition may perhaps attract, and fill the pockets of the proprietor of the gallery better than an exhibition of things really and legitimately connected with science; but surely it is too much to call the building in which such scenes are exhibited the "Gallery of Practical Science."

³⁴⁵ Calendar of the Inner Temple, vol. 7, fol. 785. The choir was composed of variously, two female voices or one male and one female. See also fol. 851.

³⁴⁶ Calendar of the Inner Temple, vol. 9, fol. 386.

him from presiding at the organ where Choral Service is required to be performed.³⁴⁷

A right of appeal was granted but Warne declined and duly tendered his resignation which was accepted on 30 June. The bench did allow him a pension of £50.

Some three years previously, a letter appeared drawing attention to public concern about the state of the organ in the parish church at Great Yarmouth. The letter called it the 'town's disgrace' and hoped that the concern expressed would lead to 'not only its thorough repair, but the like additions made to it as, of late, have been bestowed upon the Cathedral [organ], and other first-rate organs'. It called for the appointment of:

an organist as will be pre-eminently qualified for the office. Since the days of Chicheley, we have had no organist, in the proper sense of the term. Mr Eager and Mr Fisher, our best two were fine musicians; but the fiddle not the organ was their instrument.

The writer, who signed himself 'A.B.', invoked the spirit of Henry Chicheley noting:

Chicheley, poor blind Chichely [sic], when placed before the organ, gave expression to the subject, by music in its finest and most impressive form; for he had the soul as well as the hand and skill of a master. His salary, I think, was only £50 a year; but he made considerably by those who came not only to hear the organ, but his playing on it.³⁴⁸

The dissatisfaction which had been simmering for several decades now began to make itself felt. The parish church had been marginally improved by the introduction of gas lighting but was still partitioned in the manner left from the days of the

³⁴⁷ Calendar of the Inner Temple, vol. 9, fol. 428.

³⁴⁸ *NorChron*, 26 December 1840, p. 3.

Commonwealth.³⁴⁹ The matter of adequate accommodation for the congregation had come to the fore and there was fresh debate about whether a new church should be built or St Nicholas restored to its original form. Commentary in the *Norfolk Chronicle* referred to it as never having been so disfigured, and 'the ugliest, as well as the dirtiest church in the Kingdom', recommending that it be restored to its original state and 'you will then have not only room for more than twice the number of sittings required, but you will place it in the rank of the finest of parish churches'.³⁵⁰

Further comment on the poor state of the music appeared in a letter in early July which castigated the quality of the singing by some children from the charity school.³⁵¹ The letter again invoked the memory of Henry Chicheley and repeated the lament of the absence of a competent, resident organist, 'More than fifty years ago we had, on a like occasion, music of a superior character, and its influence on a numerous audience was not only felt but shown'. Matters were brought to a close with the announcement in August 1843, that George Warne had retired from his position as organist at the Temple Church in London and had indicated his willingness to be considered for the post at Great Yarmouth. High hopes were entertained of his candidature:

The inhabitants of Yarmouth, generally, are not perhaps aware of Mr Warne's high reputation as an organist; nor of his general acquirements as a musician. They are of the highest order, and it is extremely desirable to secure to Yarmouth the advantages which his residence amongst us must afford.³⁵²

It cannot be less of a coincidence that the organist most talked about just prior to the appointment had also been blind and that nostalgia for his attainments was so alive

³⁴⁹ *NorChron*, 9 October 1841, Sermon preached by the Rev'd Pellew in aid of a subscription fund for church lighting.

³⁵⁰ *NorChron*, 12 February 1842. *Yarmouth Church*, p. 3.

³⁵¹ *NorChron*, 2 July 1842. Letter to the editor signed 'H', p. 3.

³⁵² *NorChron*, 12 August 1843, p. 3.

and yearned for.

Five months later, a meeting of some 200 parishioners of Yarmouth was held at the Guildhall presided over by the mayor, Samuel Palmer, to debate the appointment of George Warne, following the resignation of the beleaguered incumbent, Mr Joseph Baxfield.³⁵³ The terms compared unfavourably with those Warne had been used to at the Temple Church. He was to be paid a salary of £50 per annum quarterly but of that, £18 was to be deducted by the churchwardens as an annuity for Baxfield; the arrangement to continue for Baxfield's lifetime. Furthermore, Baxfield was to make himself available as organist should Warne or his successor(s) be absent or temporarily incapacitated. A proposal that the salary should only be £30 was not carried, though the churchwardens still felt it necessary to assure the meeting that the additional salary would not necessitate an increase in the rate.³⁵⁴

Warne's appointment commenced 31 December 1843. On that day the *Bury Herald* reported that:

great numbers were attracted to hear one of the best organists in the kingdom play on an instrument which has but few equals in Europe. He played the middle voluntary from Handel, 'Every valley shall be exalted,' most delightfully. In the evening the church was crowded; and the audience were so enraptured with the voluntaries played after the service, that the gas was obliged to be turned off, before great numbers could be induced to leave.³⁵⁵

The report is interesting not only for the great attention paid to the cause of the organ but also because it mentions the title of what was played as the 'middle'

³⁵³ Joseph Baxfield appears in the 1841 census as resident in Charlotte St. in the parish of St Nicholas, Great Yarmouth, his profession is listed as 'Organist'. He was then approaching middle age. The policy of deducting a proportion of the incoming postholder's salary to supplement that of a retiree was common practice at the time and an acknowledgment of the often poor remuneration then available (Rohr, pp. 92-93).

³⁵⁴ *NorChron*, 23 December 1843, p. 3.

³⁵⁵ *Bury Herald* syndicated to Norfolk Chronicle, 6 January 1844, p. 3.

voluntary.³⁵⁶ Warne looks to have been careful in his choice, a piece which was sober and devotional, immediately recognisable and popular, avoiding any hint of frivolity. A similar report appeared in the *Bury and Norwich Post* of 3 January 1844. An estimate of the capacity of St Nicholas's as it was before the restoration of 1848 suggests that Warne would have been playing to anything up to 1000 people at the evening recital.

Almost as if in anticipation of Warne's arrival, a committee had been appointed to raise the money needed for an overhaul of the organ. The committee first met on Thursday, 28 December 1843 and by the following Saturday evening, £123 had already been raised.³⁵⁷ Warne's debut led the *Norfolk Chronicle* to publish what amounted almost to a leading article on the subject. The article was fulsome in its admiration and the sense of pride felt in the historic claims made for the instrument, comparing it to Exeter Cathedral. However, it regretted that:

though time, neglect, and a disregard of modern improvements, have since removed it from this proud distinction, yet, even in its present state, it still delights; and so familiar has been its reputation with all the leading organists of the kingdom, that they have from time to time sought and renewed acquaintance with it; and all admit that, in some respects, it is yet unrivalled... The choice of such an organist as Mr Warne has induced many of the inhabitants to raise a subscription for the purpose of not only repairing the organ, but of making those additions to it, which of late years, have been bestowed upon the most celebrated organs.

The writer noted that, such was the goodwill felt towards the endeavour, even some leading dissenters [non-conformists] had been persuaded to contribute. Satisfaction was expressed at the way in which it had been possible to induce Warne to come to Great Yarmouth in the face of some competition. Not only, it was confidently asserted, though untrue, had the benchers at the Temple church come to regret having accepted his

³⁵⁶ See Temperley, MEPC, vol. 1, pp. 135-137 for a discussion about the role and placing of the voluntary in the liturgy of the English Church. The use of the word 'middle' to describe the voluntary implies one played, here, either before or after the first lesson in matins or between matins and communion.

³⁵⁷ *NorChron, Bury Herald*, 6 January 1844, p. 3.

resignation but, the report stated, Warne had been offered the post of organist at Watford parish church at a salary of £60 with additional fees for teaching 'the children' [charity children]; this through the offices of Lord Essex and the vicar, Rev'd Capel. This was more than was being offered at Great Yarmouth and doubly so given that the Yarmouth salary had to provide the annuity for Baxfield. However:

These no doubt, as regards himself, are hard terms, but for the sake of peace and quiet they were assented to, and in good faith ought to be kept. Feeling strongly the interest that his friends here took on his behalf, he relinquished Watford for Yarmouth, [and] We trust that such honourable conduct will meet with its due reward.

The report seems to hint that Warne had had some pressure exerted upon him to give up the Watford position to the advantage of Yarmouth perhaps on account of past favours rendered.³⁵⁸ But not everyone was as welcoming of Warne's appointment. A copy of a letter to the Rev'd Mackenzie was made public from someone signing himself, 'an old musician' who claimed to have heard Mendelssohn, Gauntlett and Wesley among others, and considered that a pupil of Zechariah Buck's, William Bexfield, should be appointed instead.^{359 360}

Warne's reward was the long-awaited overhaul and additions to the organ. *The Norfolk Chronicle*, 6 January 1844 reported:

Subscription towards Repairing the Organ. - We mentioned in our last that a considerable sum was required in order to St Nicholas's organ in to efficient repair. We are glad to find, that a subscription for that purpose has been commenced in a very spirited manner. A committee consisting of Mr E H L Preston (treasurer), Mr W Worship (secretary), the Mayor, Messrs. E Steel, M A Woods, W Yetts, John Nolloth, C Davr, D A Gourlay, and V Worship, was appointed on Thursday evening last, and on Saturday night £123 had been subscribed. On Sunday last, being the first occasion on which Mr George Warne officiated as organist, great numbers were attracted to hear one of the best organists in the kingdom play on an instrument which has but few equals in Europe. He played the middle voluntary from Handel, "Every valley shall be exalted," most delightfully. In the evening the church was crowded; and the audience were so enraptured with the voluntaries played after the service, that the gas was obliged to be turned off, before great numbers could be induced to leave.

Fundraising proceeded apace such that the Norfolk Chronicle could remark upon the 'good spirit in which it commenced' while also noting that the cost would eventually be much higher than the estimate. However, it was hoped that 'this will give a fresh impulse to the friends of the measure' and that the project had now become so popular that:

very many who cannot afford to give their pounds are desirous of contributing their shillings and sixpences if a collection were made at the church-doors' adding that the choirs of the two daughter churches, St Peter's and St George's Chapel, had volunteered their services.³⁶¹

³⁵⁸ *NorChron*, 13 January 1844, p. 3.

³⁵⁹ NRO PD 28/354. *Memorials of the Restoration of the Parish Church of St Nicholas; and of the Establishment of National Schools at Great Yarmouth. Vol. 1* compiled by Charles John Palmer, FSA. fol. 68.

³⁶⁰ Bexfield, who was then nineteen, became organist of Boston parish church two years later on finishing his articles with Buck. He eventually obtained a doctorate from Trinity College, Cambridge but his career, which promised so much, was cut short by a fatal intestinal disorder.

³⁶¹ *NorChron*, 20 January 1844, p. 3.

A week later, the subscription list stood at £214. Gray & Davison's estimate of £230 had been accepted but work could not be started until the full amount had been raised because payment would be due immediately on completion.³⁶² It was anticipated the organ would not be closed for more than two Sundays, 'the contractors intending so to arrange that the pedal pipes and bellows should be manufactured ready to insert, in order to cause no unnecessary delay.'³⁶³ The work was to be supervised by Mr Edward Steele and Mr John Nolloth. Steele and Nolloth were both Yarmouth residents and members of the fundraising committee. Edward Steele appears in the 1841 and 1851 censuses as an Army reservist (lieutenant) in the East Norfolk Militia. He was also an amateur organ builder. John Nolloth was a tailor and draper, and thus a tradesman, living in Howard Street. The use of the word "supervised" is most likely to imply they would act as liaison between the committee and the organbuilders. Noteworthy is that William Nolloth, also of Great Yarmouth, and a music seller and organist of St George's Chapel, was not approached even though he might have been expected to qualify (this could be a misprint in which case William Nolloth's inclusion would be understandable). The inference is perhaps that of status, since St George's was the junior establishment in the Borough. Nolloth is referred to in a newspaper report as a judicious and effective player.³⁶⁴ The organ in St George's had then recently been renovated and added to by a local organbuilder, Charles Cotton, of Gaol Paved Row, not one of the major London firms such as Hill, Gray & Davison or Bishop, despite its pedigree.

Expectations proved premature since the organ was not formally reopened until

³⁶² The *Norfolk Chronicle* report mentions 'Gray & Hill' but this is no doubt a misprint.

³⁶³ *NorChron*, 27 January 1844, p. 3.

³⁶⁴ *NorChron*, 24 May 1845, p. 2.

Thursday, 12th September 1844. An advertisement which appeared in the *Norfolk Chronicle* on 7 September (see below), announced a full day's celebrations. The choir of Norwich cathedral was to sing two full "Cathedral" services with anthems by James Kent and Philip Hayes, and Warne was to preside at the organ.³⁶⁵ A report of the proceedings appeared in the *Norfolk Chronicle* supplement of 21st September, most of which was taken up with a summary of the organ's history. The correspondent, while praising George Warne for his 'brilliant, yet chastened execution' of a voluntary played after the second lesson in Morning Prayer, noted that the organ accompaniment throughout was too loud for the choir. A more detailed, probably eye-witness, account praised Warne's faultless precision and execution and considered it:

a subject of wonder with almost every one, that a man, unable, in consequence of blindness, to read a note in music, should still have been capable of retaining in his memory all the details of a full cathedral service! It is a still greater subject of wonder, when it is known that he had only one rehearsal with the choir, and that the evening preceding the reopening of the organ.³⁶⁶

As to the matter of whether the organ was too loud:

The Choir, although accustomed to a very different style of playing, appeared as much at their ease as though Mr Buck, from the cathedral, had been officiating. The new pedal stops were very judiciously managed by Mr Warne; some who call themselves judges, thought they were not sufficiently prominent; we, however, are inclined to think that an indiscriminate use of them would have negatived their effect, and that it would have been bad taste to have sacrificed a very fundamental principle in music to please the ears of a few who appeared desirous of hearing the new pipes and the new pipes only.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁵ The anthems were *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel* by Kent, and *The Lord descended from Above* by Hayes. Both were by composers long since dead (Hayes died in 1797 and Kent in 1776).

³⁶⁶ NRO PD 28/354, 14 August 1844 newspaper report of reopening of St Nicholas's Organ, Great Yarmouth, extract Memorials of the Restoration of the Parish Church of St Nicholas; and of the Establishment of National Schools at Great Yarmouth. vol. 1, compiled by Charles John Palmer, FSA. fol. 68.

³⁶⁷ NRO PD 28/354. fol. 68.

Parish Church, Great Yarmouth.

THE ORGAN in this CHURCH having undergone Thorough Repair, and considerable Enlargement by Messrs. Gray and Davison, of London, will be

BE-OPENED

ON

THURSDAY, the 12th Instant.

The Hon. and Very Reverend the Dean of Norwich has kindly consented to allow the CHORISTERS, under the direction of Mr. BUCK, Organist of the Cathedral, to attend, who will also be assisted by some of the LAY CLERKS. Full CATHEDRAL SERVICE, will be celebrated both Morning & Evening; the Rev. J. C. MATCHETT Chanting the Prayers.

After Morning Prayer, a SERMON will be Preached by the Reverend the MINISTER of the PARISH.

Divine Service will commence at the following hours: Morning at a Quarter-past Eleven o'clock; Evening at Half-past Six o'clock.

The Anthems appointed for the day are, Morning, "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel."—Kent.

Evening, "The Lord descended from above."—Dr. P. Hayes.

Mr. WARNE, Organist of the Church, (late of the Temple Church, London), will preside at the Organ.

Collections will be made during the reading of the Offertory Sentences in the Morning, and at the Doors, after Divine Service, in the Evening.

368

Further offerings received in the collection plate did not pass without comment since during the sermon preached by the Reverend Mackenzie, the congregation was informed that the work to the organ had cost £170 more than had been subscribed. His appeal for funds to make up the difference resulted in only £72.10s being given, from a congregation of 500 people:

If all had acted as the preacher hoped they would the organ would not have been a farthing in debt. There were 500 persons present and only £72.10s. collected at both services, from which something like £20 must be deducted for expenses. In the morning, £57.10s. was collected (the plates were handed from pew to pew) and in the evening they were held at the doors with a much larger congregation, when only fifteen pounds was found in the boxes. This reflects anything but credit on Yarmouth liberality... There is a very large class here who are careless how much benefit or pleasure they receive provided nothing is to pay for it. Here

³⁶⁸ NRO PD 28/354, 7 September 1844.

was an object in which every Churchman (and Dissenter too) was interested in supporting, and yet they satisfy their consciences with cold indifference and selfishness as we have just received.³⁶⁹

A separate report announced that a choir was to be formed at St Nicholas's, directed by Warne: If it shall correspond with, or even approach that of the Temple Church, whilst under his superintendence, the admirers of sacred music will have a high treat.³⁷⁰

It would appear the formation of the new choir took more time than had been anticipated and, regrettably, the high hopes entertained of a rebirth of the choral and organ tradition at the parish church were to prove all too premature. A local commentator summed up the situation thus:

Lately the singing has been most deplorable, and it is with the greatest difficulty that the articulation of a single syllable could be discovered. ...[Yet] the salary of the organist is so low that he cannot be expected to devote any time to forming and training a choir, and no one who is able can be found willing to undertake the office.³⁷¹

Nonetheless, a subscription had been raised which provided for the regular instruction of a choir of 24 selected charity children, twelve of whom were to be permanent choristers and the remainder, 'to be filled up as vacancies occur by death or otherwise...'³⁷² The children, all boys, were supposedly to receive some small financial reward.

The main obstacle, aside from the low salary paid to Warne, was the physical state of the parish church, compounded by the seeming obtuseness of the Church

³⁶⁹ NRO PD 28/354, fol. 68.

³⁷⁰ *NorChron*, 21 September 1844, p. 2.

³⁷¹ NOR PD 28/355 *Memorials of the Restoration of the Parish Church of St Nicholas and of the Establishment of National Schools at Great Yarmouth* vol. 2, compiled C J Palmer 1846-47. July 1846, fol. 95.

³⁷² NOR PD 28/355, fol.95

Trustees³⁷³ in charge of its proposed renovation. The *Norfolk Chronicle* of 27 June 1846 commented:

We regret, that the hope hitherto entertained of seeing the church, repaired and enlarged, and rendered a credit, instead of a disgrace to the town, have [sic] been, since our last, dissipated by the extraordinary conduct of the Church Trustees; and that, at a time too, when efforts were making to improve the service, by rendering the choir more effective... But while the service is rendered more attractive, the scanty and mean accommodation will, in all probability, remain as heretofore.

The background to this state of affairs impinged on Warne's ability not only to train the choir but also to function efficiently as organist. Ultimately, circumstances placed him in an impossible position and eventually led to his resignation. The controversy centred on a dispute which arose concerning restoration work to the church building. It had been known for several decades that the church was in very poor structural condition. A pamphlet written by the vicar, the Reverend Henry Mackenzie appealing for funds towards the work and the establishment of a National School gave a detailed summary of the matter.³⁷⁴ In it, he outlined how the church had suffered more than most during the 16th and 17th centuries:

...there is not a vestige of stained glass remaining – the sepulchral brasses have all been torn from their stones – there is no screen or oaken tracery of any kind – no paving of encaustic tiles – one little bench alone attests the existence of the former free sittings, with their carved ends and poppy-heads – the beautiful stone tracery of the Reredos and Sedilia has been wantonly knocked to pieces and destroyed – one of the most ancient monuments is converted into a doorway – walls of solid masonry

³⁷³ An Act of Parliament (see 46 Geo.3 Cap.61, 1806) was passed in June 1806 which provided for the setting up of a committee of trustees to raise funds for the repair of the parish church and the rebuilding of the church tower. The committee was made up of the mayor, aldermen, common councilmen and gentleman inhabitants of the borough. It had powers to charge a duty on shiploads of coals, slack and cinders to the extent of one shilling per, in today's measure, 1.3 tonnes approximately. The Act also provided for a rate of one shilling in the pound to be charged annually or more often as required upon "all lands, houses, tenements and hereditaments" within the parish of Great Yarmouth and for money to be borrowed up to a maximum of £8000. In addition, the trustees could sell annuities to anyone willing to contribute a sum of money to the repairs. The Act was found insufficient to provide adequate funds and so was superseded by another 3rd Geo. 4th [1822-23?] which provided for an increase in the rate of a further shilling over and above that originally levied.

³⁷⁴ NRO PD 28/354, fol. 179.

fill up the arches which divide the body of the Church from the Chancel – the North Aisle has been separated from the Nave by a wooden partition, and, in 1705, an unsightly gallery was erected in the Nave itself, for the 'benefit of the Hospital for Decayed Fishermen,' to give light to which, two of the massive columns of the South Aisle were removed. The Great West Door has been blocked up and disused, contrary to an order made by the Vicar General...³⁷⁵

The church presented an 'extremely melancholy' aspect. From the documentation available, which is copious, it emerges that the church building fell victim to the political wrangling and factionalism which then abounded between the Establishment ie. the Church of England and the Tory Party on the one hand, and Dissenters (non-conformists) and the Whigs on the other. A W Ecclestone in *The Rise of Great Yarmouth* gives an account of the way the Borough was run in the early years of the century. Neither the common people nor the freemen had a voice in who was elected to serve in the town administration. It also meant that Dissenters were denied the opportunity since all appointments were ultimately the mayor's prerogative with the Tories holding sway by a large margin after the Napoleonic Wars.³⁷⁶ The responsibility for the upkeep of the parish church had been vested in a body of Church Trustees set up by a local Act of Parliament in 1806³⁷⁷. This provided for funds to be raised through the levying of dues on coal, cinders and slack imported into Yarmouth to the extent of one shilling per chaldron weight. It also gave powers for funds to be raised through a tax on the rateable value of property and the selling of annuities. The Trustees were also empowered to borrow money up to a maximum of £8000. In principle, this should have enabled the Trustees to keep the church in good repair but a further Act in 1822 was found necessary to increase the level of borrowing and the dues on coal. This, however, brought several difficulties with it. The duty of one shilling on coal was in addition to a

³⁷⁵ NRO PD 28/354.

³⁷⁶ A W Ecclestone and J L Ecclestone, *The Rise of Great Yarmouth*, (Yarmouth, 1959), pp. 177-181.

³⁷⁷ 46 Geo. 3, 1806, Cap. 61.

duty already levied of one shilling and sixpence, of which one shilling went towards the maintenance of St George's chapel. This made the importation of coal through Yarmouth very expensive, over a third more than through Beccles via Lowestoft in Suffolk. Many shipowners felt Yarmouth would lose trade to Lowestoft, yet the Corporation's debts were so large, £8000, that they could not afford to lose what income it provided. Given the state of the church building, the level of debt and an additional factor, the constitution of the board of Trustees, it can be imagined that funds were being diverted from the repair of the church to service the Corporation debt. The Trustees themselves were by no means all sympathetic to the maintenance of the building. The vicar, Reverend Mackenzie, took the drastic step at one point of writing to Mr W E Gladstone, then President of the Board of Trade, to complain of their behaviour and whether there was any point in bringing their conduct to the attention of Parliament,

...Perhaps you will understand the class of men with whom I have to deal when I tell you that of the 13... all being church trustees under an Act of Parliament, only one besides myself was a professed churchman; the two other..., one being an Independent, the other Unitarian. Of the nine who formed the majority the greater number were Unitarian, and the remainder of no religious profession whatever...^{378 379}

Underlying the situation was the realisation that necessary repair work to the church building, quite apart from work to restore it to its former capacity and appointment before the days of the Commonwealth, had been delayed to such an extent that it was now in a dangerous state (the gable of the north transept had been reported back in 1842 as being sixteen and a half inches out of perpendicular) and rather than repair parts of the church such as the east, and a portion of the side, walls of the chancel, they had been simply demolished and patched up in a very ordinary fashion.

³⁷⁸ NRO PD 28/355 Palmer memorials, fol. 169/170, Extract of letter from Rev'd Mackenzie to the Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

³⁷⁹ *NorChron*, 19 December 1846.

The pamphlet appealing for funds estimated that some £5000 would be required to completely restore the church. The Trustees had voted the sum of £1250 provided an equivalent sum could be raised by voluntary subscription. This was very quickly achieved. The Trustees however, fearing they would be faced with a liability over and above the £1250 in the event of any possible accident occurring, reneged on their pledge with the result that the commencement of work to restore the church did not begin until December 1846, when the *Norfolk Chronicle* was able to report that repairs had begun. The chancel had been cleared of old seats and benches and preparations were being made to move the congregation there pending work to the nave and south aisle. Services commenced in February 1847.³⁸⁰ For the time being, the organ remained on its gallery at the west end of the south aisle. Its distance from the chancel, well over 40 metres, made it impossible to use such that services in the chancel were sung unaccompanied despite calls for an organ to be hired in for the duration.³⁸¹ In any case, it had been sheeted over to protect it from the building work.

The effect on the music in the church was such that comment in the local press turned to a mood of deep disappointment:

We ... express our regret that singing should be permitted in which it is impossible the congregation can join, and our surprise that Mr Warne has not been able to train a choir who can sing at least equal to the Sunday School children, who have no singing lessons in the week, and are destitute of the advantages supposed to be conferred by being taught by a professor of the art. We are far from wishing it to be understood as our meaning, that Mr Warne's general musical acquirements are not equal to training a choir of this or even a superior description; but we do believe, that for obvious reasons, he is not so adapted to the office as very many

³⁸⁰ *NorChron*, 6 February 1847, p. 3.

³⁸¹ NRO PD 28/354 fol. 393.

who might be found. Unless greater progress can be made in the next six months than has resulted from the last half year's tuition, the subscriptions for the choir will be very materially diminished. This will be a subject for regret, because Yarmouth at her Parish Church has been long very far behind neighbouring towns in her congregational psalmody; and because with an organ second to perhaps none in the kingdom, and with a highly talented organist, it will be when the work of restoration shall be fully carried out more than ever desirable that the singing should not be allowed to remain in its present discreditable state.³⁸²

The oblique reference to Warne's blindness is unfortunate given that only a few years earlier, his accomplishments at the Temple Church were being spoken of in adulatory terms. But then, it is also probable that the material he had at his disposal in Yarmouth was of a very different calibre from that in London. Nonetheless, it appears the remarks had some effect since a few months later it was reported that the singing had improved markedly, though apparently not because of any increased application by Warne since his name is not mentioned anywhere (the absence of Warne's name suggests he had no involvement):

We believe that this is almost solely attributable to the kind assistance most efficiently supplied by the Sunday School Teachers. These gentlemen, when singing in the North Aisle (where the Sunday School is held); invariably chaunt [sic] the Gloria Patri at the finish of every psalm. Would it be asking too much of them if they would continue the same in the chancel? There are several chaunts which are familiar to the congregation, and we have no doubt but they would be pleased to hear them, and also feel privileged in assisting to make our Psalmody what it ought it to be - congregational. Should the attempt now being made by a very successful professor of the Hullah system of musical teaching (Mr Barrister), to establish classes in this town, we feel confident that we should very soon have not merely a good choir, but general and musical congregational singing.^{383 384}

The effect, such as it was, appears to have been only temporary since a letter

³⁸² NRO PD 28/355 fol. 233.

³⁸³ Hullah's system was similar to Curwen's Tonic Sol-Fa except that it used a fixed doh, a difference which ultimately led to its abandonment.

³⁸⁴ NRO PD 28/355 fol.269, May 1847.

signed, "One of the Congregation" to the *Norfolk Chronicle* dated 1 December 1847 suggests that the chancel was still in use as the parish church without any means of accompaniment for the congregation, the implication being that George Warne's services as an organist had effectively been dispensed with for the best part of two years:

Sir, It has been often remarked, the congregation of St Nicholas' church joined less in singing than any other congregations; but since their temporary removal to the chancel, and they have been led to depend upon themselves, being only assisted by a few individuals leading, with simple and easy tunes, they have insensibly been induced to join in, and it is a pleasing fact, that the hymn or psalm is now anticipated by the congregation and joined in with pleasure; and, I should hope, with profit.

Notwithstanding the apparent improvement in congregational singing, unaccompanied, the writer complained of the detrimental effect assistance provided by the choir of St Peter's was having. While acknowledging the superiority of that choir over their own, it was observed that, 'frequently, whether for display or otherwise, [St Peter's choir] have sung the hymns or psalms to tunes that no congregation unacquainted with music, could possibly join in.'³⁸⁵

Quite how George Warne reacted is not recorded but working conditions were hardly conducive to the adequate training of a church choir. There is the distinct impression that Warne's authority as a competent music professional was being put in question, even overridden, in the pursuit of establishing a choral tradition at the parish church. Whether this was indeed the case, it appears Warne felt the need to stay remote from the criticisms and slights aimed at him. It could be that he felt he had no choice for the moment but to continue with the appointment in the hope that matters would resolve themselves. To do otherwise would have risked financial hardship and damage to his reputation had he quit at a time when sentiment was unsupportive. That he was not

³⁸⁵ *NorChron*, 18 December 1847, p. 4.

alone in feeling the toll exacted by the course of events is attested by a letter written by the Vicar of St Nicholas, the Reverend Henry Mackenzie, to the Bishop of Norwich concerning plans for the re-opening celebrations, in which he complained of the difficulties faced during the work of restoration:

[the work] has been a laborious and a costly one, carried out in the face of many difficulties in a place to say the least not celebrated for its earnestness in the cause of religion nor for its attachment to the National church.³⁸⁶

By June 1848, Mackenzie had resigned the living of St Nicholas and been appointed vicar of St Martin-in-the-Fields, London. The new incumbent, the Reverend George Hills from Leeds, was not officially read in until late September. In August 1848, the restoration work was complete and on Thursday 24th, the church was officially reopened. The *Norfolk Chronicle* provided a full account of the proceedings claiming that at morning service, over 3500 persons had attended with hundreds more left standing. Norwich Cathedral choir and its director of music, Zechariah Buck, led the singing with Warne as organist assisted by a Mr. White who accompanied the psalms, responses and one of the anthems taken from Handel's *Messiah*.³⁸⁷

With the parish church restored to its former splendour, the matter of providing divine service with a suitable choral dimension was very soon brought to the attention of the new vicar. A letter dated 16 December appeared in the *Norfolk Chronicle* making it clear the level of dissatisfaction abroad and what was required:

³⁸⁶ NRO PD 28/230, *Report Book of the Committee appointed for the restoration of the parish church of St Nicholas at Great Yarmouth and the Establishment of a National School in connexion therewith*. Letter dated 15 November 1847.

³⁸⁷ *NorChron*, 14 May 1870, p. 5. Thomas Woolsey White, born Norwich 1826, chorister at Norwich Cathedral and artiled pupil of Zechariah Buck, said to be one of Buck's favourites. He was the first organist at St Mark's Lakenham (1847) and he and Stonex jointly opened a new organ at St Swithin's, Norwich. In 1849 he became organist at Morpeth, Northumberland, and St Paul's Brighton in 1854.

To the Rev. George Hills, Minister of Great Yarmouth.

Sir, Since the Yarmouth Church Organ stands amongst the foremost of the very finest in the kingdom, it ought to have not only an organist of first-rate talent, but also an adequate choir. The entire absence of such a choir, and the manner in which this organ is sometimes played upon, in the absence of Mr Warne, having occasioned strongly expressed displeasure, may I be permitted, in the first place, to suggest, that the choir, at first, be confined to female voices, chosen, as to number and talent, by adequate judges; the attempt to form one from boys having failed. I believe, that those ladies who so kindly devote a considerable portion of their valuable time to the religious education of the female children, and who possess considerable vocal talent, would have little difficulty in making such a selection, and I trust there would be none in finding an instructress... Allow me further to say, that I do not confine the choir to female voices, but that I thus seek a beginning of one, leaving to those who may adopt this suggestion, the introduction of male voices, where talent and character may justify the addition... As to the organ itself, I trust there will not be a repetition of the grievance complained of.

The idea of introducing girls' voices into the choir would have been a novel one had it succeeded. The new vicar seems not to have been persuaded since at a meeting held early in 1849, it was decided to form a choir of men and boys only. This was to consist of six men and eight boys with another eight boys in training. The annual costs associated with it would be defrayed by voluntary subscriptions and from the collection plate. A committee comprised of six gentlemen in addition to the clergy and churchwardens, the latter ex-officio, would be responsible for the administration of the choir with the musical direction in the hands of a Mr G. Sharpe, and there was to be a secretary and a treasurer. As to the position of George Warne, no mention was made but it can be assumed he had been demoted to accompanist since an account of the first year's activity in the *Norfolk Chronicle* of 16 February 1850, mentions a small sum to the organist for extra duties. The report also noted 'the improvement which has taken place in a most important part of our incomparable service, since the establishment of the choir, consisting of eight men and ten boys'. There was also a small deficit of 13s.6d

in the accounts which did not go unnoticed:

We may here remark, that we are somewhat surprised at the small amount of annual subscriptions [£66.6s.6d] from such a large and wealthy congregation as assemble in the fine old church of St Nicholas. We are quite sure, that very many who have not yet subscribed shall be glad to do so; rather than see the choir discontinued for want of sufficient funds. We have attended many churches; but rarely one with so large a congregation as that of St Nicholas, or in which the service throughout is better performed; and we must congratulate the parishioners on the many privileges, as Churchmen, they now enjoy.

Five months later, George Warne had ceased to be organist of St Nicholas, Great Yarmouth. The *Norfolk News* for Saturday, 1 June 1850 reported that at a recent vestry meeting, it had been decided that the expenses relating to the organ and organist were no longer to be paid out of the church rate but from a voluntary subscription. Sufficient monies had been forthcoming to enable existing arrangements, including the organist's salary, to continue whereupon it was proposed to re-elect Warne subject to, 'the same salary as heretofore, he binding himself to certain conditions for the punctual and regular performance, in future, of his duties as organist and teacher of the choir.'³⁸⁸ To this, Warne replied that while he assented to the conditions required of him, the salary was far too low. Some felt that an increase in salary was justified but the vestry, perceiving that any increase in the funding available for organ and organist was unlikely to be forthcoming, voted to keep it at its present level, whereupon Warne refused to accept. It is known that Warne had a shop in Holborn Hill, London which necessitated him absenting himself from Yarmouth on a fortnightly basis to attend to it. The slowness of communication meant that, on occasion, he missed the coach or boat which should have brought him back in time for Sunday worship. This was sufficient for the Vestry to lay down the conditions mentioned above. It is probable Warne calculated that the requested salary increase would have been enough to compensate him for the loss of

³⁸⁸ Frederick Johnson, *Yarmouth Mercury*, 12 July 1902, 'The History of the Parish Church Organ, Of the Organists', p. 7.

business if he had to give up the London shop. It is also probable that Warne had been manipulated into making himself redundant. Early on in the meeting, a letter was read from the organist of Norwich Cathedral, Mr Buck, recommending a pupil of his, Henry Stonex. Prior to the meeting, a member of the vestry, a Mr W C Reynolds, had written to Buck enquiring whether he could recommend anyone for the post, so the vestry knew it did not need to be bound by any conditions Warne might make. Stonex, then 26 years of age, was duly elected by a large majority.

The circumstances surrounding George Warne's time as organist at Great Yarmouth were humiliating. The fact of his blindness, at a time when aids for the blind were virtually non-existent, put him at a disadvantage and, while his skill as a musician at the keyboard and, with the aid of an amanuensis, as a composer was not in doubt, he would have struggled to control a choir of young persons – borne out by the Temple benchers' assessment of his continuing suitability and by the disappointment felt by the congregation at St Nicholas. Had it not been for the strong family connections Warne possessed, it seems unlikely he would have returned to the county of his birth. An advertisement from 1846 suggests that Warne was living in Norwich and travelling to Yarmouth each week to fulfil his organist duties and other teaching commitments. By 1848, he seems to have become settled in Yarmouth so that, once having taken up residence with some prospect of business stability, to find that the church position could not promise him reasonable financial support, including through the connections he had built up through his music business, the loss of income must have hit hard. As it was, Warne was obliged to travel to London on alternate weeks to fulfil orders and obtain stock, including musical instruments³⁸⁹. By the time he quit, there was little to exert any continuing hold over him in Norfolk, he was a widower and reliant on family members

³⁸⁹ *NorChron*, 7 October 1848, advertisement, p. 1.

for support. This is confirmed by his subsequent whereabouts and the fact that he ended his days almost at the opposite end of the country. The 1851 census reveals that he was lodging in Whitehaven with his son, William. Later, he was to move back to London where he took up residence in Clerkenwell with two of his daughters.³⁹⁰ By 1868, the year of his death, he had moved to Bath and was, apparently, working right up until the end.

³⁹⁰ Census 1861.

Part 4: 1850 -1895, Henry Stonex.

Introduction

The early years of Henry Stonex's incumbency as organist at St Nicholas were no less turbulent than previous ones. Indeed, the years 1860 to 1870 might rank as the most tumultuous in the church's musical history. By comparison with former episodes, they are well documented and, despite the losses following the destruction of 1942, it is possible to construct a detailed picture of musical life at St Nicholas and how it intertwined with that of the Borough.

Throughout, Stonex emerges as an example of a new generation of organists, a group bearing many similarities with church musicians of even a hundred years later; who were learning to accommodate instruments very different from those they had been brought up on, requiring a very different playing technique and allowing access to a wealth of interpretational possibilities and repertoire hitherto undreamt of. This is the tenure of someone who, in some respects, could be regarded as Yarmouth's first 'modern' church musician since his activity throughout this time begins to resemble that of a typical major town church organist of the early 20th century.

There were several key moments during this period when the organ itself became the focal point in what follows and, for better or worse, dominated the public agenda. That it could lead, at times, to much heated and acrimonious debate is a sign of how firmly it was rooted in the collective consciousness of the town and how protective were its inhabitants of its reputation as, so they believed, one of the finest church organs in the country. Significant is the existence of the court papers regarding the application of the 'Faculty Jurisdiction' of the time, the Anglican Church's equivalent of planning law, to the relocation and rebuilding of the organ in 1869 such that the process whereby

permission was obtained to undertake the work can be traced at length. At the same time, it sheds light on the way in which legal aspects of church governance could have a direct and profound influence on the course taken, in this case, by the musical fortunes of the parish and the way in which arguments, normally reserved for questions of liturgical preference or necessity, were deployed in a legal context.³⁹¹

Principal sources of information are the *Minute Book of St Nicholas' Church Great Yarmouth 1862 [Restoration Committee]*³⁹² which is primary for discussion about work to the organ between 1869 and 1875. It includes significant detail about the deliberations of the Restoration Committee though little discussion of the attempt made by the chief magistrate of the Borough, E H L Preston, to prevent the organ proposals being carried forward. The local press is of great importance for documenting the more public aspects of the debate which were considerable; indeed, regarding this particular episode, the impression is given, at times, of a disputation conducted in open session, even to the point of publishing the proceedings of the Consistory Court at Norwich. The main newspaper of the town, the *Yarmouth Independent*, founded in 1855, provides lengthy and in some cases, verbatim accounts while others such as the *Norfolk News* or *Bury and Norwich Post* were either of a more liberal (left wing) bias or tended not to report at such length. In this connection, a degree of syndication took place so that the leading Norfolk journal, the *Norfolk Chronicle*, would carry the same article from time to time as the *Yarmouth Independent*. Surviving copies of the *Yarmouth Parish Magazine*, which first appeared in 1866, give valuable insights regarding the weekly musical requirement of the parish church. They also provide interesting and significant points of view from a clerical perspective as well as being a useful source for the chronology of the various events surrounding the reopenings of the organ. Nowhere

³⁹¹ NRO DN/CON 140.

³⁹² NRO PD 28/232.

else, for example, are recorded the Reverend George Venables' experiments with the acoustics of the church in an effort to enhance the projection of sound from the chancel towards the nave and nave aisles arising from the problems before the days of effective sound amplification.

As such, a wide range of factors comes to light encompassing ceremonial, churchmanship, church law and questions of liturgy impinging directly on the role and appointment of the organ itself. Changes in the liturgy and, consequent upon that, the pressing need to transplant the organ from its position in the south aisle to one much further east were to become the central determining points since its extreme remoteness from the focal point of worship could no longer be tolerated. Despite the longstanding debate³⁹³ and, though in line with a more widely appreciated move towards surpliced choirs and a more cathedral style of worship centred in the chancel, it remained highly controversial. Other difficulties associated with the physical state of the building compounded the situation which, in the early years, hindered musical development but once finally resolved, provided a modicum of stability enabling some development of the music to take place. Relocating the organ also included enlarging it, something which was accompanied by a long-drawn-out period of uncertain metamorphosis occasioned by clerical dictats, a dearth of scientific knowledge regarding the acoustics of buildings and a failure to take account of the wide variations in ambient temperature and humidity which the vastness of St Nicholas's could present; a consequence of building technology of the time.

Alterations to the organ also imply an organist who had the training and ability to make use of them; Stonex's playing technique and range of skills at the instrument would be very different from those of his predecessor, George Warne. By the time of its

³⁹³ Since 1846

second major reconstruction in 1875, its resemblance to a 'modern' instrument was unmistakable, with a developed Pedal organ, a choice of registration aids and an embryonic assisted stop and key action. However, evidence suggests Stonex was more of an accompanist than a performer, preferring to leave that to others (his first recorded series of recitals did not take place until 1883). Instead, he concentrated on the routine work of a church organist and while there appears to be no evidence that he had a permanent salaried assistant, he did train articled pupils, one of whom, Edgar Lane, began his professional career as sub organist at Ripon Cathedral. Lane received tuition over a period of four years, commencing around March 1881 when aged sixteen and at the age of nineteen was appointed to Ripon.^{394 395} He subsequently became a leading musical figure in Dorset. Given that Lane had his own church duties to attend to while articled to Stonex (he was organist of St James's, Great Yarmouth) we may reasonably assume that Stonex fulfilled part of his own commitments unaided. Surviving service lists published in the parish magazine show a varied pattern of worship so that, for example in August 1884, Lane's availability to act as assistant would have been on three of the four Sundays in the month at Holy Communion, at mid-week Choral Evensong on Wednesdays at 7.30 pm, and probably at the daily office, though this is not recorded. The frequency of services was commented on by the Reverend Benjamin Armstrong, vicar of Dereham. He wrote in a diary entry for Sunday, 24 August 1862:

It is curious that, though there is daily service in all the four churches of Yarmouth, not one has a surpliced choir. The thousands of people pouring out of the different places of worship and promenading afterwards was a quite a sight.³⁹⁶

³⁹⁴ The *Yarmouth Independent*, 19 March 1881, carried an advertisement by Stonex for an articled pupil and a receipt for fees dated July 31st 1882 for the sum of £12. 10s. 'being the second instalment...' is reproduced in *Edgar A Lane, Musician 1865 -1938, Memories of Edgar Alfred Lane*, by his daughter Margaret Lane p. 5. It seems probable the successful respondent to the advertisement was Edgar Lane.

³⁹⁵ The post of assistant at Ripon was an informal one until 1928.

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_musicians_at_English_cathedrals#cite_ref-60> [accessed 26/10/17]

³⁹⁶ Benjamin Armstrong, *A Norfolk Diary, Passages from the Diary of the Rev. Benjamin John Armstrong* (London: Harrap, 1949) p. 95.

Choral directing however was the dominant passion of his life since the development and success of the Great Yarmouth Musical Society was almost wholly down to him and, as its conductor and choir trainer, he received numerous plaudits and accolades. In this regard, he was able to cement his standing as the Borough's senior 'musician in residence', earning him a degree of authority and status in keeping with its municipal and commercial success, much of it built on tailoring the musical palette to the Borough's taste. The concerts provided by the Great Yarmouth Musical Society were conservative, even unadventurous, but also reflected an understanding of the function of a choral society as part of the social fabric of the community and, perhaps belatedly, the 'package' of attractions available to visitors at various times throughout the year.³⁹⁷ The bond between 'givers' and 'receivers' of the musical fare on offer was one which had to be nursed and coaxed in a way which contributed to communal identity. To have done otherwise risked alienation and, worse, loss of income for someone like Stonex for whom his organist's salary, generous as it was, was insufficient to live on.

His election as organist to St Nicholas's was announced in the *Norfolk Chronicle* on 1 June 1850. The situation he found himself in was as daunting as it was propitious. The organ and choir were still remote from the liturgy. The choir had been neglected and parts of the church building were still in a parlous condition. For the first twenty years of his appointment, little changed in terms of the physical arrangements of St Nicholas's

³⁹⁷ A clear impression of the likely risk of departing from standard repertoire is given by Henry Smart's reply to an enquiry from the Leeds Festival committee about substituting *Elijah* and *Messiah* for *St Paul and Israel in Egypt* in its programming. Smart wrote, "It would be an extraordinary mistake, in a commercial point of view, to omit both *Elijah* and *Messiah*... I certainly think it would be a capital error to omit... the two most popular oratorios ever written." F R Spark and J Bennett, *History of the Leeds Musical Festivals 1858-1889*, (London: Novello, 1892) quoted in Catherine Dale, 'The Provincial Musical Festival in Nineteenth Century England: A Case Study of Bridlington'. *Music in the British Provinces 1690-1914* eds. P. Holman, R. Cowgill. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 326.

church. In consequence, it appears that while laying the foundations of the later choral tradition there as best he could, and in the face of considerable obstacles, he ensured he made his mark as the principal town musician through the medium of the Great Yarmouth Choral Society.

Early Years

He was born in Norwich on 18 May 1823, to Rowland Stonex, a wheelwright, and Mary, née Bridgeman, the younger of two children, his sister twice his age. Little is known of his early years, though the 1841 census hints at a less than easy family life since his mother is marked down as 'independent', suggesting either her husband had left her, or she had been widowed. He was prominent enough for *The Times* to record his death in 1897 and the *Musical Times* printed a short obituary from which we read he had first been a pupil of James Harcourt, Norwich Choral Society chorusmaster and organist of St Peter Mancroft, Norwich. He was later apprenticed to Zechariah Buck, the renowned Organist and Choirmaster of Norwich Cathedral.³⁹⁸ It was through Harcourt that he developed strengths playing the violin, viola and serpent and it is also possible he received organ tuition from him, at least to begin with, since Buck preferred to concentrate on training the choir, employing a succession of articled pupils to accompany.³⁹⁹

Stonex's articles with Zechariah Buck began sometime in the 1840s; we cannot be sure what they entailed, since he was not one of Buck's celebrated choristers.

However, there is sufficient detail provided by other pupils to gain a useful general impression of life at Norwich. This is provided by a *Centenary Memoir* published in 1899 containing reminiscences by, among others, notable figures such as Alfred Gaul

³⁹⁸ *The Times*, 1 January 1898, p. 3; 'Obituary: Henry Stonex.' *MT*, vol. 38, no. 648, 1897, p. 123, JSTOR, <www.jstor.org/stable/3368504> [accessed 30/11/2017].

³⁹⁹ Andrew Parker, 'Buck, Zechariah (1798–1879)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3851>>, [accessed 2 October 2017]

and Dr Arthur Mann. Stonex would have been immersed in a tradition stretching back to the incumbency of Thomas Garland, organist of Norwich Cathedral from 1749 until 1808.⁴⁰⁰ Garland is thought to have been a pupil of Humphrey Cotton and there is a suggestion he was also a pupil of Maurice Greene. It is generally held that Buck was secured by Garland for the Cathedral as a choirboy but, following Garland's death in 1808, Buck received his early training from Dr John Christmas Beckwith who was appointed Garland's successor. Beckwith died in 1809 and was succeeded by his son John Beckwith, who held the post until 1817 when he relinquished it in favour of Buck.⁴⁰¹ Buck, for his part, made it his business to visit many of the cathedrals in England to hear other choirs almost as soon as he had been appointed. At the same time, he was keen to learn vocal techniques from Italian teachers and would take lessons himself.⁴⁰² This concentration on choir-training may have had its origins, in part, in the following remarks made by Kitton:

The fact that vocal music was usually held in higher esteem than instrumental music was impressed upon Dr Buck when, during his early days, he attended musical parties in Norwich; for he then observed that while a performance on the pianoforte was almost rudely ignored by the assembled company, seeming to encourage rather than repress animated conversation, the moment a vocalist appeared there was immediate silence, the singer's strains commanding respectful attention. This sufficed to convince the young organist, that the art of singing was paramount in a popular sense, and accordingly he at once decided to teach singing as being likely to bring him more prominently before the public.⁴⁰³

From which it could also be inferred that Buck saw no future in dedicating himself to the advancement of the organ (as Cathedral organist, Buck is recorded as almost never having presided at it at a service which is also curious given that it was

⁴⁰⁰ Thomas Roast, 'Composers of Norwich Cathedral 1620 – 1819' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of East Anglia, 1998) p. 97 et seq.

⁴⁰¹ F G Kitton, *Zechariah Buck, Mus. D. Cantor, A Centenary Memoir*, (London: Jarrold & Sons, 1899) p. 2.

⁴⁰² Kitton p.4.

⁴⁰³ Kitton, pp. 33-34.

then common practice for organists to lead choirs from the organ console) since the fame of the Cathedral's musical establishment was more likely to rest on the quality of its choral tradition than its organ music.⁴⁰⁴ Even the reconstructions of the Norwich Cathedral organ in 1820 and 1833 would have done little to differentiate it from the original Byfield organ.⁴⁰⁵ It was not until 1899, with the building of a completely new instrument, that the last vestige of Dr Buck's era was swept away. Dr Frank Bates, Norwich Cathedral organist from 1886 until 1928 did not mince his words referring to it, on a first encounter, as, 'a miserable instrument', and 'one of the poorest organs, if not *the* poorest Cathedral organ, in the country'.⁴⁰⁶

A consequence of this state of affairs was that, when appointed to Yarmouth in 1850, Stonex would have been able to slip into the post with comparative ease; it was not as if the young musician was to be confronted with a robed choir in the chancel, perhaps new and unfamiliar styles of worship and a new instrument, raising expectations of a new standard of musicianship, requiring him to relearn his technique. The physical arrangements between the establishments also bore some similarities and so there was at least a sense of orderly progression from one to the other. The situation was not to alter materially for another twenty years and as far as Stonex's organ technique was concerned it is interesting to reflect that, by the time the organ received a Pedal department to speak of, Stonex would have been in his late forties. Ordinarily, this might beg the question regarding his willingness to refresh his technique. Comment

⁴⁰⁴ Two of Dr Buck's pupils, Dr Arthur Mann and the Reverend C H Evelyn White, record that Buck was almost never seen at the organ. As Evelyn White noted, "[He] was essentially a choir-trainer and director, and in this he excelled." See Kitton pp. 74, 84.

⁴⁰⁵ Two octaves of pulldown pedals were added by Michael Crotch, a Norwich organbuilder, in 1820. These acted on the Great and Choir keys. Bishop's reconstruction of the organ in 1833 added an octave and a half of German pedals with their own large-scale pipes. Information contained in two documents NRO DCN 12/151 Michael Crotch's bill of 29 September 1820 for repairs and adding pedals £32; and an estimate and report on the organ by the Reverend R F Elwin dated 1 December 1831 which mentions the Pedal compass. In this respect Bishop's work curiously enough took the organ back in time while adding the separate Pedal pipes.

⁴⁰⁶ Frank Bates, *A Musician in Retirement*, Norwich: Jarrold & Son, 1930) pp. 40-41.

on the subject by writers such as George MacFarren and Frederick Bridge suggests that organ technique such as would be considered today was not a foremost requirement.⁴⁰⁷ However, there is evidence to suggest that Stonex embraced the possibilities of the new organ, making good use of it, understanding that it was first and foremost, a liturgical instrument.⁴⁰⁸ MacFarren was decidedly of the opinion that:

The talent of the Church organist is ...exerted to the best purpose in instrumenting – to borrow an orchestral term... – his accompaniment to support and never to eclipse the voices... To play a pedal fugue of Bach, or an arrangement of an orchestral piece, is one of the natural exigencies of the organistship of the Town-hall... but florid executive displays are eminently inappropriate to a church, because they are inaccordant with the train of feelings which the solemnities of worship induce... and often because the echoing reverberation of great cathedrals renders rapid music confused, unintelligible, and even discordant.⁴⁰⁹

Bridge's advice lay principally with the way in which the various parts of a choral service could be arranged and, to quote MacFarren above, 'instrumented' (orchestrated) to support the singing of congregation and choir and add judicious variety of tonal and musical effect. To this end, Bridge was concerned with an organist's knowledge of harmony and part-writing; technical agility and prowess nowhere receiving consideration. Viewed thus, Stonex would have been regarded as a model exponent given that his obituary in the *Musical Times* wrote of him as a 'very clever theoretical and practical musician'.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁷ Frederick Bridge, *Organ Accompaniment of the Choral Service*, (London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1855).

⁴⁰⁸ The death of Henry Smart in July 1879 was marked by a considerable number of commemoration services, including two at Great Yarmouth. The music performed at the services was noted by William Spark in his biography of Smart as follows: Morning: voluntaries, *Andante in F (No. 2)*. Evening: *Andante con moto in A (No. 7)*, *Andante Grazioso in G*, *Marcia in G*, *Andante in A (No. 1)*, *Song for Tenor in B flat*, *Festive March in D*. The voluntaries were played by Stonex and provide evidence of a considerable degree of competency. William Spark, *Henry Smart, His Life and Works*. (London: William Reeves, 1881), p. 358.

⁴⁰⁹ G A MacFarren, 'The Music of the English Church.', *Musical Times*, February 1 1867 p. 471. The acoustic conditions of St Nicholas parish church are more cathedral-like than most so that MacFarren's comments are particularly appropriate here.

⁴¹⁰ *MT*, 1 February 1897, p. 123.

Buck's concentration on a choral tradition cannot have been lost on Stonex and probably accounts, in part, for the energy and enthusiasm he devoted to establishing a choral tradition at Great Yarmouth along with the other community-based musical activities in the Borough. From this it can be reasonably inferred that Stonex's initial training as an organist, at least until the rebuilding of the Yarmouth organ in 1869, had its roots in the eighteenth century;⁴¹¹ general execution would have been a good deal more florid than was to be the practice later (Buck's style of choir training also placed considerable emphasis on ornamentation, especially shakes⁴¹²) with pedal technique at a rudimentary stage.

Aside from any apparent shortcomings of the organs themselves at Norwich and Yarmouth, it has also been observed that:

Organists who were trained fifty years ago [in the 1840's] and upwards had nothing like the advantages our young organists have. If many of our young organists were asked to do what the Cathedral organists of even twenty years ago had to do every day of their lives, ie. accompany from a vocal score and a figured bass (Boyce's Collection, for instance), the old organists would think the present ones the 'inferior organists'.⁴¹³

Stonex probably received a good grounding in thorough-bass, open score reading and playing and, given the emphasis placed by Buck on sight-reading, would have been similarly competent. With regard to his overall standard of musicianship, an article written by Edward Dent in 1930 gives a description of another of Buck's pupils and a successor to Stonex at Norwich, Dr Arthur Mann. Mann was born in 1850 and entered Norwich Cathedral in 1857-58 as one of Buck's 'trial-boys' (probationer), becoming an articulated pupil in 1865 and remaining there until 1870. Dent wrote of him:

⁴¹¹ Bishop's Pedal pipes addition to Norwich Cathedral in 1833 was less than satisfactory and it is probable it was little used until Forster & Andrews attempted to remedy the situation in 1855. Even then, Buck did not specify changes to the key compass and Pedal department, being content to simply have the existing pipes speak properly, therefore Stonex would have learnt his craft on what was still, in essence, an 18th century organ.

⁴¹² Kitton *ibid.* p77.

⁴¹³ Kitton *ibid.* p. 29. The comments were made by a pupil of Dr Buck's, Frederick Cambridge.

Mann was a faultless executant, nothing was too difficult for him, and no one ever heard him play a wrong note. His taste might be mid-Victorian or even earlier in date, but no one could ever accuse him of ostentation or frivolity. He was simply an old-fashioned professional musician.⁴¹⁴

That Mann imbibed so much from Buck is extremely likely given he was a particular devotee of his master and such was Buck's renown and his intense devotion to the cause of cathedral music, Stonex, within his capabilities, would have borne that same imprimatur (Stonex, it should be remembered, came highly recommended by Buck for the Yarmouth position).

Stonex first comes to public notice in 1846 when he is mentioned in the local press as an accompanist at a concert in Norwich given by two local singers.⁴¹⁵ He would then have been 23. The reviewer spoke very favourably of the performance and though Stonex was not especially singled out for praise, it could be taken that he had already made a good impression. In May, 1849, he is reported as opening a new organ at St Swithun's, Norwich along with another of Buck's pupils, Thomas Woolsey White⁴¹⁶. In May, 1850, shortly after his appointment to St Nicholas's, there is a long report of the opening by him of a new organ for Necton church, Norfolk.⁴¹⁷ This was a two manual instrument built by James Corps, then at work in Norwich. The account gives an idea of those qualities which Stonex was to bring to the Yarmouth position as well as supplying an interesting commentary on a Victorian church service of dedication. It reported as follows:

The service was long and arduous... and there was more than the usual amount of music; two anthems, as well as two metrical Psalms; which, together with the chanted Psalms, Canticles, and Responses, protracted the service to a great length. Nevertheless, the choir not only retained their energy to the last; but, also, notwithstanding fatigue, preserved good time... Mendelssohn's *Te Deum* [was sung] with much expression.

⁴¹⁴ Edward J Dent, 'Arthur Henry Mann: 1850-1929', *Monthly Musical Record*, 1 January 1930, p. 4.

⁴¹⁵ *NorChron*, 31 January 1846.

⁴¹⁶ *NorChron*, 19 May 1849, p. 2.

⁴¹⁷ *NorChron*, 1 June 1850, p. 2.

The organ proves to be a sweet and mellow-toned instrument; and Mr Stonex managed it with skill and address. His voluntaries reflect much credit on his taste and science; and he conducted the more important part, the service itself, with great judgment; managing the accompaniments most admirably, supporting without overpowering the voices, and selecting those stops which best harmonized with them.

Equally favourable reporting is to be found not long after when a notice appeared in the *Norfolk News*, 22 February, 1851 which spoke of, 'the high terms of the regularity of attendance exhibited by all the members of the choir' and congratulates the subscribers upon the very great acquisition they have realized in Mr Stonex, their new organist.

The early years at Yarmouth would be a period of establishment. To begin with, Stonex advertised on a regular basis in the *Norfolk Chronicle* and *Norfolk News* as a teacher of music: 'wholly on the system adopted by [Buck]'.^{418 419} The advertisements, which were modest, were for singing (a brief newspaper report from 1852 tells us he possessed a tenor voice⁴²⁰), harmony and pianoforte, and it may be fairly assumed that his newly won status as organist of the Parish church gave him a profile far above that of other music teachers in the town. No mention was made of organ tuition, which is curious and begs the question whether he was guarded about his new position, whether he felt privately that the parish church organ would not be a suitable instrument to teach given its age and obsolescence, or whether he viewed the organ more as a means to an end; that is, to be acknowledged as the principal musician in the town meant being an organist, regardless of one's preference for it as a musical instrument. Be that as it may, by 1852 it seems he had stopped advertising in any form, suggesting he was becoming well established and had no need of publicity.

⁴¹⁸ *NorChron*, 20 July 1850, p. 3; *NorNews*, 20 July 1850, p. 3.

⁴¹⁹ Further advertisements appeared usually by way of announcing to pupils when tuition would recommence.

⁴²⁰ *NorChron*, 20 March 1852, p. 3.

Evidence of the growing importance of his role and status is given by several notices which appeared between 1853 and 1855, culminating in the formation of the Great Yarmouth Musical Union, the forerunner of the Great Yarmouth Musical Society. The initial reporting concerns an unlikely bed-fellow but is indicative of how institutions were interwoven to an extent not so readily appreciated today. It also demonstrates the great importance attached to societies in forming and sustaining the public life of the community.

The Young Man's Institute for Yarmouth and Southtown had been formed in 1844, prompted by a similar one formed in Norwich some while previously.⁴²¹ The close ties it had with the Church are illustrated by the membership of its committee: no less than three were clergymen and from programmes and reports published in the press, its aim was to improve the moral and intellectual tone of the young men of the town. This included soirees and 'conversazione' and it was at several of these that Stonex was in attendance as musical director.⁴²² In itself, this might seem unremarkable, but a poignant reminder of how vital societies like the 'Young Man's Institute' and the later 'Musical Union' were to the townsfolk of Great Yarmouth, given living conditions right on the edge of the East coast, is afforded by part of a report which appeared in the *Norfolk News*, 14th July 1855:

We have great pleasure in informing... our readers... that the members of the Glee Society, which is now extinct, have reformed themselves into a society to be called the Great Yarmouth Musical Union. This Union will have for its object the performance of sacred and secular music in the town, and exertions are already being made for giving a series of concerts during the coming winter season... friends of the Union, and musical inhabitants of the town are ... called upon to become either vocal or instrumental members of, or subscribers to the Union... Mr H. Stonex, organist at the parish church, has, we are happy to learn, consented to become conductor. We feel

⁴²¹ *NorChron*, 16 November 1844, p. 3.

⁴²² *Bury & Norwich Post*, 6 April 1853, p. 3; 27 April 1853, p. 3.

confident that the assistance required will readily be afforded... and deservedly appreciated, for had it not been for the entertainments given by that parent of the Union, and those spirited and deservedly successful caterers to the public taste – the committee of the Young Man's Institute – the long and gloomy winter we have just bidden adieu to would be recalled and looked upon as a dark and troubled dream.

In a bid to seize the moment, a small notice in the *Norfolk Chronicle* of 25 August, 1855, advertised that:

Mr H. Stonex, Organist of the Parish Church, is happy to announce to the Inhabitants of Yarmouth and its vicinity that he has succeeded in engaging the following distinguished Artists for a Grand Evening Concert, Early in October: Miss Dolby, Miss Amy Dolby, Mr George Dolby. Pianist - Lindsay Sloper, Esq. Solo Violinist – Mons. Sainton.

The complement of performers could not have been more distinguished and had the concert taken place, it would have signalled his ambition regarding the future of concert-giving in Yarmouth. However, it has not been possible to trace any notice particulars of date, time and programme or a review so it must be assumed it did not happen. A second attempt to engage the same company in September 1856 succeeded though, instead of Yarmouth, the concert took place at Lowestoft in the Assembly Rooms before a select company including Sir Morton Peto and Sir Edward Gooch⁴²³. It can only be assumed that Yarmouth and Henry Stonex had not yet achieved the required level of cachet to entice musicians of such standing on a regular basis and that, given the select company, and their respective country seats nearby, he had to be content with a role merely as promoter.

⁴²³ *NorNews*, 20 September 1856, p. 6. Sir Samuel Morton Peto (1809-1889) was responsible for many important railway building contracts both in the United Kingdom and abroad as well as other important public works including Nelson's Column, Studley Castle and several London theatres. He was also responsible for the development of Lowestoft as an East coast seaport and had his family residence at nearby Somerleyton Hall. He was a prominent non-conformist and a Liberal MP. Adapted from M H Port, 'Peto, Sir (Samuel) Morton, first baronet (1809–1889)', <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22042>>, [accessed 2 Oct 2017]. Sir Edward Gooch, 6th Baronet, was Conservative MP for Suffolk from 1846-56 and lived at Benacre Hall just south of Lowestoft.

This experience seems to have had a salutary effect in that it probably made Stonex realise that, at least for the time being, it was better to work with the resources available within the Borough than spend time and energy coping with the foibles and vagaries of 'international' concert stars. As the Great Yarmouth Musical Union, and its successor the Musical Society, became more established and as his personal standing increased, this situation did change though at some cost which came owing to debts incurred by fees charged by named soloists and the need to bolster the orchestra with professional musicians, often from London. One senses he also took the view that his primary duty as Borough organist lay in encouraging the town to develop its own resources and make its own mark rather than adopt a more passive approach and import expensive talent from further afield. This could be seen as a shrewd move because there was no lack of ability as we shall see later from the programming of the Musical Society concerts and, rather than compete with the Norwich Festival, Yarmouth could offer something of its own making and a source of pride and enjoyment.

Once this trajectory had been established, the Borough began to embrace him as 'their musician'. After the abortive attempts in 1855 and 1856, two concerts were given early in 1857 which appear to mark the foundation of the Society as it came to be during the latter half of the century. They are a good indication of how well disposed the Borough was to what was something of a novel undertaking and how Stonex's policy of 'localism' was beginning to take shape. A report which appeared in the *Norfolk Chronicle*, 31 January 1857 makes this clear:

A concert was given at the Town Hall, on Thursday evening, by this "Union," which was very numerous attended. The entertainment was divided into two parts: the first consisting of selections from Handel's Oratorio of "Samson," and the second of miscellaneous pieces from Mozart, Benedict, Donizetti, Lord Mornington, Bellini, and Massaniello. The conductor was Mr H. Stonex, the organist at our parish church; Mr Bray, of Norwich, was leader; whilst Mr Harcourt, of the same place, presided at the harmonium. The principal vocalists, owing to a

hoarseness with which Mr Norfor was afflicted, consisted only of Miss Belden⁴²⁴, of Norwich, and Mr Sharpe, of this town. In consequence of this a very great amount of responsibility rested upon Mr Sharpe, but he, nevertheless, taking all things into consideration, acquitted himself exceedingly well. Miss Belden sang some of her parts well, but seemed nervous; the chorus appeared to take its cue from the principals, but the last chorus went well. In the second half of the entertainment, both Miss Belden and Mr Sharpe were *encored* in two songs that they sang; the one by Miss Belden – "As at evening sings the nightingale," was the gem of the evening. The instrumentalists kept up their reputation by executing various pieces with considerable judgment and taste. The audience was attentive but sparing of applause.

The second report appeared two weeks later and from the tone adopted by the correspondent, there is a perceptible warming in attitude towards Stonex's efforts. There is greater recognition of the effort expended in staging the event and a willingness to encourage people's endeavours and give praise where possible especially of Miss Bellin and Mr Mann.⁴²⁵ The concert is seen not just as a finished product by local people but deserving of recognition of all the planning and rehearsal which went into it. 14 February 1857:

The orchestra comprised a goodly array of native talent and was strengthened by the presence of Mr Mann and Miss Bellin from Norwich... Mr Mann was a great acquisition and was well received... Miss Bellin was also deservedly applauded, but her defective pronunciation told sadly against her in some of her pieces, especially in the air, 'I know that my Redeemer liveth.' She would do well to study and practice distinctness, for she has undoubtedly a fine voice, and, with proper cultivation, would be a most successful singer... Much praise is due to Mr Stonex for the admirable way in which he had disciplined the choir, many of whom were juveniles. The instrumentation was conducted with attention and skill, and the accompaniment of Mr Stonex on the harmonium elicited merited applause.⁴²⁶

Of interest is how the correspondent seems to rely on the readers' powers of memory and association, bearing in mind too that before the advent of mass

⁴²⁴ A possible misreading of Bellin.

⁴²⁵ This is likely to have been Arthur Mann, a pupil of Dr Buck, chorister at Norwich Cathedral and later organist of King's College, Cambridge.

⁴²⁶ *NorChron*, 14 February 1857, p. 3.

photomechanical reproduction of images, aside from costly artists' engravings, verbal and written descriptions were the only tools available.

Since the only way people could hear music on this scale was to attend a concert, newspaper reports became an important surrogate evoking the sense of place, occasion and personalities as well as conveying some idea of the programming and the impression it made. A successful piece of reporting depended on those involved, and the repertoire, already being familiar to the reader, whether by repute or by personal acquaintance. An example which illustrates this well can be found in the *Norfolk Chronicle's* report of a concert which took place on 19th January 1863. This was in aid of the 'Lancashire Relief Fund'; a response to the Lancashire Cotton Famine of 1861-65 and it helps explain the character and purpose of so much of the reporting of occasions such as these.⁴²⁷ From Stonex's point of view it also helps us understand why the almost constant and, to our ears, rather tedious reminders of his role as 'Borough Musician in Residence' were so important; ultimately it was about status, social exclusivity and the way music and music events reaffirmed that. Given it was a charitable endeavour, Stonex received no emolument. The narrative is fulsome beginning with, very simply, that it was a 'great success'. It then states who was responsible for arranging it and under whose patronage, in this case the Mayor and Mayoress; the local MP, Sir Edmund Lacon, Bart.; Sir Henry Stracey, Bart., MP; and the leading families of the town and district. Some comment follows about the sale of tickets, 'Long before the day appointed

⁴²⁷ Lancashire had seen record production of woven cotton in the years of 1859 and 1860 resulting in a glut which could not be sold. The situation was exacerbated by an overabundance of raw cotton held in warehouses causing the price to collapse, while at the same time the demand for raw cotton fell. The response was to block further imports causing the price to rise again but by several hundred percent. The dearth of raw cotton and the difficult trading conditions meant that factory owners no longer bought large quantities to process resulting in mass unemployment among cotton workers in the North West. They went from being the most prosperous workers in Britain to the most impoverished. Extract (adapted) from <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lancashire_Cotton_Famine> [accessed 26/10/2017]

for the concert, every ticket had been disposed of, and those who applied at a somewhat late period were unable in consequence to obtain admission.'

The description of the venue is interesting because it assumes some familiarity:

The hall was well lighted, and tastefully decorated, while the platform on which the *amateurs* [author's italics] performed was judiciously removed to the south end of the room instead of the north, as had hitherto been the case, *so that no interruption or confusion was caused by the passing to and fro of the performers to the retiring rooms* [author's italics].

Both halves of the concert begin with items sung by the choir of St Nicholas parish church which looks to be an adroit positioning of the choir and Stonex, showcasing his talents as a choirtrainer when linked with the enthusiastic praise heaped upon him towards the end of the piece. There then follow short commentaries on the performances and it seems that, to make any real sense of them, the reader, as previously noted, had to have a minimum level of familiarity with both executant and content. For example:

A performance on the pianoforte (Les Hirondelles) by Mrs Falcke... was executed with a precision and correctness that evidenced musical abilities of no ordinary character. Mrs Falcke received quite an ovation at the close, and was encored. The beautiful Italian song "A te o cara" (Puritani), was finely sung by Miss Isaacs, who possesses a very fine soprano voice, and is gifted with an artistic expression which would do credit to individuals claiming a high professional position. But the gem of the evening's performances was unquestionably the grand duet on two pianofortes of "Euryanthe" by Mrs Falcke and Mrs Klaber.

Elsewhere, the report gives encouragement:

Although at first the vocalists exhibited a slight, but very natural, timidity in appearing before so large and *brilliant* [author's italics] an audience, they soon regained confidence, cheered by the warm approval of those around, and... acquitted themselves with great ability.

Then, as if to ensure we do not forget who had been the main architect of the proceedings, we read:

We cannot close our notice without expressing the thanks that are due not only to the ladies and gentlemen already named, but to Mr Stonex, the able and talented organist of the parish church. To his conductorship and gratuitous aid much of the acknowledged success of the concert is owing. Nor must Mr Sharpe and the choir of the parish church be forgotten. Indeed, too much praise cannot be given to Mr Stonex for the labour and care he has bestowed upon his choir, in training them to the high state of musical culture they developed on the evening of Monday last. We may also be permitted to give expression to a hope generally felt in this town that the concert may be repeated.

The report concludes with an interesting remark quoted from the closing speech by the mayor which gives an insight of how Great Yarmouth felt about itself generally regarding musical activity both then and historically. 'This town had often been twitted (he said) with the absence of both musical talent and taste, but the amateur performance on the platform, and the magnificent assemblage in that hall... proved that they had been unjustly accused.' From which it seems that, in addition to having been adopted as the Borough Musician, there was a clear message that he now had the responsibility of ensuring Great Yarmouth was not to be 'twitted' again. Having tasted what success felt like, the Borough wanted more.

A few years previously, in 1858, the Parish had voted through the first of a number of acts of recognition of Stonex's services to the Church and Borough. The cost of the organ and choir ran at about £100 per annum and it was decided to incorporate this as an item of church expenditure rather than have it paid for by separate subscription. This would be met by an increase in pew rents; first-class sittings were yearly 10s, second 6s.8d, and third-class 3s.4d. No reason for doing this was given but it is probable it meant the church had a better guarantee of income than if it relied on a subscription. It was also an indication that the church realised the value of its music and wished to secure its funding and give a vote of confidence in Stonex. During the meeting, it was acknowledged that the remuneration had been until then 'exceedingly

small for the valuable services which he [Stonex] rendered' and that, 'few persons had an idea of the labours which Mr Stonex had undertaken with respect to the musical services and training the choir'.⁴²⁸ Stonex's salary was increased from £30 to £50 per annum.

Further recognition came in September 1869 when he was presented with a chaste gold mounted ivory baton and an inlaid walnut music stand by the Great Yarmouth Musical Society as a token of appreciation of his valuable services.⁴²⁹ Later, in 1875, he was given a purse of 81 gold sovereigns, 'in appreciation of his efforts to promote the cause of musical education more especially in connection with the Musical Society'⁴³⁰ and 'his readiness and anxiety always to do all he could to promote the services in the church where he had officiated as organist for 25 years'.⁴³¹ A similar presentation of £100 was made to him in 1893 when Dr Horace Hill, conductor of the Norwich Festival Chorus, wrote:

I entertain a high regard for Mr Stonex, not only because he has shown such ability as organist and conductor... but also on account of his kindly disposition, which has won for him the regard of all who [have made] his acquaintance.⁴³²

The Borough too realised it had a valuable asset in its organist. Not only was he prepared to work for the betterment of the music of both Church and Borough, but he also understood his position as a figurehead and the wider civic responsibilities that brought. So, for example, when a benefit concert was organised for Yarmouth Hospital under the patronage of Sir John Stephen Robinson of Rokeby Hall in December 1858, as conductor, Stonex offered his services, bringing with him the choir of St. Nicholas. Another example of Stonex's involvement is provided by a report in the *Norfolk*

⁴²⁸ *NorChron*, 12 June 1858 'St Nicholas Church', p. 6.

⁴²⁹ *NorChron*, 25 September 1869, p. 6.

⁴³⁰ *Bury & Norwich Post*, 7 December 1875, p. 6.

⁴³¹ *MT*, vol. 17, No. 394, 1 December 1875, p. 309.

⁴³² *NorChron*, 6 May 1893, p. 4.

Chronicle of 18 February 1860. It was the custom for the Mayor to provide an entertainment from time to time for the inmates of the Yarmouth workhouse. While reading like a chapter from a Dickens' novel, it gives an illustration of the variety of causes to which Stonex's abilities were put and the manner in which he had become part of that circle of select functionaries upon which the Borough relied:

The Mayor's Treat to the Inmates of the Workhouse. - We have rarely witnessed a more pleasing and gratifying entertainment – for that is the most appropriate term – than that given to the inmates of the workhouse, 293 in number, by the Mayor (W. Worship Esq.) on Friday evening last. About six o'clock, tea was prepared for the men, women, and children, in their respective dining rooms, and most bountiful, and to them, sumptuous, was the repast. ... Further pleasures were also in store for the inmates. With that kindly forethought for the poor which has invariably distinguished the present chief magistrate, his worship had obtained the services of several of our best local professional and amateur musicians with a view to entertaining the paupers. The large room set apart for this purpose was soon filled to overflowing... with... persons who had never heard or attended a concert in their lives. Mr H. Stonex presided at the pianoforte and Messrs. Sharp, Norfor, Grey, Steward... etc. either performed on various instruments or sang different amusing and sentimental songs... After numerous glees, polkas, songs, etc. had been performed... the happy meeting... came to an end.

Similarly, when the East Coast suffered the loss of nearly 200 fishermen due to a sudden ferocious gale on 28 May 1860, Stonex's name was prominent among those contributing to an appeal for funds to aid the next of kin.⁴³³ In all the above instances, it is unlikely he received any emolument. On the latter occasion, the *Musical Times* used a précis of copy which appeared originally in the *Norfolk Chronicle*. The following can hardly have been more enthusiastic:

Seldom has a Society established in this town shown such rapid progress, or exhibited such satisfactory results within a brief period of its inauguration, as have been displayed by the Yarmouth Musical Society. Excellent as was the first concert of the Society, held in February last, we have no hesitation in giving the preference to the second, which took place on Thursday evening the 28th May. There was a large, though not

⁴³³ *Bury & Norwich Post*, 3 July 1860, p. 1. 'Appeal on Behalf of the Widows and Children of the Poor Fishermen and Mariners lost during the Gale in May last.'

very full, attendance. The new and spacious Drill-hall was well arranged, and beautifully fitted up. Mr. Stonex acted as conductor, and Mr. R. Tunbridge presided at the pianoforte. The programme consisted of two parts, 'Spring ' and 'Autumn' from Haydn's '*Seasons*,' and a miscellaneous selection... With regard to the '*Seasons*,' we may justly remark, that the precision with which it was performed, and the extreme delicacy and taste shown by Madame Talbot-Cherer and Messrs. Perren and Farquharson, in their respective characters, gave the most unqualified satisfaction. The Choruses - so frequently the weak point with amateurs - were magnificently sung. The hunting chorus, 'Hark, hark, the Mountains!' was received with such spontaneous plaudits, that it was repeated, to the infinite gratification of the assembly.

Why the *Musical Times* chose to print it is not known but, given that the exercise was not repeated, one wonders whether it was rowing back from appearing to endorse the performance of a minor provincial choral society of which it, apparently, had no direct knowledge.⁴³⁴

The compass of this study does not permit an examination of Stonex's conductorship of the Great Yarmouth Musical Society. However, the programming is typical of the time, featuring works by Handel, Mendelssohn and Haydn as well as minor composers such as Sullivan and Barnett. At the same time, what is evident is the use of 'name' soloists such as Mme Hellen Lemmens-Sherrington, wife of Jacques-Nicholas Lemmens the Belgian organist, Harper Kearton and Thurley Beale, to name a few.

⁴³⁴ *MT*, vol. 13, no. 305 (1 July 1868), pp. 461-462.

Church Music at St Nicholas under Henry Stonex

There has already been some discussion of the state of the music at St Nicholas's in the years preceding Henry Stonex's appointment in 1850. However, the available evidence for liturgical musical activity at St Nicholas increases after that date. That Stonex improved the general standard of the choir is clear but there is a perceptible disparity between Stonex's continued success with the Great Yarmouth Musical Society and the achievement of the church choir. In part, this can be put down to the problems arising from the physical layout of the church and the upheavals resulting from church fabric repairs and relocating the organ. There is an undercurrent, however, which suggests that, at times, satisfying the musical requirement of an intensive weekly service pattern was difficult regardless of these problems and that, consequently, standards slipped.

The pattern of choir attendance can be deduced from the Parish Magazine which published weekly hymn lists and a calendar of services. In addition, articles written by the various clergy enable us to construct a picture of the liturgical music of the Parish. This suggests the choir were required to sing for at least two services, Holy Communion and Evensong on a Sunday, as well as a Wednesday Choral Evensong. A note in the *Great Yarmouth Parish Magazine* for May 1887 states that:

On the first, third and fifth Sunday at mid-day the Communion service will be choral; on the second and fourth it will be plain without music.

An anthem would be sung at Evensong on the fourth Sunday of the month and a 'Middle Voluntary' played on the last Sunday, also at Evensong (this was changed to the first Sunday in 1881 but reverted in 1884).⁴³⁵ Later, around 1890, an anthem was sung twice a month at Evensong only.⁴³⁶ For major occasions such as dedicatory services for the organ and reopening of restored sections of the church, the choir would be augmented

⁴³⁵ NRO PD 28/391, PD 28/392 *GYPM*, January 1881, July 1884.

⁴³⁶ NRO PD 28/398 *GYPM*, September 1890.

by members of the Great Yarmouth Choral Society as, for example, at the service held on 28th May 1884 to reopen the South Transept following building repairs. At other times choirs from the other town churches would be drafted in, for example, at the service for the reopening of the South Aisle on April 28th 1870. On this occasion the combined choirs of St Nicholas', St Peter's and St Andrew's numbered over 70.⁴³⁷

The size of the regular choir is difficult to ascertain but in the last quarter of the century an approximation can be gauged from a passage in the April 1875 edition of the *Great Yarmouth Parish Magazine*. In it, the vicar, George Venables, wrote:

There will be room when the organ is open for a very large addition to the choir of volunteer men and boys. It is desired to retain all our present choir, and to add very greatly to their number so as to fill the chancel. But the expence [sic] of purchasing fifty or sixty surplices and of washing and repairing them is great...⁴³⁸

There is also a noticeable disparity between locally-voiced approbation of the choir's efforts and general conduct of the services, and impressions gained by visitors, some of whom were moved to write to the local press. Opinion as to the choir's capability varied from highly complimentary to openly dismissive. When, in October 1856, a 'full cathedral service' was celebrated in aid of the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, the *Norfolk Chronicle* wrote:

...[the] chants were most efficiently performed solely by the St Nicholas' choir, under the able management of Mr H. Stonex, the organist. ... Mozart's anthem, "Plead Thou my cause" was exceedingly well rendered by the choir. In fact, the performance was altogether highly creditable to Mr Stonex and the St Nicholas' Choir.⁴³⁹

Some sixteen years later and an 'occasional' visitor from London professing to have knowledge of music sung in all the principal churches in London noted, 'I was much struck, not to say surprised, to find such a continued deficiency in the musical portion of

⁴³⁷ NRO PD 28/382 *GYPM*, May 1870.

⁴³⁸ NRO PD 28/387 *GYPM*, April 1875.

⁴³⁹ *NorChron*, 1 November 1856, p. 3. See also Appendix C.

the service.' After commenting unfavourably on the organ's relocation to the North

Transept, he continued:

There was a total want of light and shade in the singing – no blending of the different parts. Now the soprano voice of a boy pierced my ears, then the alto had his turn; the tenor I did not hear, but the bass was ever to the fore, and ready to assert his superiority over soprano, alto, tenor (if any), and everybody else in particular. ...⁴⁴⁰

The visitor's use of the word 'continued' implies he had heard the choir before on several occasions though comparing it with London choirs seems unjust given that the St Nicholas choir was made up of amateurs meeting to practise just once a week.⁴⁴¹

Another visitor writing of a Sunday morning service noted:

When I saw a procession of surpliced men and boys proceeding from the chancel and heard the opening voluntary well played on the magnificent organ, I thought I was going to enjoy our beautiful service beautifully rendered, but to my intense disappointment, when, after the exhortation, the confession was read, almost a dumb silence reigned supreme, the choir seeming dumb, and many who would [have] otherwise... gladly joined in the responses were content to remain silent because there was no one to lead them. Surely, in a church of this immense size, it is absolutely necessary for the choir to lead, if Divine service is to be anything more than a dumb show. ...⁴⁴²

The term 'full choral' is frequently used in service announcements in the parish magazine. Though we have no clear evidence of the exact content of such a service from week to week at Yarmouth, a letter from an Anglican clergyman to the *Manchester Courier* (later abridged in the *Musical Standard*) is of interest because it provides a definition of the term 'full choral' which was evidently being misapplied thus giving rise to some disquiet:

Sir,- I have long thought of calling attention to the misapplication of the term "full choral," or "full cathedral service;" and I take the present opportunity of doing so because I have noticed the misnomer in your advertising columns more frequently within the last two or three months

⁴⁴⁰ *YI*, 30 November 1872, p. 7.

⁴⁴¹ NRO PD 28/388, *GYPM*, September, 1878.

⁴⁴² *YI*, 28 April 1883, p. 5.

than I can recollect for some time previously. I believe that in no one of the many instances in which "full choral service" has been announced has the promise been realised; and as I do not for a moment suppose there has been any wilful intention of deceiving the public, I think it may not be superfluous to enumerate succinctly the essential features of the choral service, the omission of any one of which of course more or less deprives that service of the right to the title of "full."

1. The ecclesiastical intonation (not monotone only) by the minister in the prayers, versicles, and Litany.
2. The singing of the responses, versicles, Litany, &c., by the choir.
3. The chanting of the Psalms.
4. The Hymns, Canticles, Miserere, Nicene Creed, Sanctus, and Gloria in excelsis sung to a "service" (not chanted).
5. The anthem (not metrical tune) after the third collect.
6. After the Epistle, this heavenly ejaculation, "Glory be to Thee, O, Lord!"
7. After the Psalms and after the Litany "a voluntary upon the organ alone."

... Anyone may judge for himself how far any service may be considered choral by observing how many characteristic features enumerated above are carried out. A service in which any one of them is suppressed has certainly no right to be called "full choral," nor do I think omission of the word "full" removes all objection, for when a service is spoken of as "choral," it is evidently only fair to presume that it is entirely, not imperfectly so... The only "full choral services" I ever heard in this neighbourhood were on the occasion of the visit of the Rev. Sir Frederick A.G. Ouseley to St Peter's Church, when the priest's part, which is usually omitted at this Church, was correctly sung throughout. – [signed 'An Anglican Churchman']⁴⁴³

While the above is based on practice in the North West of the country, its appearance in a national music periodical would suggest it resonated more widely. For a major parish church such as St Nicholas's, repeatedly advertising services as 'full choral' in a town with a high influx of summer visitors must have been something of an attraction. Appendix D lists all the music sung and played as far as can be deduced from contemporary sources. Perhaps unsurprisingly, works by Handel, Mendelssohn and Elvey were staple fare. Notable too are Samuel Arnold's Evening Service in A and Boyce's Morning Service in A (which of the two is not known) suggesting they were

⁴⁴³ *Manchester Courier*, 11 July 1863, p. 11.

popular settings.⁴⁴⁴ Compositions by local composers also featured notably Edward Bunnett, a lifelong friend of Stonex, and Dr Zechariah Buck of Norwich Cathedral, Stonex's tutor.

As previously noted, provision was being attempted with a largely volunteer choir and a rehearsal schedule which cannot have allowed either for a very wide repertoire or detailed rehearsal unless the music was kept fairly simple. For example, Elvey's 'O Give Thanks', sung on February 23rd, 1870 at the reopening of the organ is a simple verse anthem in C major, where the organ plays a reduction of the vocal score throughout. Another example of an anthem sung on a major occasion is Stainer's *Let Every Soul be Subject unto the Higher Powers*, sung on 21 June 1887 at a Jubilee Thanksgiving service. While the anthem is undemanding, it does have the added attractions of a short quasi-recitative for soprano and a hymn of two verses at the end sung by solo tenor and repeated by the whole choir and congregation. In addition should be mentioned the repeated performance of the *Hallelujah Chorus* often in conjunction with the Choral Society and the occasional performance of popular cantatas of the period such as John Farmer's *Christ and His Soldiers* and *Samuel* by Langdon Colborne, organist of Hereford Cathedral.⁴⁴⁵

Choir practice took place on a Monday evening, meaning six days would elapse before the choir was due to sing on a Sunday (it is not known if the choir were rehearsed immediately prior to a service).⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴⁴ *YI*, 16 December 1882, p. 3. An insertion by Henry Stonex calling for additional choir members to help with the Christmas morning service lists Boyce in A among the music 'as on former occasions.'

⁴⁴⁵ Langdon Colborne (1835-1889) was a pupil of George Cooper and variously organist of St. Michael's College, Tenbury (1860-1874), Beverley Minster 1874 – 1875, Wigan Parish Church 1875 – 1877, Truro Cathedral 1890 -1920.

John Farmer (1835-1901) studied in Leipzig and taught music in Zürich and latterly Harrow School. His final appointment was as organist of Balliol College, Oxford.

<http://www.hymnary.org/person/Farmer_John?sort=desc&order=Tunes+by+John+Farmer+%284%29>[accessed 03/06/2017]

⁴⁴⁶ NRO PD 28/388, *GYPM*, September 1878.

As to the function of the choir within the liturgy, while services may have been advertised as 'full choral', this does not imply that the congregation were not expected to join in during the sung parts. A constant theme running through the *Great Yarmouth Parish Magazine* is an exhortation from the various clergy that congregational singing should be 'very heartily sung':

Responding, Saying, Singing – it has been remarked that the services have become much more hearty of late. This is a subject for much gratitude; but let it encourage a far greater march onwards in this particular. The reading of the psalms, the chanting of the psalms, the whole responding, ought to be what it was in the early days of the church, when the responding was likened to a clap of thunder, so vigorous and hearty was it. Let us all encourage one another to a very hearty participation in the public services of the church. Some of the Hymns are very heartily sung, and yet is there even with these the possibility of considerable improvement...⁴⁴⁷

The choir was expected to lead the congregation in the service rather than sing it for them, a point touched on by W H Gladstone MP in a paper presented to the October 1884 Church Congress at Carlisle:

As a rule... let parish churches avail themselves of their regular congregations for the encouragement of congregational singing. ... unless discreetly managed, a choir may not only not assist, but may even discourage the congregation for taking their proper share. ... The effect of a large body of voices, singing with one heart and consent, is one of the grandest and most inspiring things conceivable.⁴⁴⁸

Gladstone's opinions found a local echo as in this item of correspondence from 1874:

...I hope the musical part of the service will be made as Congregational as possible, and that instead of the "Te Deum" being sung to choral music by the choir only, as is the case now on each alternate Sunday, it will be appointed to be sung to music, which will enable all the congregation to join in... also if the choice of hymns and tunes was made so that instead of a

⁴⁴⁷ NRO PD 28/388, August 1878.

⁴⁴⁸ W H Gladstone, 'Music as an Aid to Worship and Work', *Church Congress Reports*, 1884 reprinted in: A102 Summer School Texts C. Religion: Conformity and Controversy (The Open University, 1988) p. 30.

small part only of such a large congregation being able to join in singing them, all should be enabled to do so, and this would be the case if music was chosen which is easy and within the compass of the voices of all.⁴⁴⁹

From time to time, the Parish Church participated in meetings of the Norfolk and Suffolk Choral Association. The Association first met at the Cathedral Close in Norwich on October 29th 1859 and had the object of promoting the cultivation of church music through the improvement of church choirs and the promotion of more general and effective congregational singing. Membership was open to everyone, but it was specifically aimed at the clergy of the diocese. A beneficed clergyman who joined was able to procure assistance from the Association for his parish choir. The management committee established a body of trained singers who were to assist at local church festivals or could help instruct church choirs on application to any district secretary. These singers were to form the basis of an inspectorate with a brief to improve quality and promote uniformity of practice among local church choirs.⁴⁵⁰ The choir of St Nicholas was represented at the first annual service held at Norwich Cathedral on 28 August, 1860. Festivals mostly took place at Norwich Cathedral but as far as can be ascertained one was held at St Nicholas in June 1868, though the practice appears not to have been continued.

⁴⁴⁹ *YI*, 1 August 1874, p. 7.

⁴⁵⁰ Abridged from NROSO 244/1, 958X2, Norfolk and Suffolk Church Choral Association minutes 1859-1896.

Henry Stonex Music Educator

Aside from Henry Stonex's position as organist at the Parish Church, there is plenty of evidence to show that he involved himself fully with providing a music education service within the Borough and that this was undertaken not just for pecuniary reasons. Tributes to Stonex often mention his patient and painstaking approach, whether in rehearsing the various choirs he conducted or preparing individual pupils for examinations.

To some extent, this was a reflection of the overall state of education locally and nationally since, for example, although Yarmouth Grammar or Free School dated back to 1551, its curriculum emphasising commercial studies, mathematics and science, did not include music until the end of the nineteenth century when Norman & Beard supplied a two manual and pedal organ in 1893 which found use, among other things, teaching the juniors to sing scales.⁴⁵¹ This left a vacuum partially filled by numbers of small, private schools and by individual tutors. White's *Gazetteer and Directory of Norfolk* for 1883 lists twelve private music tutors in Great Yarmouth including Henry Stonex so there was a demand for the subject bolstered by the inclusion, in late 1883, of Great Yarmouth as a local examination centre for Trinity College of Music, London. Stonex was the first local representative.⁴⁵² We know he also taught at one of the 'dame' schools within the Borough and regularly entered pupils for the Cambridge Local Examinations.⁴⁵³ Of his many students, the following were the most prominent.

⁴⁵¹ J B Whitehead, 'The History of the Great Yarmouth Grammar School 1551-1951' Great Yarmouth 1951, p74.

⁴⁵² *MT*, 1 October 1883, vol. 24, no. 488, p. 532. *NorChron*, 6 October 1888, p. 6.

⁴⁵³ *Norfolk News*, 9 March 1867, p. 6; *YI*, 17 March 1877, p. 5. In this he achieved a rare distinction in that one of his pupils, Alice Magdalene Nall, came second in overall attainment in the whole of England in English, Latin, Mathematics, Mechanics and Music out of a total of over 4000 candidates. In the report, she was referred to only by her candidate number, 945. Information supplied in an e-mail dated 26 April 2016 from Stella Clarke, Rare Books Reading Room, Cambridge University Library.

Stephen Kemp

Stephen Kemp was probably Henry Stonex's most distinguished success. He was born on 8 November 1849, the only son of Robert Kemp, a woodcarver and gilder of Great Yarmouth, who had been placed under Stonex's tutelage when still a young boy.⁴⁵⁴ He first comes to notice in an advertisement in the Yarmouth Independent for a vocal and instrumental concert given by a Mr Dorla on 22 January 1864, at the Assembly Rooms in Yarmouth and was billed as, 'Master S. Kemp, pupil of Mr Stonex, will play Verdi's Grand Solo for the Pianoforte'.⁴⁵⁵ A year later, in April 1865, Kemp entered the Royal Academy of Music at the recommendation of Sterndale Bennett under Walter MacFarren, brother of Sir George MacFarren.⁴⁵⁶ How Stephen Kemp was received into the Academy indicates at least an acquaintanceship between Stonex and Bennett if nothing closer - based largely on networking; the relationship between the two might well account for Kemp's attendance. At the time of Kemp's attendance, the Academy was the only institution in the United Kingdom of its type, so would have been the single option open to him aside from private study. It would have been the only place Bennett and Stonex could encourage the young Kemp to attend, assuming Bennett had a significant interest in acquiring promising students to benefit the Academy's profile and income.⁴⁵⁷ In this connection it is worth noting that Stonex's (later) honorary membership of Trinity College of Music conferred on him the right to nominate candidates for scholarships by competition.⁴⁵⁸ In June 1866, Kemp was awarded a bronze medal followed in October by a three-year scholarship. In September

⁴⁵⁴ Robert Kemp's name appears in the list of participants at the Yarmouth Hospital benefit concert given in December 1858 so it can be inferred that Stephen came from a musical family. *NorChron*, 11 December 1858, p. 4.

⁴⁵⁵ *YI*, 16 January 1864, p. 8.

⁴⁵⁶ Information supplied from RAM registers.

⁴⁵⁷ E-mail correspondence with Adam Taylor, RAM assistant librarian, 27 April 2016

⁴⁵⁸ E-mail correspondence with Emma Greenwood, Librarian Special Collections, Trinity Laban, 11 April 2013.

1867, he was awarded a silver medal at the Academy's annual public concert held at the Hanover Square Rooms, apparently the only one to have received it.⁴⁵⁹

Kemp's subsequent career proved illustrious. He first appeared with Walter MacFarren at his Queen's Concert Rooms Matinées in May 1870 when the *Literary Examiner* noted:

The programme of Mr Walter MacFarren's second matinée was so exceedingly attractive that the overflowing attendance at the Queen's Concert Rooms on Saturday last was not at all surprising... Cipriani Potter's grand duet for two pianofortes was effectively performed by Mr MacFarren and Mr Stephen Kemp, who bids fair to become a thoroughly accomplished pianist...⁴⁶⁰

More favourable notices of his activities appeared on a regular basis and his compositions were reviewed in the *Musical Times* for example, 1 June 1874, his *Allegro Grazioso in G from a Sonata*:

Knowing that young composers have to feel their way in publishing Sonatas, we cannot be surprised that Mr Kemp modestly puts forward an 'Allegro Grazioso' as a letter of introduction, with an intimation that something of more importance remains behind. His writing in this piece shows that he has every reason to expect a cordial welcome amongst the fast increasing number of classical English composers, for his thoughts flow clearly, and his style is evidently based on good models... The harmonies are good, the modulations natural and well conducted, and the passages lie well under the hands to show that the composer is a trained pianist... We shall be glad again to meet with Mr Kemp...

Another, much later, review of a trio for female voices wrote: 'This is one of the most graceful little part-songs we have seen for some time, and will certainly prove most acceptable to female singers who can do justice to its merits...'⁴⁶¹

Kemp was elected FRAM in November 1877⁴⁶² and appointed Professor of Pianoforte at the Royal Academy of Music in 1878⁴⁶³, a position held, at intervals, until

⁴⁵⁹ *NorChron*, 21 September 1867, p. 6; *MT*, 1 September 1867 vol. 13, no. 295, p. 151.

⁴⁶⁰ *The Literary Examiner*, 14 May 1870, p. 312.

⁴⁶¹ *MT*, 1 February 1886, vol. 27, no. 516, p. 102, O Lady, leave thy silken thread. Trio for female voices. Words by Thomas Hood. Music by Stephen Kemp. [Stanley Lucas, Weber and Co.]

his death in 1918. He also taught at the National Training School, Kensington, opened in 1876⁴⁶⁴ and held other professorships variously at the Royal College of Music (1884-1915)⁴⁶⁵ and the Guildhall School of Music. He was a signatory to a petition to the LCC in 1898 calling for the establishment of a permanent opera house in the capital,⁴⁶⁶ and pianist to the Bach Choir under Otto Goldschmidt.⁴⁶⁷ Otto Goldschmidt was one of Kemp's examiners for the scholarship and it appears they collaborated on an edition by Goldschmidt of the Bach cantata *Nun ist das Heil* BWV150 with a piano arrangement by Kemp, published circa 1875 by Novello.⁴⁶⁸ A review of a concert given by Kemp in May 1888, seems to indicate he was also involved in promoting the work of Grieg:

Mr Stephen Kemp... gave a chamber concert of considerable interest, at the Prince's Hall, on the 11th inst. One of the features of interest to which attention was specially directed was a sonata for pianoforte and violoncello by Grieg, the foremost Norwegian composer of the day... as he is now on a visit to England, more than ordinary interest has been taken in his works... The Sonata, for instance in A minor has many beautiful and novel phrases, and it can be heard with genuine pleasure. It was so received on the occasion under notice, for Mr Stephen Kemp at the pianoforte and Mr Whitehouse at the violoncello rendered it with great finish, and every movement was loudly applauded.⁴⁶⁹

His compositions consist mainly of part songs including the above-mentioned Trio for female voices *O Lady, leave thy silken thread*, and another *The stars are with the voyager*, both to words by Thomas Hood which were popular at the time, and a few pieces for piano, among them a *Caprice in E flat* and a *Gavotte*, and one short work for organ, an *Andante con moto*. He died in Notting Hill on 30 October 1918 leaving a wife and an estate valued at almost £7000.

⁴⁶² Information supplied by Royal Academy of Music Library and Archives.

⁴⁶³ Information based on the RAM Prospectuses first issued in 1878.

⁴⁶⁴ *IJ*, 23 September 1876, p. 8.

⁴⁶⁵ Information supplied by Royal College of Music Library.

⁴⁶⁶ *The Era*, 25 June 1898, p. 11.

⁴⁶⁷ Stephen Kemp's name appears in a Bach Choir concert programme for 16 February 1882. Information supplied in an e-mail from Dr Michael Mullen, Royal College of Music, 6/11/17.

⁴¹¹ Novello (plate 5599) Information supplied by Royal Academy of Music Library and Archives.

⁴⁶⁹ *The Era*, 19 May 1888, p. 15.

William Sexton⁴⁷⁰

William Sexton was a renowned countertenor, born at St George's Southwark in 1848, the son of Christmas Sexton, a shoemaker originally from Norfolk.⁴⁷¹ By 1861, the family had moved back to Norwich though the fact William received his early musical education as a boy chorister and later choirman under Henry Stonex for at least six years suggests strongly that the family lived in Great Yarmouth.⁴⁷² Despite all the signs of promise, his marriage in December 1870 to Christina Rushmer, daughter of a master mariner, at Great Yarmouth obliged him to take up his father's trade and the couple lived in Norwich. Sexton joined the choir of St Saviour's, Norwich, under William Marsh, a pupil of Dr Buck, and later received some training from Buck after he failed to obtain a post as songman at Winchester. Buck must have been sufficiently impressed to offer his teaching without charge, resulting in Sexton's successful candidacy for the post of principal countertenor at York in December 1871.⁴⁷³ In February 1875, he left York for a position in the choir at the Chapel Royal, Windsor Castle under Sir George Elvey at an annual salary of £30. Later that year, he combined this post with that of Vicar Choral at Westminster Abbey⁴⁷⁴ under James Turle, serving both choirs until June 1877 when he resigned his position at Windsor. He is said to have sung out of the side of his mouth with a sound resembling a tom-cat.

Sexton had considerable entrepreneurial flair and developed a substantial music business. He was associated with various colleges of music (private music schools

⁴⁷⁰ Information in part derived from: Dr Thomas Roast, *One hundred pupils of Zechariah Buck: Norwich Cathedral's influential music teacher seen through the careers of his pupils*, (Norwich: 2010).

⁴⁷¹ 1851 Census

⁴⁷² *NorChron*, 13 January 1872, p. 5; *NorMerc*, 13 January 1872, p. 5. Sexton had just been appointed lay vicar at York Minster under Dr Monk. This was seized upon by Edward Kerrison Harvey, precentor at St Saviour's, in a letter in which he appeared to claim the credit for Sexton's success. Sexton was obliged to counter Harvey's assertions in two letters recording the facts of his career hitherto including the six years spent at Great Yarmouth.

⁴⁷³ *NorChron*, 30 December 1871, p. 5.

⁴⁷⁴ *MT*, 1 December 1875, vol. 17, no. 394, p. 300.

which proliferated in London at the time) run by Horatio Tuddenham.⁴⁷⁵ The partnership developed into The London Musical Agency, which: 'Being well patronised for several years past by the clergy and many ladies and gentlemen, we find it necessary to establish... so as to meet the exact requirements of all who may entrust any musical arrangements to our care.'

The venture was short lived because within a year, in June 1888, Sexton was advertising himself as the 'London and Provincial Musical Agency' with offices directly opposite Charing Cross station, providing:

Concerts of every description, at moderate terms, Artists (Vocal and Instrumental) for all Concerts, Choir Boys and Choirmen (Solo and Appointment), Glee Parties, Mixed Concerts, and Masonic business, Operatic, Ballad, Miscellaneous, and Smoking Concerts, Principals and Full Orchestra and Soloists for Oratorios. Five Guinea Concerts (20 items), London... Every requirement in the Musical Profession attended to.⁴⁷⁶

He also operated a music lending library and was principal of the English and Italian College of Music, 477, West Strand. His various conducting and singing appointments included the Royal Victoria Choir, founded in July 1882⁴⁷⁷, the Brixton Choral Society, founded early in 1887⁴⁷⁸, principal countertenor to St Peter's, Eaton Square, music master to the Westminster Endowed Schools (700 boys)⁴⁷⁹ and one for which he was particularly renowned, a vocal quartet formed around 1890 known as the

⁴⁷⁵ *MT*, 1 September 1882, vol. 23, no. 475, p. 467. An advertisement appeared for the 'English School of Music' in which Sexton is listed as a teacher of Voice Production and Sight Singing. The external examiner was Dr Edward Bunnett, organist to Norwich Corporation and St Peter Mancroft, Norwich and a close friend of Henry Stonex.

⁴⁷⁶ *MT*, 1 June 1888, vol. 29, no. 544, p. 327.

⁴⁷⁷ *MT*, 1 July 1882, vol. 23, no. 473, p. 361.

⁴⁷⁸ *MT*, 1 February 1887, vol. 28, no. 528, p. 104.

⁴⁷⁹ *YI*, 12 August 12 1882, p. 5.

Meister Glee Singers.⁴⁸⁰ The group gained a high reputation for their part-singing and sang before the Queen in 1892 at Windsor Castle. They gave many concerts in London and the provinces including Great Yarmouth in 1893 and 1896, and Norwich in 1893 when they repeated some of the programme of their royal performance, 1894 (twice), and in 1895 and 1899. He visited Norwich on many occasions: in 1880 he joined a chorus of about sixty voices at a Choir Benevolent fund festival in St Andrew's Hall, and took part in five Triennial Festivals between 1875 and 1890. Sexton was suspended from the Westminster Abbey choir in 1895 on the grounds that he had been frequently absent over a period of time, probably a result of his other musical activities. From then on he was paid a 'statutable stipend' for the rest of his life. He died at Brixton Hill on 17 November 1917 aged 69.

Edgar Alfred Lane

Edgar Lane had a distinguished career as an organist and conductor in Dorset. He was born on September 23rd 1864, the eleventh of a family of thirteen children born to Benjamin and Elisabeth Lane in Great Yarmouth. His musical career began at the age of eleven when he started playing the organ at Holy Trinity Church, Caister, about two miles north of Great Yarmouth. While still a teenager he became an articled pupil of Henry Stonex, during which time he was organist of St James's Church in the southern part of the town near the fish wharves.⁴⁸¹ His first concert appearance was with the Great Yarmouth Musical Society on 11 May 1882 at the Drill Hall, York Road, Great Yarmouth, playing the harmonium in Sullivan's cantata *The Martyr of Antioch*. At age 19 he became sub-organist at Ripon Cathedral, though the post at the time was only an informal one. This lasted two years; in 1886, he moved to St Peter's Church, Brackley,

⁴⁸⁰ *MT*, 1 May 1890, vol. 31, no. 567, p. 304.

⁴⁸¹ see 'Henry Stonex' p. 140.

Northamptonshire where he also became music master at Magdalen College School.⁴⁸²

⁴⁸³ In 1892, he became organist of St Peter's, Dorchester, a move which was to settle him for the rest of his life in that part of the country. He remained at St Peter's until 1906 but did not take up another post until 1909 when a vacancy arose at Holy Trinity, Dorchester. The salary was £80 per annum. He stayed at Holy Trinity until his retirement in 1935 during which time Lane began a life-long friendship with the writer Thomas Hardy through the agency of a mutual friend, Frederick Boyton Smith.⁴⁸⁴

Smith had been organist of Holy Trinity, Dorchester and had set some of Hardy's poetry to music. In 1902, Lane became a tenant of a house owned by Hardy, 51 High West Street, Dorchester.⁴⁸⁵ Hardy was an amateur violinist and he and Lane struck up a friendship through many musical evenings spent together.⁴⁸⁶ Lane also set some of Hardy's poetry; surviving settings include *Men Who March Away*, and *Songs of Joyaunce*.⁴⁸⁷ His death on 10 February 1938 was marked by obituaries in *The Times*,

Daily Telegraph, *Daily Express*, *Yorkshire Post* and several of the local Dorset papers.

⁴⁸⁸ ⁴⁸⁹ *The Times* wrote of him, 'Mr Lane did much for music in Dorset. The societies which he founded include the Dorchester and Weymouth Amateur Operatic Societies, also the South Dorset Musical Festival and the Dorset Festival Choir'. The *Yorkshire Post* noted his distinguished career and that he had been music master at Dorchester Grammar School. The *Southern Times* said of him, 'Dorset has lost a distinguished

⁴⁸² Magdalen College School was founded in 1548 as an endowment of Magdalen College, Oxford. It is still in existence.

⁴⁸³ Fred. Thornsby ed. *Dictionary of Organs and Organists*, (Bournemouth, 1912), p. 299.

⁴⁸⁴ <<http://dorset-ancestors.com/?p=1045>> [accessed 31/10/ 2017]

⁴⁸⁵ Timothy Hands, *A Hardy Chronology*, (London: Macmillan, 1992) p. 97.

⁴⁸⁶ Margaret Lane, *Edgar A. Lane 1865-1938*, (Purbeck Mail, 1976) p. 17.

⁴⁸⁷ Lane, p. 38.

⁴⁸⁸ *The Times*, 12 February 1938, no. 47917, p. 17.

⁴⁸⁹ *Yorkshire Post*, 12 February 1938, p. 9.

musician, one who shed lustre on the profession with which throughout his lifetime he had been associated'.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁹⁰ *Southern Times*, 11 February 1938, <<http://dorset-ancestors.com/?p=1045>> [accessed 04/12/2017].

Part 5

Rebuilding of the Organ – First Phase 1864 - 1870

Background

Early in 1864, work recommenced on the restoration of the church building under the supervision of the architect, John Pollard Seddon. It was to include the central tower, the chancel and, eventually, the south aisle, the latter entailing the resiting of the organ. At a meeting of the appropriated pew-holders (those who had purchased the use of pews) of the parish church held on 28 March 1864, the vicar, the Reverend H R Nevill, outlined the proposed work. Regarding funding: 'Hitherto he [the vicar] had been anxious to collect money as much as possible away from Yarmouth; but an appeal would shortly be made to the parishioners on behalf of the restoration of the south aisle'.

The report continued, noting:

It was in a very bad, perhaps worse, state, than any other portion of the edifice, and the reason why it had not been taken in hand before was that it was absolutely necessary to have a place for the congregation to worship in. Doubtless the inhabitants of the town would not only feel it to be their duty but their privilege to take in hand the restoration of the south aisle. If anything were to happen to the south aisle – though there was no immediate danger to be apprehended – the organ would at once be destroyed, and thus *one of the greatest ornaments to the town* [author's italics] be lost...⁴⁹¹.

The amount required to be raised totalled £22,840⁴⁹². With these seemingly innocuous statements began one of the most turbulent and costly periods in the history of the organ at St Nicholas's. Whether it could have been foreseen is a moot point, but it did mean that the parish church was to receive a substantial jolt forward into the world of high Victorian churchmanship. By October 1864, work to the tower and chancel had finished and for the first time since the Restoration, the interior of the building could be viewed in its entirety. The Yarmouth Independent of 22 October carried a lengthy report

⁴⁹¹ *YI*, 2 April 1864, p. 5.

⁴⁹² NRO PD 28/232, fol. 26, estimate of Pritchard & Seddon architects, 28 November 1862.

of festival services held the previous day reiterating the vicar's hope that the pending restoration of the south aisle would be funded by the townsfolk. It included a short account of the civic procession:

At half-past 10 a procession, consisting of the police officers, the bearers of the maces, oar, and sword, the Mayor, in his scarlet robes, the High Steward, Lord Sondes, Sir E H K Lacon, MP, the Town Clerk and Corporation, clergy in gowns and surplices, the Rev. Precentor Symonds, the Ven. Archdeacon Hankinson, and the Lords Bishop of Oxford, Norwich and Columbia, formed at the Priory Hall, whence they proceeded to the great west door of the church. The edifice was crowded in every part, the congregation consisting, it was estimated, of upwards of 4000 persons, and great numbers were unable to obtain admission.... In addition to the choirs of the town, the choir of Norwich Cathedral attended.

An indication of the ceremony's duration is given, 'the Lord Bishop of Oxford ascended the pulpit at half-past twelve o'clock [to commence the sermon]'. During the after dinner speeches, the vicar referred to the next phase of the work: the removal of the organ to the body of the church and his hope that when this was accomplished they would have a large volunteer choir, 'with hearty singing... that they might have one of the grandest services in England'. Previously, the Mayor had posited the establishing of a local church-rate to finance the work but, in a reference to soundings he, the vicar, had made, he urged that the feelings of the people be considered, notwithstanding his belief there was a strong wish to see the work completed, and that, with a clear reference to the matter of pew rents, he wished for the whole church to be free. The following week, a letter to the *Yarmouth Independent*⁴⁹³ shed a rather different light on the proceedings at the Festival service. The letter, signed by 'A Yarmouthian', drew attention to the performance of the choirs at the service and gives details of their complement:

⁴⁹³ *YI*, 29 October 1864, p. 5.

Sir... "Choirs: in addition to the *choirs of the town*, the choir of Norwich Cathedral will attend by permission." Now, Sir, when I went to the festival services... I was very much surprised at seeing only the Cathedral choir, eight or ten of St Nicholas', one of St George's, but none of St Peter's or St Andrew's... there must have been some very strong reason why St Peter's did not attend, for I am sure that there is not any choirs, excepting the Cathedral, in Norfolk, equal to them. It is the *strongest*, as well as the *best*. I noticed also the singing... the boys of St Nicholas' simply opened their mouths for I could not hear them... I think it is a shame, Sir, that the rich congregation who worship there, Sunday after Sunday, should not... raise up a choir, more suitable for the church than they have at present... I should like to see a double set of choristers.

The letter is interesting in its description of the singing, or lack of it, drawing attention to the choir of St Peter's under Frederick Rolfe, rather than St Nicholas's as (probably) the best of the choirs in Great Yarmouth. More importantly, it hints at the struggle faced by Stonex in directing a choir from the organ loft, underlining how vital it was for him and the standing of the music at St Nicholas to see the choir and organ question finally resolved. From what the writer says that he could see the singers suggests they were somewhere near or in the chancel in which case any attempt at choral directing would have been rendered ineffective by the distance involved. It also suggests Stonex was alone in that task since he later recalled the 'torture' of having the choir under the central tower space with the organ in the South aisle⁴⁹⁴.

The festival service marked a watershed in the history of the music at St Nicholas's. Until then, thoughts of reordering the church interior to better reflect contemporary liturgical ideas had had to be put in abeyance. Seddon's report of 1862 on the condition of the fabric underlined the urgency of repairs to the south aisle, the walls of which were bulging outwards owing to the collapsing roof timbers. However, the

⁴⁹⁴ It should be remembered the organ gallery was approximately 23' wide and 25' deep. The organ occupied a space about sixteen feet wide by eight feet deep. This left a narrow strip either side of it just wide enough for a person to walk round meaning it was almost impossible to accommodate a choir of any effective size. Dimensions taken from NRO DN/CON 140 – Faculty of 1748 confirming erection of the organ.

state of the south aisle and the seemingly straightforward need to repair it was to prove quite the opposite. This was where the organ stood, therefore, before any repairs could be done, the organ had to be moved.

A prospectus published early in 1865 gave a list of work to the Parish Church already undertaken and that remaining.⁴⁹⁵ Together with the rebuilding of the south aisle it stated:

During the ensuing year the Organ will be removed from the western end of the south aisle, and placed in the centre of the Church. It is believed that the magnificent instrument will sound with far grander effect when occupying a more central position. The sum of £150 will remove the Organ, but a special subscription is being raised for improving the instrument.

Notwithstanding the aspirations set out in the prospectus, it would appear that the final decision regarding the organ was not taken until early September 1865.⁴⁹⁶ Prior to that, Henry Stonex had been active in fundraising for its enlargement and, at the request of the committee, had corresponded with various individuals about what changes might be made. It was then resolved to remove it at the expense of the Restoration Committee and for the chairman to make enquiries as to a 'proper Organ Builder to be entrusted with the work.'⁴⁹⁷ Later that month, at a further meeting the vicar indicated that approaches had been made to, among others, Sir Frederick Gore Ouseley, Henry Smart, George Cooper, Sir Henry Oakley, Edward Willing and the Reverend D Dykes [sic].⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁹ Of these, it would seem Henry Smart was the most active in responding to the committee's request. His initial report, prepared in advance, suggested what additions

⁴⁹⁵ *YI*, 11, 18, 25 February pp. 5/8, 7, 8 resp; 4 March 1865, p. 8.

⁴⁹⁶ NRO PD28/232 Meeting of the General Committee, 8 September 1865.

⁴⁹⁷ This remark is included since it sheds some light on attitudes towards local organbuilders and the perceived scale of operations. W C Mack of Yarmouth, was, in every respect, a 'proper organ builder' though probably too small to undertake a job of this magnitude. Taken at face value though, it would seem he and another, Charles Cotton, were being referred to here but in terms which were unfortunate and perhaps derogatory despite Mack having cared for the parish church organ for many years.

⁴⁹⁸ NRO PD28/232, 28 September, 1865.

⁴⁹⁹ This would appear to be wrongly transcribed in the minutes. It is most probable this was the Rev'd John Bacchus Dykes, Precentor of Durham Cathedral.

might be made to it and recommended the Manchester firm of Kirtland & Jardine to tender for the work. His fee to act as organ consultant, including travelling expenses, was £30 equating to approximately £2500 today, 2015; and a measure of Smart's interest in the project since the figure is a relatively low one given the prestige attached to it and the volume of work entailed.⁵⁰⁰ Smart, who was present during the committee's deliberations, was then requested to prepare a complete specification and to obtain costings from Kirtland & Jardine. Smart and the committee then adjourned to the church where the siting of the organ was discussed; he recommended the centre of the north aisle of the chancel⁵⁰¹. His remarks following his inspection of the organ are contained in a letter to the subscribers to the Organ Fund dated 13 January 1866.⁵⁰² These were linked to Kirtland & Jardine's proposal to build what amounted to an entirely new instrument using just the pipework and bellows from the existing one. Given that nothing remains of Kirtland & Jardine's works records before 1874 beyond some drawings, the document, albeit a transcription, is an important historical record.⁵⁰³ As far as Kirtland & Jardine were concerned, the project must have been a promotional opportunity. Surviving lists of their work suggest there was very little penetration of the Midlands and Southern counties so that winning the Great Yarmouth contract would have been a major coup. A later proposal from William Hill & Son was more conservative and, while it appears Hill would have much preferred to build an entirely

⁵⁰⁰ This answer was obtained by multiplying £30.00 by the percentage increase in the Retail Price Index from 1865 to 2013.

⁵⁰¹ NRO PD28/232, 21 October 1864, fol. 68, shows a plan of the church with various suggested locations including either the north or south chancel aisles and the north transept. Smart's recommendation of a north site probably had to do with that side of the church having a more equable environment, ie not subject to such wide variations of temperature, than the south.

⁵⁰² NRO PD 28/232, 26 January 1866, fol.78. The question of how 'blindness' was defined as a condition is of interest. William Spark in his biography of Henry Smart talks of how he, as a boy, had to hold a book very close to one eye to read it and that consultants had advised he would lose his sight altogether in later life. This is said to have occurred by the time he was 52, in 1865. However, it would appear there was sufficient residual sight to enable him to append his signature to the affidavit sworn in the Yarmouth organ case. Spark recounts how in 1878, Smart had to inspect the organ of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin and that he insisted on writing the first draft of the report himself.

⁵⁰³ NRO PD 28/232, fol. 78-85.

new organ at well over double the price quoted by Kirtland & Jardine, Hill agreed, at Smart's insistence, to make use of what existing material he could, as much on grounds of affordability as anything else. What is odd is that Smart had given Kirtland & Jardine an unequivocal recommendation without, apparently, even considering putting the work out to tender. Why this should be is a matter for some speculation though it is very likely that the firm's early adoption of Vogler's 'Simplification' system of organ building enabled them, by rationalising various elements such as action layout, and soundboard planning and construction (these were built to standardised dimensions), to tender far lower than equivalent work by London builders.⁵⁰⁴ It does seem strange too that Smart did not insist on his initial idea of placing the organ in the north aisle of the chancel in preference to the environmentally less suitable north transept position. It could be that Jardine's view that:

...without encroaching on the North Aisle [the north transept position] will afford the requisite space on plan (about 26 feet square) required for the proper construction of the instrument; besides all necessary height above for the development of its effect...

was persuasive enough to outweigh the arguments concerning damp in that part of the church. They also intended using 'The Pneumatic Apparatus (on the plan designed by Mr Henry Smart for the Leeds Town Hall Organ)... for the great organ... '.

Commenting, Smart wrote:

you will notice for instance that with the exception of the old pipes the organ will be completely new, this I found to be absolutely necessary. The present internal arrangements of your instrument are far too cramped for the stops it even now contains, the soundboards are too small for the pipes now standing on them to have efficient speaking room, while the spaces left for the operations of the tuner are far too limited to allow of his work being done properly or even safely and to this latter cause the terribly mangled state of most of the smaller pipes is doubtless mainly attributable.

⁵⁰⁴ These points are described in detail in Michael Sayer, 'Kirtland & Jardine of Manchester' *The Organ*, vol. 54, no. 216, pp. 169-176.

Quite how Smart was able to describe the interior of the organ in such a plausible manner is debatable given his apparent poor eyesight and suggests he was relying on Frederick Jardine's assessment of the instrument at least as far as its interior arrangement was concerned. Smart would have been on fairly sure ground anyway; the organ was then over 130 years old and had had only minor additions and attention during that time. His past experience would have told him what to expect of the interior of an 18th century organ and he was dealing with people who, for the most part, had little or no specialist knowledge apart from Mack and perhaps Stonex. Smart's earlier work fitting composition pedals to the organ in 1831 would have given him knowledge of its interior prior to the overhaul and additions of 1844. The account of the consistory court hearings shows that neither Smart nor anyone else was called to be cross-examined so that such knowledge as he did possess was not subject to detailed questioning. Had it been so, it might have revealed that he was perhaps not as independent of commercially biased opinions as he should have been.

Smart then outlined the need for new soundboards and, consequent upon that, the requirement that key and drawstop actions would have to be completely renewed. A new building frame would be needed to accommodate soundboards 'between 11 & 12 ft long' compared with the old ones 'of at most 7 ft in length.' All that remained of the old mechanism and structure would be the bellows. 29 new registers were to be added 'many of these being of the most expensive description while all the old stops will be scrupulously preserved.'

Jardine also suggested reconstructing the existing casefront, widening it by the addition of a new pipe flat and tower, so that it spanned the entire width of the North Transept. As he put it:

This position is further recommended by the comparative economy it permits as to the question of the case, which so placed need be merely a front or screen instead of a continuous enclosure about every side of the organ, which would be necessary in any other situation.

Jardine seems to have disregarded the acoustic properties of a good organ case notwithstanding the expense of enlarging it given the size of organ proposed. His remarks are typical of the way new developments in organ building appeared, on the face of it, to obviate the need for careful interior planning and good casework to focus and project the instrument's sound. This was one of the consequences of the transition from the English classical organ to the much more mechanised and engineered organ of the later Victorian era. By contrast, surviving photographs of the organ as rebuilt by Hill show a freestanding instrument neatly encased with space around it.

This was an ambitious project resulting in an organ which, according to Smart 'no Cathedral in this Country can equal and which can only be excelled in the very exceptional instances of the Doncaster Parish Church, and in the Town Halls of Liverpool and Leeds.' As if to make absolutely sure the committee understood what was being offered, he added 'Such an organ therefore apart from higher considerations would be *a continual attraction and would draw lovers of music from all parts of the Country and would thus be of great advantage to the Town.*' [author's italics]

The cost of the work was £950, almost double the amount budgeted for. In the event it proved impossible to raise adequate funds Jardine included a second specification omitting 10 stops. Even then, the price amounted to £780 and, as Henry Smart pointed out, 'I am afraid the price will startle you as being considerably above what you expected, but if you examine the specification you will soon perceive what a quantity of expensive work it involves'. A few weeks later, a meeting of the subscribers to the organ fund was held, attended by, among other prominent citizens, the town's

chief magistrate, Mr E H L Preston, member of the Local Committee for the restoration of the Parish Church. The meeting had been called to give a report on the latest developments and to consider Messrs Kirtland & Jardine's proposals.⁵⁰⁵

The minutes record only one instance of doubt, expressed by Preston, who thought the sum needed to resite the instrument could be raised but questioned whether the move was appropriate. A resolution confirmed the proposals for the organ and it was agreed to ask the churchwardens to call a meeting of the subscribers and seat-holders the following week to discuss the committee's intentions.⁵⁰⁶ This meeting, held on 2 February 1866, was the first at which the wider parish had an opportunity to hear about them. Given its importance, what follows are the main points based on the minutes:

1. The next phase of the church's restoration was the south aisle so that the matter of removing the organ required an immediate decision.
2. It had been suggested that the organ could be cased up during the building work but it was deemed unwise to incur any risk of harm to an instrument which was valued so highly.
3. If the organ were removed, the opportunity for its enlargement presented itself as did that of locating it permanently in the north transept.
4. When the organ was first built, the south aisle was the only part of the church in use, hence its present location. Had the church not been divided up during the Commonwealth, there was little doubt it would not have been placed there.

⁵⁰⁵ NRO PD28/232, 26 January 1866.

⁵⁰⁶ Seatholders refers to those who benefitted from the practice of seats or pews being allocated to them by the bishop by means of a faculty. Where a pew was allocated by faculty, the allocation went with a house within or, occasionally, outside of the parish. The number of individual seats available would be divided up according to the number of inhabitants of that house at any particular time. It can be seen that pews made available this way would be occupied by the wealthier parishioners, people of land and title. See Francis Newman Rogers, *A Practical Arrangement of Ecclesiastical Law* (London: Saunders & Benning, 1840) p. 171.

5. There was advantage to be had of placing the organ near the Choir which ought to be seated under or near the Tower, in sight of the congregation [not behind it as now] and under the eye of the Minister.

The meeting then adopted the following resolution:

That subject to the money required for the purpose being raised, the Specification no. 1 be adopted and that the work be carried out by Messrs Kirtland & Jardine at their estimate of £950 under the superintendence of Mr Henry Smart, and that when completed the organ be permanently placed in the North Transept.⁵⁰⁷

Some fifteen months later and there was still no prospect of work to the south aisle. The minutes of the Restoration Committee, 3 May 1867 record insufficient funds to proceed and there was no immediate likelihood of them increasing.⁵⁰⁸ Further efforts needed to be made and so it was decided that, to augment them, the ladies of the County and the Borough would be asked to assist through a circular and a lithographed copy of a letter from the vicar. A bazaar was envisaged, with Henry Stonex acting as secretary to the bazaar committee. In the meantime, Henry Smart was informed that:

for want of funds the Committee were unable to proceed with the reconstruction of the organ ... thanking him for the great pains and trouble which he had taken in the matter and requesting to know in what amount the Committee were indebted to him ... he also to write to Messrs. Kirtland and Jardine informing them that it was not the intention ... to proceed with the work and that ... their tender could not be accepted.

Smart's fee was five guineas.⁵⁰⁹

The following November, questions were asked about the lack of progress and whether the public was more likely to support fundraising if they could see something being done. The fund then stood at £685, close to Kirtland & Jardine's reduced estimate

⁵⁰⁷ See Appendix.

⁵⁰⁸ NRO PD28/232, 3 May 1867.

⁵⁰⁹ NRO PD28/232, 7 November 1867.

of £780. However, it was proposed to request Henry Smart to approach William Hill & Son who had been strongly recommended as 'the best and most Conservative [sic] organbuilder in England' and ask them to quote for Smart's complete specification. The committee, anticipating Hill's quote would exceed funds then in hand, also took the precaution of requesting a modified approach such that stops prepared for could be inserted as and when money became available. Perhaps mindful that someone of Smart's reputation would be unwilling to transact with either the Parish or Hill & Son in this manner, the committee resolved that 'in case Mr Smart should decline to have any communication with Mr Hill or other builders except Messrs. Kirtland & Jardine... Professor Oakley be requested to prepare a specification to submit to Mr Hill.'

A hint of the trials to come was given when the General Committee met on 12 February 1868 to discuss progress made by Smart in his negotiations with Hill & Son. In attendance were Smart, Preston, the town clerk, and the mayor. Before any discussion had taken place, Preston attacked what he understood to be the displacement of the existing organ by a new one, recommending instead that it should not be moved but cased up during the repair of the south aisle and that further expenditure on it should be postponed. The vicar, supported by the mayor, repeated that all that remained to be decided was how and to what extent the existing organ could be reconstructed and improved. Smart then addressed the meeting flatly denying that the present organ was to be 'rendered auxiliary to a new one'. To illustrate the point, he outlined his correspondence with Hill & Son in which they had (apparently) indicated they would far rather build a new instrument incorporating the existing pipework. This option Smart 'at once rejected' and asked Hill to estimate for retaining such material as he could from the Jordan instrument, incorporating it with new as deemed appropriate.

The minutes are unclear on these points and give the impression that Hill wished to build a completely new organ, making an allowance for the value of the metal of the old pipes. The figure of £500 deducted is too high, even allowing for the quantity in the organ, and is greatly at odds with Hill's acknowledged sympathy towards the work of the best of the old English builders. A probable interpretation is that Hill would incorporate the Jordan pipework in a new organ, discarding all the old soundboards, bellows, actions etc. The cost of such an instrument would have been £2500. Upon Smart rejecting it, Hill then re-estimated using such of the Jordan organ as he could reducing the cost to £1580, still over £600 more than Kirkland & Jardine's (see Appendix A). When the matter eventually went to court, the affidavit sworn by Thomas Hill of Hill & Son supported this view and revealed the considerable extent to which the Jordan material was to be re-used.

Preston then asked Smart whether Hill and Kirkland & Jardine were comparable, to which he replied that he would never have recommended the latter if he had not been perfectly satisfied. However, with a view to testing the feeling of the Committee, Preston repeated his objections and, as the minutes put it, moved 'that the Organ be allowed to remain in its present position and that it be cased up during the contemplated repair of the South Aisle.' The motion, needless to say, 'fell to the ground.' The meeting drew to a close having sanctioned a maximum expenditure of £550. No opposition was expressed and, one senses, a rather dejected Henry Smart said he would adhere to the Committee's instructions as best he could.

A later meeting held on 1 June seems to indicate that Smart had been asked to go back to Kirkland & Jardine asking them if they would indeed be willing to undertake the work when the committee learnt of Hill's much more expensive scheme. As it turned out, the minutes record that 'in consequence of Mr Jardine's numerous engagements it

was impossible for him to undertake the work so as to complete the same within the time contemplated and consequently that nothing at present had been done.'⁵¹⁰

At first, there was little external reaction but within two months, it had become the subject of a heated and acrimonious debate within the Borough. Arguments became so polarised that the matter eventually had to be settled by a consistory court.

⁵¹⁰ There appears to be some confusion as to the exact reason for not proceeding with Kirtland & Jardine's proposal. The minutes are at variance here because they state that 'in consequence of Mr Jardine's numerous engagements it was impossible for him to undertake the work so as to complete the same within the time contemplated and consequently that nothing had been done.'

The Preston Campaign

The first salvo was fired by Preston in a letter which appeared in the *Yarmouth Independent* on 7 March 1868, alleging that, at the meeting held a short while before, the Restoration Committee had 'resolved to pull down and remove the organ to the north transept... and for the ease of the choir master and the choir boys it is to stand only 5 feet from the floor...' Preston appealed to the parishioners drawing their attention 'to the ruin which will be caused by this pulling down and removal.'⁵¹¹

In an apparent sideswipe at the choir and Henry Stonex, he hoped that the committee would not succeed in raising the funds necessary for the organ's removal and rebuilding

for however pleasing may be the voices of singing men and singing women, I infinitely prefer the splendid swell of that dear old organ, which I have listened to from my infancy with delight, to its playing second fiddle, as is now proposed, to the choir.

Preston's letter ended by expressing the view that the organ 'had ample capacity for all the requirements of the church' and that its 'mellowness and sweetness of tone will be entirely drowned by the noisy, increased pedal organ proposed to be added' the latter a reference to a major part of the scheme.

A brief report of the meeting of 12 February appeared in the *Norfolk News*, 14 March 1868, which seemed to add credence to Preston's disquiet about the proposals. It noted that:

The works proposed to be carried out under the head of repairs are stated to comprise the removal of the present pipes and the substitution of new ones, providing additional pedal organ and pedal machinery. *The meeting at which this question was discussed being of a private character, we are unable to give the views entertained by the individual members of the committee* [author's italics], but we learn that the removal was determined upon, the estimated outlay for this being £120. It was also

⁵¹¹ *YI*, 7 March 1868, p. 5. On one point at least, Preston appears to have been disingenuous: the minutes of the committee make no mention of the height at which the organ was to be placed.

stated that the amount of the subscriptions to the organ fund amounted to £480, a sum totally inadequate to justify the committee in undertaking the contemplated repairs. To many of the parishioners, we believe, this will prove a source of no little dissatisfaction, the carrying out of the so-called improvement being regarded almost as an act of vandalism.⁵¹²

The report, which is heavily weighted in favour of the Preston viewpoint, is an example of how partisan newspaper coverage could be. There is the suspicion that Preston or his associates were happy to allow disinformation to a sympathetic press to go unchallenged since it is at variance in several details with the minutes of the meeting. It would appear too that the meeting was not reported, the reference to it being of a 'private character' only adding to the atmosphere of rumour and suspicion of decision-making by a small, unelected few. The following week, the committee replied stating the facts surrounding the need to proceed with the organ.⁵¹³ These were, in large part, governed by two considerations: 1) whether it was desirable that the organ should be dismantled and removed from its then position, and 2) whether, if taken down, an opportunity might arise for making improvements to it, especially to the Pedal division.

In considering whether the organ might be taken down prior to work starting on the reconstruction of the South Aisle, it had first been suggested that it could simply be boxed up inside a weatherproof wooden container for the duration. To those of such a mind as Preston, this seemed a way of circumventing any proposal to relocate and, worse still, rebuild it. Both Henry Stonex and John Seddon, the church architect, had advised against such a plan on purely practical grounds and for the ultimate safety of the instrument. As to the possibility of reconstruction and enlargement, this seemed to be the ideal time to undertake such work always acknowledging that, in the words of Henry Smart 'all the old stops will be scrupulously preserved, and so arranged as to be

⁵¹² *NorNews*, 14 March 1868, p. 6.

⁵¹³ *YI*, 14 March 1868, p. 5.

at once at the performer's call, should the desire to show what the old organ was in comparison with its reconstructed condition'. The letter was signed by several members of the committee. They included the vicar, the Reverend H R Nevill; the mayor, William Worship; Charles S D Steward, churchwarden; the organist, Henry Stonex; and Charles Cory, solicitor and Town Clerk.

In the same edition, two other letters appeared which give an indication of some of the wider ramifications of the proposals. One, signed by 'A Parishioner' and evidently written in support of Mr Preston's view, put it that 'Surely the ease of the choir is not sufficient reason to justify the committee in running the risk they must necessarily do of damaging this splendid instrument to say nothing of the expense'. The letter continued with a reference to work recently carried out at the Norwich church of St Peter Mancroft where the organ had been moved, at first unsuccessfully, from its west gallery position to one at the north east of the building.

The second letter signalled the antipathy felt towards the relocation of the organ viewing it as an attempt to introduce Catholic practices to the Parish church. Its tone is unmistakable; that it did it with humour and a touch of irony makes an extensive quotation of interest:

Sir, - Mr Preston, your correspondent of last week on the subject of the parish organ, does not appear to see the real drift of this organ business. I fear it is part of a system silently but surely going on in our midst to obtain a footing for the extravagances of Ritualism. There is a fashion in Church as in other matters, and although the fooleries of "Brother Ignatius" were laughed out of Norwich, take my word for it that his only mistake was his bringing them in in a lump, instead of introducing them bit by bit. He should have tried the tentative, the "first endure, then pity, then embrace" system, - made a beginning by setting up a picture, then gradually varied the cut and mode of the millinery, after that supplanted the choirboys, and next got up a procession, and candles and all the rest of it would have followed in a short time as naturally as possible. We have got the picture, we have got a charming variety in the article of vestments, we have done up the little boys in shirts, and when the organ is removed to the north

transept, - though at the risk of stopping its old voice for ever – "for the ease of the choir boys and master," shan't we too have our full-blown processions?⁵¹⁴

The letter continued with an open attack on the Pope and the 'mummeries of Roman Catholicism', and a short piece of doggerel:

'Where they've little boys dressed up as if they were girls,
And dolls stiff with crinoline, spangles, and pearls;
With bunches of made flowers and all lengths of candles,
And crosses and bosses, and pumps and pump handles:
Where prayer is a moan and thanksgiving a howl,
And piety means a white surplice and cowl;
Where real English hearts are translated to Latin,
And Cantwells come close to the silks and the satin;
Where priests hint new vice till they cause new transgression,
And disturb each pure feeling and call it 'confession'...Let the
parishioners be wise in time, and, not merely for the safety of their fine
old organ... allow no meddling innovator to obtain a foothold for the
poms and vanities of Popery'.

The letter was signed merely by "X".^{515 516}

Why Preston acted as he did, whipping up anti-Catholic sentiment and mistrust of the vicar and Restoration committee, is not entirely clear, but there is a sufficient body of evidence to suggest that he, having suffered a considerable slight to his character and general standing a year before, attempted to use the organ question as a means of exacting some form of redress and, indirectly, make a political point, namely that those sitting on the restoration committee were not all fit and proper persons to be put in charge of the work.⁵¹⁷ In pursuing what was to prove, ultimately, a pointless

⁵¹⁴ *YI*, 14 March 1868, p. 5. Joseph Leycester Lyne, [known as Father Ignatius] (1837-1908) was an Anglican monk and preacher whose attempts to found an order of monks were marred by an erratic, flamboyant personality, and teachings which brought him into conflict with his superiors. Between 1863 and 1866, his community settled in Elm Hill, Norwich, but internal and financial difficulties resulted in dispossession and dispersal. He was lampooned in *Punch*, cf. Charles Graves, *Mr Punch's History of Modern England*, 4 vols. (New York: F A Stokes, 1914), 2, pp. 88-90.

⁵¹⁵ 'Cantwell', this word could be a variation of 'Cantle' – the crown of the head, cf. Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, 3rd ed.

⁵¹⁶ *YI*, 14 March 1868, p. 5.

⁵¹⁷ In February 1867, an election was held for two representatives to sit on the board of the Port and Haven Commissioners, the body which oversaw the running of the harbour. Prior to that, Mr Preston had

undertaking, Preston believed he had the support of the parishioners. What Preston probably could not have foreseen, and it is a reflection on the corporate workings of the Church of England, is the overriding principle of 'Furtherance of Mission', namely that everything undertaken should support the promulgation of the Gospel. If the organ was not an effective aid to worship where currently located, then it would have to be moved regardless of whether the public supported it. As will be noted later, it was the opinion of the Archdeacon which was decisive and sufficient to override all objections. Some indication of the futility of Preston's cause came in a reply soon after. A letter in the Yarmouth Independent of 21 March 1868, sought to debunk not only his assertions but also served as a riposte to the anti-Catholic sentiments expressed by "X". The letter pointed out that the choir of St Nicholas was attired in whatever clothes they had suitable for a Sunday, the clergy wore their usual vestments and the idea that to remove an organ necessarily involved its destruction was erroneous. Furthermore, in the hands of experienced organbuilders such as William Hill & Son, 'no fear of damage need be

served for a year as a Haven & Pier commissioner having been elected unanimously by the ratepayers of the borough, ratepayers including the members of the borough council.

The 1867 election saw Preston removed from that office on the pretext that he did not possess the qualifications needed to deal with the new legal circumstances created by the 1866 Great Yarmouth Port & Haven Act. In his stead was elected Charles Cory, Town Clerk and a solicitor with the bank of Lacon, Youell & Co. Edward Youell was Mayor at the time of this meeting and the name of Lacon was connected with both banking and local brewing interests, head of which was Sir Edmund Lacon, the town's Conservative MP, and a member of the Parish Church's General Committee. Lacon and Cory had been implicated in the findings of a Government commission looking into electoral fraud in 1859 and 1865; Lacon having paid bribes to electors and Cory and having acted as a go-between resulting in the disenfranchisement of the borough from 1868 until 1885.

Cory and Youell were both members of the Parish Church Restoration Local Committee. William Worship, Mayor at the time of Preston's election to the Pier and Haven Commissioners, had failed to support Preston in his bid to stand as representative on the reconstituted board of the Port & Haven Commissioners and, from the report of the meeting which appeared in the Norfolk Chronicle, had delivered the fatal blow to his candidature. The meeting led to accusations that Cory and Youell had deliberately cast a slur on Preston's integrity and fitness to stand, just to suit themselves. Not only that but, as a solicitor, Cory was accused indirectly by Preston of standing to benefit considerably from fees accruing through his professional services to the Board of Commissioners. Youell was, of course, a partner in the same firm, and Cory non-resident in Yarmouth, a fact which was used in an attempt to disenfranchise him. Worship was a member of the Restoration Committee and succeeded Youell as mayor.

William Finch-Crisp, *A Chronological Retrospect of the History of Yarmouth and Neighbourhood*, from A.D. 46 to 1884, 3rd edn. (Great Yarmouth: Finch-Crisp, 1884) p. 6.

<<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/41618/41618-h/41618-h.htm>> [accessed 2/11/2017]

entertained.'⁵¹⁸ Notwithstanding the committee's expressed intentions as set out in the letter of 14 March, Preston was undeterred. It was at this point that his understanding of what had been said at the meeting of 12 February began to be shown to be at such extraordinary variance with what was recorded. Until then, Preston had pursued a general argument about the location of the organ and the need to rebuild it. Finding this alone was insufficient for his purposes, he chose to involve himself in some of the detail of the project, something he was hopelessly unqualified to do.⁵¹⁹ Smart had stated unequivocally that none of the existing pipework was to be disposed of – an express stipulation of the committee. This Preston tried to refute, claiming the requirement had to be inserted because there was a possibility it might otherwise happen.

Smart's statement that the existing stops would be retained and so arranged that a side by side comparison could be made between the Jordan instrument and Hill's reconstruction was taken to mean that the:

old organ is to be put in a lumber room, and should it arise that some weak antiquated parishioner desires a comparison with the new construction, it will, by the Committee's resolution, be 'at the performer's call'; in other words, this fine old instrument will be made to play second fiddle to the choir, and become an auxiliary organ.⁵²⁰

As to the matter of the organ remaining in the south aisle during the restoration work and it being removed to the north transept, Preston took this to mean for the duration only and that it would be restored back to its old position afterwards. In concluding, he did urge the committee to pause and consult the parish, and if required, call a meeting, a reference to the previously noted, 'private' and hence secretive or suspect initial meeting with Smart at which, ironically, Preston himself had been present.

⁵¹⁸ *YI*, 21 March 1868, p. 5.

⁵¹⁹ *YI*, 21 March 1868, p. 5.

⁵²⁰ *YI*, 21 March 1868, p. 5.

The apparent secrecy surrounding the initial deliberations about the organ's future coupled with wider concerns about the spiralling cost of the church restoration, did rankle with many parishioners. Undertones of government and decision-making by a select few, never far from the surface, were hinted at in a letter from one of Preston's supporters, signing himself 'Vindex'. In it, he referred to the failure of the restoration committee to publish a full report of the committee's deliberations asking:

And is such a committee, then of twelve or thirteen gentlemen, two of them non-residents to control the opinions of the inhabitants at large? I sincerely hope not; but that the town will be up and stirring if it would have a voice in the matter.⁵²¹

The writer then alluded to the money apparently wasted in a previous phase of the church's restoration when it was discovered a few years after that rafters were rotting and walls crumbling; the work presided over by a committee made up largely of those now present. Matters became so hopelessly muddled that it fell to Smart to attempt to set the record straight. Smart had been away since the publication of Preston's initial correspondence of 7 March so it is possible he was unaware of events meantime. Be that as it may, the letter was sufficient to stir him to pen a forthright rebuttal. He began: 'the extraordinary statements contained in that letter [Preston, 7 March 1868] have greatly astonished me, for I cannot imagine how any gentleman should so entirely have misunderstood the explanation given at the meeting of the Committee.' Smart, clearly shaken by the extent to which his remarks had been misconstrued, reiterated how all the old stops were to remain 'absolutely as they are now' and that:

so far from there being any intention to remove any one of them, their *entire retention* is expressly stipulated in the specification as the basis of the plan. At the meeting I never expressed an opinion that the old pipes should not be disposed of, simply because their disposal had never for an instant been contemplated.⁵²²

⁵²¹ *YL*, 28 March 1868, p. 8.

⁵²² *YL*, 28 March 1868, p. 8.

As to the matter of how much the work was to cost, Hill's estimate of £1580 was based on the cost of an equivalent new organ less the value of the existing pipework at Yarmouth.⁵²³

Regarding the important question of where the organ was to be sited, Smart stated that 'if removed, I consider the site now selected to be the very best in the whole building' meaning the north transept. Various references to the 'noisy pedal organ' complained of by Preston were countered by Smart stating that the object of a Pedal organ was to impart an effect of 'depth and solidity to the bass of the instrument in which the Yarmouth organ is now unquestionably deficient.' At pains to ensure he would not be further misrepresented, Smart concluded:

allow me to say that my respect and admiration for all that is worth preserving in the Yarmouth organ, that is to say, for *all* its pipes, is as great as can be entertained by any one of the inhabitants; though founded probably on securer grounds than mere popular gossip or guide-book traditions.

Anyone who reads my specification which was entered upon the minutes of the Committee two years since must be instantly satisfied that no one of the horrors mentioned in your correspondent's letter was ever contemplated by me, and I trust that this statement of mine will have the effect of dissipating any doubts or fears that may be entertained.⁵²⁴

However, fearing Smart would have the last word, Preston became increasingly vituperative. An anonymous writer had, apparently, sent a letter to a local newspaper criticising him for 'affecting sympathy for and interest in the organ of the Parish Church.' In defence, Preston pointed out that, together with Edward Steele, he had raised money to have the organ repaired on a previous occasion while reiterating his complete opposition to the new proposals and accusing his detractors of abuse and coarse invective, of belonging to some 'amateur singing class' and 'hailing from another

⁵²³ Hill must have also allowed something for windchests and other sundries. These are not mentioned here for fear, presumably, of muddying the waters even further.

⁵²⁴ *YI*, 28 March 1868, p. 8.

parish hard by', a probable reference to the Town Clerk, Charles Cory, who, as previously noted, actually resided in Burgh Castle, a village some eight miles south of Yarmouth and in the county of Suffolk.⁵²⁵ He also revealed his hand regarding the church restoration committee:

I know not by what authority the Committee act; this I know, they can have no authority without the sanction of the town, nor will they be permitted even with the support of the great anonymous musical wonder to pull down the old organ.⁵²⁶

Following the publication of Smart's letter and Preston's along with it, the editor of the Yarmouth Independent felt obliged to call a halt to the correspondence. As if to point out the depths of absurdity to which the matter threatened to sink, he quoted two lines of doggerel received at the newspaper office, penned, so the anonymous author would have readers believe, by the organ itself. The editor noted:

we refuse to believe that our old friend, renowned for discoursing such eloquent music, could be guilty of such metrical atrocities as he is here credited with, a specimen of which we subjoin from the opening distich: "It is now I believe the fourth week in Lent. That my voice will be heard in the *Independent*. "

For a while after the publication of Smart's letter, nothing further was heard until a report of a meeting of the restoration committee in June 1868 called to try and further move things forward. The report stated that prior to commencement of such work, the organ was to be taken down and removed to the north transept 'for its effectual preservation, as had been previously agreed upon, [it] being first repaired and enlarged under the direction of Mr Smart'. The report also noted that the churchwardens had been requested to apply for a faculty authorising the work; the expense of obtaining it, in case of any opposition, being defrayed by a subscription 'specially entered into for that

⁵²⁵ *YI*, 28 March 1868, p. 8. The letter has not been found.

⁵²⁶ The 'great anonymous musical wonder' is thought to have been Henry Smart.

purpose.' This meant a fund was being started to pay for legal services in the event the application went to a consistory court. The minutes of this meeting, held on 1st June 1868, give a clear indication of the respect for due process and the need to ensure that adequate funds were in place for the work. Charles Cory, the Town Clerk, is minuted as saying he had 'no desire to see the works commenced until the committee was in a position to do so without much risk of their funds falling short ' and that 'they should act in a strictly legal as well as an energetic manner'. With reference to Preston's actions, he also suggested that:

as some opposition had been threatened by those who were desirous of retaining the organ permanently in its present position, he considered that the Minister and Churchwardens should be protected from any possible expense in obtaining or defending the faculty and that with this view he and others were willing to subscribe to a guarantee fund...'

The following week saw the report met with a letter from someone known only as 'Vindex', in which he took the restoration committee to task for not having first consulted the parish regarding the obtaining of the faculty, perceiving it to be a 'tone of defiance assumed, daring the parishioners as it were, to resist the removal of the organ as determined upon by the committee'. He then went on to question the need for the guarantee fund to pay for legal services, sensing the committee were about to embark on something which would not be granted the necessary faculty and fearful that, were the committee to proceed regardless, there would be financial consequences. In other words, his view was that the committee were absolutely determined to press ahead whether or not they obtained the necessary permissions and were asking the public to foot the bill in the event the legality of the works was called into question. Vindex's solution was to call a meeting of the parish (vestry meeting) because the matter was

quite unlike anything else, not a 'mere municipal matter... but one upon which peace and concord should rather prevail.'⁵²⁷

The letter appeared to go unheeded until early in October when Preston wrote an open letter to the ratepayers and inhabitants of the town calling for a vestry meeting to air the whole matter.⁵²⁸ In it, he accused the vicar and churchwardens of having flouted the rules governing the display of citation notices and of not having informed him that a faculty had been applied for.⁵²⁹ In his words, 'You may judge... my surprise to learn that this citation... exhibited first on this Sunday, was conjured down before the next, and kept so close and secret, that one gentleman, chuckled at the idea "that Preston was deceived"... '

Preston, however, had managed to ascertain that there was still time to lodge an objection with the Episcopal Consistorial Court at Norwich. By making a public request for a vestry meeting to be held and in so doing, forcing the hands of the vicar and churchwardens, he believed he had a chance of preventing the removal of the organ and, in a reference to recent events at the Norwich church of St Peter Mancroft, from seeing it 'Rachelized,' made 'Beautiful for ever'; its external pipes bedaubed and enamelled over with purple and vermillion, and such like tawdry'.⁵³⁰ The organ at St Peter Mancroft, built by Renatus Harris in 1707, had been removed from its west gallery in 1866 and rebuilt in the north transept by Mark Noble. This had necessitated doing away with the fine casefront and, in the fashion of the time, a plain pipefront was set up painted in the colours described by Preston. It was a high-risk strategy but it at

⁵²⁷ *YL*, 13 June 1868, p. 7.

⁵²⁸ *NorChron*, 10 October 1868, p. 5.

⁵²⁹ Ecclesiastical equivalent of a planning notice inviting objections to works proposed within a fixed period of time. In this instance, it appears the notice was only made public for one week. However, given that no minimum time is specified, technically speaking, no transgression had been committed.

⁵³⁰ 'Rachelized' appears infrequently but was a pejorative term used to mean 'made beautiful for ever'. It appears, for example, in a parody of Dickens's *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* in the *Hackney & Kingsland Gazette*, 23 April 1870, 'a withered coquette who has been Rachelized', p. 4. More specifically it is thought to have applied to woodwork which was painted a light tan colour.

least brought the whole organ question right into the public domain. Preston also realised he could not lodge an objection without public support; to do otherwise would have been damaging to his reputation and would have tarred him with the same brush as the restoration committee.

The Vestry Meeting

On Thursday, 10 October 1868, the parishioners of St Nicholas, Great Yarmouth, met to discuss a requisition signed by Preston and a number of others for the purpose of:

taking into consideration the proposal for removing the organ from its present position in the south aisle in the parish church, and for rebuilding the same organ, in the north transept, and also for the purpose of taking into consideration a decree or citation from the Episcopal Consistorial Court of Norwich calling upon the inhabitants of this parish to show cause to the contrary, if any, why a licence or faculty should not be granted to the churchwardens to empower them to take down and remove the organ, and rebuild it in the north transept.

For all the formality and high-mindedness expressed in the requisition, the beginning of the meeting threatened to descend into farce when it was discovered at the last minute that the Town Hall, which had originally been booked, could not be used as it was under repair. The meeting was then transferred to the police-court which proved inadequate to accommodate the number of people gathered and so it was obliged to be held in the Corn-hall, the vestry clerk explaining that he had not been informed that the Town Hall would be unavailable.

The accounts which exist of the meeting differ in length and in the detail recorded. *The Norfolk Chronicle's* account is short and pointed, almost hurried as if the saga of the Yarmouth organ was becoming tiresome. The *Yarmouth Independent's* is much longer, occupying three columns of a broadsheet and includes some surprising insights into the level and nature of background research which Preston had carried out. It suggests that his motivation was not just political or sentimental but, as we shall see, that he had a genuine feeling for the historicity of the instrument and the need to preserve it as one would an old master. It also gives the clearest hint yet of how moving an instrument, and a choir, from a west end gallery position to one much further east, at

the chancel end, was so closely bound up with Ritualism and, worse still, 'the mummeries of Catholicism'.

Attendance at the meeting was large; a fair proportion of those present were, according to the *Norfolk Chronicle* and in what might be seen as a jibe at the dissenters within the parish, non-conformists (there is no mention of religious affiliation in the *Yarmouth Independent's* report). Of the names recorded, many were leading lights in the town though, perhaps not surprisingly, the restoration committee was poorly represented. It was chaired by the vicar, the Reverend H N R Nevill, who reminded everybody that:

whatever might be the decision... with regard to the subject before them, he thought he might say they were all actuated by one common motive - to do the best they could for the grand old instrument at the parish church.

He also requested that there be no display of personal feeling in the matter and that those addressing the meeting should keep to the point as far as possible. The vicar then outlined the matters at issue, which he summarised thus:

When the restoration of the south aisle was taken into consideration it at first seemed to the Committee that it would not be safe to allow the organ to remain, but after some time, another view was brought before the Committee, and this involved the whole of the issue. This second view was that it would be advisable and safe to retain the organ where it now was, and to place such a cover over it as would render it impervious to the weather while the alteration was going on. The Committee weighed the matter most carefully and took the advice of competent persons, who were of opinion that it would not be safe to allow the instrument to remain in its present position. Between these two opinions the meeting had to judge.⁵³¹

Preston was the first to speak and asked why the vicar and churchwardens were not prepared to give a reason for not explaining to the meeting why they had applied for a faculty? In his view, it was a simple question of whether it was right or wrong to risk

⁵³¹ *YI*, 17 October 1868, p. 6.

destroying the instrument by taking it down and 'and carrying it they knew not where, for the chairman had not now told them'.

After several further instances of poring over minutiae, including the suggested elevation of the organ, Preston alluded to the matter of whether 'their beautiful instrument was to be shelved, to be put in a box, and be at the performer's call when perhaps some country bumpkin came the way and wished to hear what it was originally like?' This statement apparently caused some amusement but perhaps more telling was that Henry Stonex himself had seemed to think that that was what was to happen to the organ, 'did not that clearly indicate that the old organ was to be made an auxiliary to some new affair, as Mr Stonex had told him at one meeting he was at?' Was Stonex himself unclear as to what was to happen and had he also misunderstood Smart's exposition of the proposals?

Preston then drew attention to a number of recent instances where the removal of an organ had been problematic, citing St Peter Mancroft, Norwich, St Stephen, Norwich, and a case in the City of London: St Dionis, Backchurch, drawing on remarks made by W E Dickson, Precentor of Ely Cathedral, and an early champion of the need to conserve historic instruments rather than see them rebuilt or destroyed:

old organs, like old pictures, were bequeathed to us by artists who left their stamp on the time in which they flourished. Their works were their memorial; and when we wantonly altered and defaced them, we committed an act of injustice to the memory of men who laboured to advance the art, and who little thought of the irreverent treatment which their grand instruments would receive from posterity. The would-be restorers of the masterpiece of Renatus Harris at St Dionis, considered that the old organ was deficient in many points deemed essential in the present day, and removed half of Harris's pipes to make room for some miserable pedal substitute. Was the Yarmouth organ, asked Mr Preston, to be played havoc with in the same way?⁵³²

⁵³² *The Ecclesiologist*, 185, April 1868, p. 129. It rather seems that Preston was paraphrasing and that the newspaper's reference to a journal called the *Musical Record* is erroneous since nothing of that name came into being until 1871. The alternative is *The Record* a Church of England newspaper which was published weekly.

Dickson's letter to the editor of *The Ecclesiologist* read thus:

Sir. — Your musical readers will learn with regret that one of the finest as well as most interesting and valuable old organs in the city of London has just been literally demolished under the specious name of "restoration". Amateurs were not unaware that at S. Dionis Backchurch, in Fenchurch Street, a remarkably noble specimen of the skill of Renatus Harris (1724) still remained intact. Attention had been called to the grandeur of its tone, and the lavish provision of reed stops made by its builder, in a tractate issued about twenty years ago by Mr. (now Sir John) Sutton. Of the thirteen stops included in the great organ, four were reeds; the whole instrument contained ten stops of this class, while the chorus was most brilliant, the "plein jeu" being practically of six ranks, besides a five-rank cornet.

The "restorers" have reduced the ten reed stops to five ; they have substituted a miserable "great organ" of seven stops and 450 pipes for Harris's thirteen stops and 900 pipes ; they have reduced the choir organ from nine stops to six ; they have enlarged, indeed, the swell but extended it to tenor C only ; they have inserted a single pedal stop, of open wood to sixteen feet. Thus an instrument of most imperfect and unsatisfactory character has been substituted for a grand old masterpiece. A more glaring act of wanton destruction has seldom been perpetrated. I am, Sir, etc.

To evident approbation, Preston then repeated his assertion that 'the convenience and requirements of the singers was a secondary matter, and that the organ should not be sacrificed to them.' He moved:

that the parishioners of Yarmouth view with alarm the attempt now being made by the church restoration committee to take down and remove the organ of St Nicholas' Church into the north transept; that the parishioners consider it quite unnecessary, as it would incur a large expense and be fraught with danger to the instrument; that the organ shall remain where it now stands at the west end of the south aisle of the church, for which a faculty was granted by the Episcopal Consistorial Court of Norwich, October 21, 1748.

This attempt at grandiloquence was met with a rebuttal on the part of Charles Steward, churchwarden, in the form of another letter received from Henry Smart addressed to C J Palmer, secretary of the restoration committee, in which he repeated that Preston must

have 'completely misunderstood' the committee's intentions and that the intended position of the organ in the north transept was such that it would be 'the most advantageous in the whole building'. An intervention by the Town Clerk, Charles Cory, seemed to sum up the situation. Noting that given the south aisle was such a disgrace to the town, the question was whether the organ was to be left there during the repairs or was to be removed. The committee did not think it right to leave the organ exposed there for two years 'the roof off, the walls down, and the instrument to be afterwards surrounded with damp masonry'. This was a responsibility the committee declined to take upon itself. However, if the organ was removed and it was afterwards thought better to return it to its old location then so be it. At this, Preston indicated his willingness to modify his original motion to the effect that:

this vestry upon receiving in writing a pledge from the minister and churchwardens of the parish that the organ shall be taken down only for the purpose of restoring the south aisle, and shall be replaced in its present position on the platform or organ loft where it now stands within three months after the completion of the repairs of the church, and that it shall not be erected or used in the meanwhile nor afterwards in any other part of the church whatever, hereby consents to the removal on such conditions.

This was considered wholly impractical, whereupon Preston offered to have the organ placed in the nave 'so that neither side should have its own way'. This too was rejected so the original motion was put to a show of hands and passed by a narrow majority. The final business of the day consisted of the appointment of a small committee to carry out what had become the wish of the vestry as expressed in Preston's first resolution. It remains unclear quite what that committee had as its remit though it would appear to be that it would form the party opponent to the granting of the faculty. The passing of Preston's resolution put the vicar, churchwardens and restoration committee in an impossible position. By acceding to the holding of a vestry meeting to debate the organ,

the vicar knew there was the possibility of defeat and that, if any progress was to be made at all, it would involve a consistory court. It was, ultimately, an exercise in being seen to be democratic and following due process even if the outcome risked disregarding popular sentiment. Nevill and the committee went on the offensive. No sooner had the meeting finished than a long and detailed exposition of the situation facing the restoration committee appeared in the *Yarmouth Independent*. In it, the vicar drew attention to a recent visitation by the Archdeacon of Norwich, who referred in terms of considerable urgency to 'the west corner of the south aisle in a bad state – the west wall bulging out, the buttresses loosened, the wall resting upon the balks of timber used to sustain it' adding that he [the Archdeacon] doubted it was safe:

and he earnestly urged upon us the necessity of immediately commencing the work of reparation; and he particularly required that the utmost care should be taken of the organ, and recommended its removal to some more appropriate part of the church.

Concluding, the vicar wrote:

It is scarcely needed to add that it is not intended to 'bedaub the pipes and enamel them over with gold and vermillion,' for the organ front will remain precisely as it is at present; nor to destroy the tone of the organ, nor injure it in any, but merely to enlarge and improve it by additional stops. And with regard to the charge which has been made, that what we contemplate is not to be done 'for the sake of improvement,' but 'solely and simply to indulge in the 'weak propensity to carry out ritualism,' we trust that our well-known opinion on such matters, and our conduct as minister and churchwardens for many years past will, in the dispassionate judgment of the parishioners, be a sufficient answer. The south aisle must necessarily be closed, but if we are not allowed to remove the organ the work of reparation cannot be commenced.⁵³³

With that, it might be thought that Preston and the vestry committee would have thrown in the towel and allowed the matter to proceed. However, Preston knew that, having obtained the vote at the vestry meeting, the vicar and churchwardens would be

⁵³³ NRO PD 23/282, Meeting of the General Committee 7 July 1868. Copy letter from Archdeacon Hopper dated 23 June 1868. The letter refers to the Archdeacon's visitation of 19 June. *YI*, 17 October 1868, p6.

morally bound to honour it. He therefore wrote a letter on behalf of the vestry committee⁵³⁴ which appeared on a first reading to be conciliatory in tone. He repeated the content of the amended resolution put to the meeting in which he stated that the vestry committee would not oppose the removal of the organ for the purpose of restoring the south aisle, provided an undertaking was given that the organ would be restored to its original location once the work had been completed. However, were such an undertaking not to be forthcoming, then the vestry committee would take it upon themselves to see that the organ was encased in a weatherproof box *in situ* for the duration of the work to the south aisle.

From this point forward, Preston's strategy began to unravel; the vote at the vestry meeting was to prove a pyrrhic victory. A letter signed by 'Another Parishioner' gave another version of events at the meeting and posed a number of questions which threatened to undermine Preston's position.⁵³⁵ The letter noted that many who had voted at the meeting were not entitled to do so since they were not ratepayers, neither had they had any real understanding of the matters before them. The letter also challenged Preston's understanding of the addition of pedal pipes to the organ which he took to mean the substitution of a new instrument for the old one, and offered support for Henry Stonex who, indirectly, had also been the subject of Preston's attacks:

Mr Preston's oft repeated statement that the additional pedal pipes are tantamount to the substitution of a new organ to the exclusion of the present one, is altogether erroneous and incomprehensible. If an organist were likely to perform bass solos in accompanying the choir – or to use his pedals as the man does the big drum in a German band, then there would be some reason in Mr Preston's objection, but as such is never likely to be the case with our present accomplished organist, or any other performer who has the slightest knowledge of his profession, I do not see what there is to fear in our splendid organ being brought nearer to the standard of a complete instrument.

⁵³⁴ *YL*, 24 October 1868, p. 5.

⁵³⁵ *YL*, 31 October 1868, p. 7.

More worryingly perhaps for Preston himself was an accusation that he had misled the public with his statements. It surfaced in the form of a leader column which appeared in the *Norwich Mercury* which was reprinted in the *Yarmouth Independent*. This compared proposals for the Yarmouth organ with the debacle which had resulted from the recent removal of the St Peter Mancroft organ from its west gallery position to a north transept one barely large enough to hold it. The result had been to make the instrument unmanageable as well as disfigure it by disposing of its casefront.⁵³⁶ The leader urged Preston and the vestry to adhere to their opposition, 'for the sake of the effect of the music in the church, as well as for the sake of the congregation'.

A week later and the Mercury was obliged to print a retraction:

We are exceedingly obliged to one of the gentlemen who took an active part in this question, for the copy, inserted below, of Mr Henry Smart's letter to them, explaining the intentions of the Committee and his own upon the vexed question of alterations, removal, &c. It has cleared away the doubt as well as the erroneous impressions into which we were led by Mr E H L Preston's statements... Mr Smart's letter is so fully explanatory on the subject upon all points... [and] places the matter in so different a light that it is due to ourselves, as well as to the Restoration Committee, to express our regret at having been led to the opinions we published by Mr Preston's most erroneous statement... we ventured to offer the opinion we did, supposing that Mr Preston would scarcely have led the public into the error which we now endeavour to correct by this explanation and the publication of Mr Smart's letter to the Hon. Secretary of the Restoration Committee.⁵³⁷

This letter restated Smart's understanding of his brief as agreed with the Restoration Committee but went on to question Preston's grasp of the nature of the entire project, flatly refuting all his claims, though it did concur that what had taken place at St Peter Mancroft had been 'a piece of vandalism throughout.' Smart concluded by stating that 'had such things been proposed to me, I would have resisted them as

⁵³⁶ *NorMerc*, 24 October 1868, p. 5.

⁵³⁷ *NorMerc*, 31 October 1868, p. 6.

strongly as would Mr Preston himself, and, if necessary, would have thrown up all connection with the matter, rather than have my name associated with such proceedings.⁵³⁸

Emboldened by the *Norwich Mercury's* retraction and the correspondence from Henry Smart, 'Another Parishioner' and others, the Restoration Committee went on the offensive and wrote an open letter to Preston in answer to his of 24 October.⁵³⁹ The letter clearly shows the Committee's patience wearing thin, and amidst a very full account of events past and present leading to the Committee's decisions regarding the south aisle and the organ contains a number of crucial passages which are of interest:

For your opinion, and for the opinions of those gentlemen with whom you are associated, [names listed] ... the Restoration Committee have all due respect; but you must pardon us for saying that they cannot recognise you and your Committee, as representing the parish...

However, doubtless wishing to maintain an appearance of conciliation and, it must be said, mindful of Preston's standing as one of the leading citizens of the Borough, the Committee suggested that, notwithstanding his complete aversion to the north transept site:

the Restoration Committee with the Minister and Churchwardens will not object, if the organ be erected as they propose in the north transept, to its removal to the place where it now stands, when the south aisle is restored, and the walls sufficiently dry for the purpose, if a majority of the habitual worshippers in St Nicholas' church shall at that time desire that this should be done.

However, magnanimous as this gesture might seem, it could not and would not have been made without the Committee knowing what its legal position was. The letter continued:

⁵³⁸ Letter from Henry Smart to C J Palmer, secretary of the Restoration Committee 14 October, 1868, reprinted in *YL*, 7 November, 1868, p. 5.

⁵³⁹ *YL*, 7 November 1868, p. 6.

You are kind enough to inform the Restoration Committee that if they decline to give the 'pledges' which you require, it is the intention of yourself and your friends 'to take steps for putting over the organ such a case as may appear requisite to prevent danger to the instrument'. Permit us to remind you that you have no legal right or power whatever to touch the organ, or anything else within the church, without the previous consent of the Minister and Churchwardens.

At this juncture, it is necessary to refer to a second, parallel set of circumstances concerning the application for a faculty. This had to do with the legal mechanism for determining the validity of that application and, where the application was contested, whether the applicants had a case to answer. This took place before the Chancellor, the highest legal authority in the Diocese.

The process was cumbersome and, at times, somewhat chaotic. It was widely held that the ecclesiastical court system at the time was expensive, riddled with delay and clumsy, and that some chancellors did not have the necessary qualifications to act (some possessed none at all). A bill was proposed by the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury in 1869 (Ecclesiastical Courts Bill) which would have streamlined the system considerably. Despite considerable support and passing through all stages in the House of Lords, it failed in the House of Commons.

Following the publication of the citation notice and receiving of an objection to the grant of the faculty, the vicar and representatives of the parishioners were summoned twice to appear before the court.⁵⁴⁰ Both declined and, instead, appointed legal representatives or proctors to appear for them; Mr Edward Steward for the Churchwardens as plaintiffs, and Mr Henry Hansell for the Vestry committee (headed by E H L Preston) as defendants. A hearing took place on 19 October 1868 and dealt with the original faculty of 21 October 1748 confirming the erection of the organ and whether it was necessary to revoke it before a new faculty could be granted. This and

⁵⁴⁰ It was usual for objections to be called for three times before proceeding with the application.

other related hearings were reported in the *Yarmouth Independent* though not always verbatim so that context is sometimes missing. In this instance, it would appear that there had been at least one if not two or three prior hearings to establish various aspects of the case such as whether the citation notice had been posted as required, whether the Archdeacon had been asked for his opinion and who was to appear for the various parties involved. The hearing of 19 October was reported in the *Yarmouth Independent*, 24 October 1868. It was also confirmed that a meeting of the Vestry was needed when alterations to the church were contemplated.⁵⁴¹ It was E H L Preston's contention that the Churchwardens and Vicar had acted without the authority of the Vestry in applying for a faculty. This was incorrect since the consent of the Vestry was unnecessary. In respect of organs (and other church goods), consent was only required if the maintenance of the organ and the provision of an organist was to be charged to the parish rate, which was not the case here. Notice that a faculty had been applied for was, nonetheless, to be given to the parish in case any person wished to object. However, the Vestry had the right 'to investigate and restrain expenditure of parish funds, to determine [ascertain] the expediency of enlarging or altering their churches and chapels, or of adding to or disposing of the "goods and ornaments" connected with those sacred edifices'.⁵⁴²

Ultimately, the decision whether a vicar and churchwardens could proceed rested with the Bishop (through his legal representative, the Chancellor) though it might be hindered by the Parish refusing to contribute the means. The Archdeacon's approval was also noted. As the senior clerical administrator within the diocese he was directly

⁵⁴¹ James Murray Dale, *The Clergyman's Legal Handbook; A Manual of the Laws Affecting the Rights, Position, and Duties of the Clergy. Including the Law Applicable to New Parishes and Ecclesiastical Districts*, 5th edition (London: Seeley, Jackson & Halliday, 1869) p. 98.

⁴⁹³ John Steer, *Parish Law: Being a Digest of the Law Relating to Parishes*, (London: Saunders and Benning, 1830) p. 257.

responsible to the Bishop for among other things, the care of church buildings and sacred artefacts as well as diocesan religious policy. It was a powerful combination and meant his views would have carried particular weight in the Yarmouth question. The Archdeacon wrote:

On the 19th day of June in the present year I visited the Church officially, and I inspected it with especial reference to the two questions (1st) of the repair of the South Aisle, and (2^{ndly}) of the removal of the organ. From the observations I then made I am decidedly of opinion... that it is desirable that the Organ should be removed from its present place, not only for its preservation from injury during the progress of the work of reparation, but also with the object of its being rendered more available for the services of the Church, than it can be in the remote and inconvenient corner in which it now stands. I consider that the position designated, in the North Transept of the Church, is a very suitable position for the Organ to be transferred to.⁵⁴³

At this point the court adjourned to enable grounds for objection to be exchanged and for proofs and affidavits to be prepared. The next reported hearing took place on 30 November 30 which appears to have been somewhat later than intended owing to the death of the Chancellor. The encounter was acrimonious with arguments going back and forth between the proctors about voting irregularities at the vestry meeting of 10 October, objections to allegations made by the defendants and delays in having them prepared. To these, the Chancellor's response confirmed the legality of the vestry meeting and that since some of the allegations were admitted to, time should be allowed for an adequate response.⁵⁴⁴ The proceedings were then adjourned until the New Year.

⁵⁴³ NRO DN/CON 140 (part).

⁵⁴⁴ One hand, six votes etc.

The Consistory Court Hearing, 11 January 1869.

We are fortunate in that a detailed account of this hearing was made public by the *Norfolk Chronicle* in their edition of 16 January, 1869. The report is lengthy, amounting to almost three full columns of a broadsheet and its content is significant in revealing the state of knowledge of the time and the arguments deployed, not least by Henry Hansell, Proctor for the defendants. This was to be the hearing at which final arguments were presented to the Chancellor before his summing-up and determination. It also reveals the relevance attributed to those arguments at the time, many of which are still pertinent today, as well as the strength of various sensibilities. As a comparison with modern practice, it is of considerable interest and significance.

The arguments on both sides were supported by sworn affidavits made by 'persons of character and position', as the Chancellor, Mr Howes, observed.⁵⁴⁵ Who they were is of interest in signifying the quality and breadth of expertise and opinion sought and furnishes insights regarding the manner in which such matters were dealt with before the advent of the Diocesan Advisory Committee system in 1923. The Diocesan Advisory Committee system was a product of numerous factors. At the time of the Yarmouth case, chancellors were not obliged to consider the artistic merit of an application but only its legality. It was only after the Great War when applications for the erection of war memorials were made in great numbers that it was realised that not all chancellors were equipped with the means to determine their aesthetic quality and that a system of external advice was needed.⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴⁵ *NorChron*, 30 January 1869, p. 6. See also NRO DN/Con 140.

⁵⁴⁶ *The Protection of our English Churches. Report for 1923 of the Central Committee for the Protection of Churches with an account of the Diocesan Advisory Committees and their work* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1923-1925).

Those persons can be grouped, roughly, into four classes: professional musicians; commercial interests including consultants, architects and organbuilders; clergy; concerned amateurs and parishioners including some with a degree of knowledge. The first class was represented by Sir Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley, Dr Edward Bunnett, Dr Zechariah Buck and Henry Stonex; the second by the architects John Pollard Seddon and Jonathan Tebbs Bottle (a local architect who acted as Seddon's agent), Henry Smart, the organbuilders Thomas Hill, Charles Cotton and W C Mack (the latter two active in Great Yarmouth) and a local builder, Wright, responsible for carrying out building work at the parish church; the third by the Dean of Norwich, Dr Meyrick Goulburn, and the Reverend Arthur Copeman, vicar of St Andrew's, Norwich, secretary of the Norfolk and Suffolk Church Choral Association; the fourth by Charles Abbott Preston (brother of E H L Preston), Edward Steele, Henry Browne, and a group of leading parishioners and members of the Corporation. This group was made up of Samuel Nightingale, mayor; William Worship, deputy mayor; Charles Cory Aldred JP; Thomas Brightwen, banker, deputy lieutenant of Norfolk and a JP; Charles Woolverton JP and member of the Town Council; John Taylor Bracey, merchant and alderman; Robert Shingles Watling, alderman, of Scratby Hall. Of the above, the majority testified in support of the relocation of the organ. Those against were Dr Buck, and Messrs. Cotton, Mack, Steele, Browne, Wright and C A Preston.

The arguments presented by the defendants against the removal of the organ were grouped under eleven headings. They can be summarised as follows:

1. That it is a fine instrument. That the organ, gallery and stairs leading to it were erected for the use of the Church and Parishioners at great cost. It was funded by the Corporation of Great Yarmouth and many of the principal

inhabitants and parishioners. Its instatement was subsequently ratified by a faculty of 1748 which remains unrevoked.

2. The petition for a faculty permitting the rebuilding of the South Aisle, and to remove the organ and rebuild it in the North Transept was filed without the knowledge or sanction of the Parish and was in direct opposition to the wishes [as subsequently determined] of the Vestry.

3. Once the petition for a faculty had been made known to the parishioners, an application was made to the vicar and churchwardens to give *proper* [author's italics] notice of a vestry meeting to discuss a) the organ's removal and b) whether anyone wished to object to the grant of a faculty.

4. The meeting took place and a resolution opposing the organ's removal and relocation was duly carried and minuted.

5. It is untrue that the organ needs to be removed and relocated during the work to the south aisle. It is also untrue that the North Transept is the most suitable location for the organ as alleged by the plaintiffs.

6. Measures can be taken to protect the organ in situ during repairs to the South Aisle or, if preferred, the mechanism and speaking part of the organ can be taken out and packed away until building work is complete.

7. That for the maintenance of the Church services during the works, a small temporary organ can be hired and placed in a suitable location.

8. That in its present position, the organ is heard throughout the church building and this position is believed to be the best for the diffusion of sound. Against that are grounds for believing the North Transept position will be acoustically unfavourable.

9. There are numerous vaults and graves in the North Transept which will have to be disturbed in order to obtain adequate foundations for the support of the organ at a proper elevation.

10. The plaintiffs propose not only to relocate the organ but to make considerable additions to it contrary to the wishes of a large majority of parishioners. They fear great injury to the organ will result if this work is permitted.

11. No specification of work proposed to the organ has been submitted by the plaintiffs either to the Vestry or the Registry of the Court.

It fell to Hansell to open the proceedings and in what followed two main strands of thinking are evident: the first is that Hansell sought to defend the position of the organ based on its status as, in essence, an object of artistic merit and civic significance whose purpose as one of utility within the church was secondary and could remain unaffected by changing needs. Second was that that significance and purpose was defined by the wishes of the parishioners at large and not by the exigencies of either the liturgy or the greatly increased duty imposed on the instrument since the removal of the partitioning of the building. In both, with hindsight, Hansell's case was not proven and it is curious to reflect on why someone such as him, as Diocesan Registrar, should have been involved in the first place. Be that as it may, the arguments disposed by Hansell show at one and the same time a knowledge of the earlier history of the organ in the British Isles and an antipathy towards contemporary developments in church music. It does beg the question, given that a consistory court was inevitable in the light of both parties failing to settle their differences amicably, whether this was an example of 'going through the motions' especially regarding the likely outcome that Preston would lose; in other words, it had become something of a formality, albeit a tedious and

vexatious one. The passage of the case was also hindered in no small measure by the absence of adequate plans and specifications regarding work to the organ itself and the means by which it would be supported in the north transept without disturbing graves and memorial stones. Thomas Hill's affidavit containing a full specification of work to the organ was not filed until 14 December 1868. Seddon's affidavits were filed on 14 December 1868 and 18 January 1869, well after the start of proceedings in early October. As such, Seddon's first affidavit was objected to by Hansell on the grounds that the plan showing the new site for the organ was far too small and nothing definite had been settled as to how the organ was to be supported. Seddon's second affidavit remedied this and gives full details of a substantial timber platform supported by brick and stone corbels let into the walls of the north transept so avoiding any need to pile down amongst the gravestones. However, it was filed barely a fortnight before the date of the Chancellor's judgement and after the hearing on 11 January, much to the annoyance of the Chancellor and Mr Hansell.

Hansell began by outlining the arguments or allegations of the defendants as above and then those of the plaintiffs which were:

1. That the organ should be removed for its preservation.
2. It should be rebuilt in another place because the services of the church require it.
3. The North transept is the best place for the organ.

These three were to be rebutted by Hansell both through his own argument and by those contained in the affidavits sworn by witnesses for the defence. The first allegation that the organ should be removed for its preservation was disputed by Edward Steele, W C Mack, Charles Cotton and Dr Zechariah Buck and Wright. The second allegation that it should be rebuilt in another place was disputed by Mack and Cotton.

The third allegation regarding relocation to the North Transept was the most important according to Hansell and was disputed by all of the above together with Henry Browne, a noted musical amateur and organophile from Norwich.

Of the above personalities, Mack, Cotton and Wright would have had a commercial interest in seeing the organ maintained in its position. Both Mack and Cotton were quite happy to see the organ encased, with or without its interior removed, and both were willing to supply a small organ for use during the building work. There was a distinct competitive element between them with Mack offering to build for £80 and Cotton for £65. This is untoward and one is led to wonder whether either was really prepared to jeopardise the safety of the organ for the sake of commercial gain especially as today, encasing an instrument with no external protection from the elements would be unthinkable. It is also possible that Mack at least would have had an interest in maintaining his contract for the care of the organ and fear he might lose it were it to be rebuilt to a scale and complexity he was unfamiliar with.

All of the above, with the exception of Wright who was not concerned with musical effect, were preoccupied with the organ as a predominantly solo instrument and one of the town's principal showpieces.⁵⁴⁷ The organ was instantly visible and audible to anyone entering the church through its main entrance, the south porch, so that the immediacy of its impact, given its total height from the ground amounting to approximately 35', must have been considerable.⁵⁴⁸ Furthermore, the south aisle was roofed with a wide barrel vault which was generally considered to be acoustically very favourable.

⁵⁴⁷ Cotton, in his affidavit, referred to the existing location as 'undoubtedly the best place...especially for solo music...'

⁵⁴⁸ The floor of the organ gallery measured 23 feet wide by 25 feet deep. The organ itself was 25 ft 10 ins. high with a depth of 8ft and width of 16 ft.

With the exception of Dr Buck, none referred, even obliquely, to its role as an accompanimental instrument and none seemed to appreciate the enormous problem of the great distance between organ and choir from the chancel and clergy.⁵⁴⁹ Indeed, Hansell deployed some, to modern ears, rather startling arguments to support the view that the organ should stay put. These revolved around:

- a) the faculty of 1748 remaining unrevoked and hence fixing the position of the organ until this should happen.
- b) the north transept being unsuitable as a location because the height of the tower arch was insufficient under which to place it (from this he deduced that the musical effect of the organ would be impaired because it could not be placed high enough).
- c) the need to move the organ for the sake of the services being unnecessary because 1) the choir ought to remain there and because it can be no more difficult to maintain good discipline in the choir gallery than in the other galleries occupied by singing children,⁵⁵⁰ 2) No adult choir member should be admitted unless they knew how to behave reverently, and 3) the effect of such a large group of voices 'poured forth from the west end of the aisles of the church must, if properly managed, have a very fine effect, which would be greatly enhanced by the accompaniment of the organ in its present position.'

Hansell suggested that, if it were desired to introduce choral services to the parish church:

which are so appropriate in our Cathedrals and College Chapels [the inference being that they were not appropriate in a parish church] and to have an efficient choir in the full meaning of the term, placed near the clergy, then I say what is required is not an immense organ with between

⁵⁴⁹ Buck's experience at Yarmouth was based on choristers singing solo anthems from the organ gallery.

⁵⁵⁰ St Nicholas Church had, in addition to the organ gallery at the west end of the south aisle, a similar gallery at the west end of the north aisle which was occupied by the children of the Sunday School.

2000 and 3000 pipes... but a small accompaniment or choir organ, delicately voiced, as the old masters built them, placed near the choir.

He also deployed an historical argument which gave an interesting and concise résumé of the history of the English organ focussing on the events of the Reformation and the loss not only of organs but of funeral monuments. His point was that, in his opinion, 'there appears now to be a zeal for putting up organs, and very little for preserving sepulchral inscriptions' a reference to the possible disturbance of gravestones in the North Transept to provide foundations for the organ loft. Of the three, the second regarding the height at which the instrument might be placed is of significance and it is here that Hansell sheds light on the conflicts arising from attempts to adapt old organs (the English Classical organ) to new liturgical requirements.

One of the affidavits sworn in support of the defendants was that of Henry Browne from which it would seem that part of the attraction of the St Nicholas organ was the quality of its tone arising from its distance from the listener. As Henry Browne put it in his affidavit:

The organ is so well elevated that its loud tones are conveyed above the ear of the congregation and thus are *beautifully subdued but yet are brilliant* [author's italics]. The Organ is now placed where its vibrations are free and the sound can radiate unchecked. The Organ can now be heard and seen well by the Congregation whereas if it were to be placed in the North Transept of the building its beautiful soft pipes would be lost and the whole effect of its splendour injured...

Browne drew comparison with the removal of the organ at St Peter Mancroft,

Norwich:

where the organ has been taken from its most suitable position in a beautiful gallery at the west end of the nave and placed on the ground in the North Porch where its effect was greatly injured and the Congregation were annoyed by the loud stops which were upon a level with them.

Taken alone, this might seem a subjective and partisan view of the organ by someone who was clearly much attached to it. However, it is likely that it provided Hansell with the basis for a wider exploration of the problem which Browne was alluding to, namely the effect the move would have on an instrument so manifestly intended for a free-standing west end position. Hansell did not make explicit reference to Browne's affidavit though his exposition is clearly aligned with Browne's sentiments. It is probable this is so because Browne had no status beyond that of a concerned amateur. As will be seen later, with regard to the Mancroft organ, Hansell made considerable use of the affidavit of Edward Bunnett, then assistant organist of Norwich Cathedral and one who knew the Mancroft organ both in its west gallery position and latterly when transposed to the north east of the church. Hansell, who appears not to have held the architectural profession in high regard, began by stating that:

architects and musicians have always been at war with each other on the question of position of organs. The musicians had formerly, the best of it, but now it seems the architects, supported by some of the clergy, are getting the upper hand.

He continued:

When Mr Seddon says that he has often had to consider what is the proper position of an organ, he is so speaking of architectural effects. But architects are not masters of acoustics, or we should not hear of such complaints of the difficulty of hearing in our public buildings, such as the Houses of Parliament &c.

To illustrate the point, Hansell referred to three instances of problems arising from organ relocations: St. Paul's Cathedral, Christ Church, Oxford and one already noted, St Peter, Mancroft, Norwich. St Paul's Cathedral he referred to as a 'notorious example of vandalism' citing a letter from a correspondent in a musical periodical which stated that:

As for poor Father Smith, or what remains of him, there he is, under an arch, swamping the singers with the terrible heaviness imparted by his erstwhile light and airy, yet sufficiently solid, swell and chorus organs. "Swamping the singers," did I say? Truly! Yet utterly ineffective in that part of the cathedral where visitors are allowed to walk or congregate; and only to be heard in the needless intensity of his powers when you advance quite up to the entrance of the choir. No wonder the singing is ineffective: on the days in question, I can safely say, it was inaudible. I cannot see how singers are to know what they are about with a tornado (built by Willis) raging furiously on one side and over head. The old qualities which musicians used to admire have all become extinct.

Of Christ Church, Oxford, Hansell stated 'I learn that, as it now stands, it is such a complete failure acoustically, that it is contemplated to remove it back again to its former site in the next long vacation' adding somewhat wryly 'no doubt the organ builders [Gray & Davison] will be happy to remove it.'⁵⁵¹ Regarding St Peter Mancroft, Hansell relied heavily on the affidavit of Edward Bunnett. Why this was the case is difficult to understand, since it seemed that Bunnett could see the merits of both a west end position and one near to the clergy in the east. However, his statements suggested very strongly that, notwithstanding the initial failure of the organ due to it being crammed into a north porch space, the organ had subsequently been moved out to the north east corner of the church where, according to Bunnett, 'it appeared to me that the...organ was well heard throughout the...church and the sound was not in anyway obstructed or impeded... [and] gave great and general satisfaction as I have heard and believe.' Bunnett then qualified his remarks by adding:

I do not mean to say that I do not prefer the former site of the... organ in a gallery at the west end... as being for sound and musical effect in a more commanding position, but of this I am sure that the present [north east] site is the best... [and] far preferable as more central and suited for the congregational purposes for which the same is intended.

⁵⁵¹ British Organ Archive: Gray & Davison, ledger vol. 5, 1856, p. 89., tuning; moving organ.

He concluded his remarks by stating unequivocally that, 'I also think it desirable that the organ should be placed near the minister of the church and that the choir should be placed under his eye'.

There appears to have been no opportunity for cross-examination since no witnesses were called throughout the hearing. Had there been, it is certain that Hansell's use of Bunnett's affidavit in this way would have been scrutinised. Regrettably, there are no indications in the Chancellor's notes that he was specifically aware of this point but as his judgment will show, it is likely he regarded it as a material weakness in the defendant's case. Hansell then drew attention to the problem of damp which, he claimed, had been raised in several of the defendants' affidavits. From his remarks, it seems that the north transept was well known as being unfavourable in this respect and, as it was to be shown subsequently, was to prove the undoing of Hill's rebuilding of the instrument.

The remainder of the hearing was taken up with the matter of grave tablets and vaults in the north transept. In the absence of definite plans from Seddon regarding how the organ might be supported without disturbing them, Hansell questioned whether the removal of the organ should be permitted at all though he did reiterate that the defendants had no objection to the repair of the organ and its reinstatement in the south aisle. There followed some brief exchanges between Mr Edward Steward, Proctor for the plaintiffs, regarding the exact terms of the faculty of 1748. He also submitted that the affidavits supporting the removal and rebuilding of the organ were a complete answer to Hansell's objections, quoting the Archdeacon's opinion to which Hansell replied that, since it had not been sworn, it could not be submitted as evidence. At Steward's suggestion, the Chancellor then decided that it would be best to visit the church and see the situation for himself at which point the hearing was adjourned.

The Judgment, 25 January 1869

The final hearing of this case, which included the Chancellor's judgment, was opened with Hansell having to refer to a fresh affidavit filed just the previous week. This consisted of detailed plans and specifications drawn up by John Seddon for the construction of a substantial wooden platform across the north transept. The platform was so arranged that it was only supported at the sides by cross beams being let into the transept walls and by supporting corbels of masonry. It thus avoided any likelihood of interference with gravestones or vaults and so could not be objected to on those grounds. In order to accommodate the height of the organ, it was proposed to set it back, just behind the arch between the transept and the tower crossing so that the organist could maintain contact with clergy and choir. The floor of the platform was set at ten feet above the ground.

It is worth noting that, at this point, Hansell's case had all but lost its force, a point which he tacitly conceded in a remark taken from the report of the hearing in the *Norfolk Chronicle* of 30 January, 1869. Hansell had attempted to portray the plans for the platform as faulty and likely to occasion serious weakening of the walls of the transept. The organ would also be contained in a damp box, in view of which he thought the selected position of the organ was, 'most unfavourable'.⁵⁵² However, the report noted that he, Hansell, had had no opportunity of consulting any eminent surveyor, 'who no doubt would have taken a different view of the matter'. This suggests Hansell was prepared to bow to superior, specialist opinion particularly given that, in reply to the Chancellor asking whether he wished for more time to answer John Seddon's affidavit,

⁵⁵² This is not borne out by the plans which show the organ casefront almost level with the opening of the transept arch.

he replied in the negative indicating he was prepared to leave it in the Chancellor's hands.

The Chancellor's summing up was short; it is clear from his comments that, even before the arrival of the Seddon affidavit, he had made up his mind. He began by dismissing objections to plans for the new timber platform given the similarities they bore with previous proposals. As to the matter of the faculty of 1748 remaining unrevoked he was sure Mr Hansell understood the distinction between a public and a private faculty. As to the legality of the vote at the vestry meeting, there was no doubt that, in this case, a majority of the parishioners was not required, as a matter of legal necessity. The Chancellor then confirmed the faculty for the rebuilding of the south aisle and the removal of the organ subject to all monuments being replaced in their original positions.

Reopening of the Organ, 23 February 1870

The rebuilt instrument was finally opened on Wednesday, 23 February 1870.

The *Norfolk Chronicle* and *Yarmouth Independent* reported the festivities at some length. These comprising two special services held in the afternoon and evening with the organ presided at by Henry Smart and Dr Edward Bunnett respectively. Large congregations were in evidence with apparently over 3000 attending the evening service. As to the success of the work, the report noted:

The organ was played by Mr Henry Smart, whose skilful manipulation fully exhibited the capacity of the instrument, as well as its beautiful tone; and showed that it retains the mellow sweetness for which it has so long been celebrated.⁵⁵³

Of greater interest is a transcript of a letter dated 22 February 1870 found in the minutes of the restoration committee from Henry Smart to the committee congratulating them on, 'the Eminent Success of the work you have now completed'. The minutes of the restoration committee dated 22 February, 1870 include a transcript of a letter from Henry Smart to the committee congratulating them on 'the Eminent Success of the work you have now completed'. In the light of subsequent events and in view of the misgivings expressed at the Consistory Court hearings, the letter, at first sight, was extraordinary. As a highly respected expert on organ matters, it is difficult to believe that Smart could have allowed himself to be persuaded that the North transept position for the organ was the best under the circumstances unless he really believed it as evidenced by his rebuttal of Preston's accusations. Yet voices had been raised loud and clear that the North transept was damp and tonally ill-suited except as far as accompanying the choir was concerned and, as Stonex later admitted, it was still not ideal. Even allowing for the raising of the organ on a platform, the void above did not assist in projecting sound into the body of the church; a condition entirely met when the organ was located in the South aisle and which doubtless bolstered its reputation. While the science of building acoustics was still very imperfect at the time, enough was known empirically to suggest that a sound source with a large reflecting surface immediately above would be projected well into the surrounding volume, hence the use of the tester

⁵⁵³ *NorChron*, 26 February 1870, p. 6.

above a pulpit, for example. It can only be imagined that the controversy whipped up by Preston had taken its toll on Smart who by then was an old man, and that the letter was an attempt to draw a line under the whole sorry saga.

There is, however, another explanation for the letter which goes to the heart of the matter regarding the organ's relocation in the north transept. Smart was effusive in his praise for Hill's work, finding that, 'all the work has been done in complete accordance with my specification and to my entire satisfaction... Messrs. Hill having most faithfully and zealously executed their contract...'. As if firmly to rebut charges that old pipes and other material were to be scrapped in favour of new, Smart particularly noted that:

As ... I am intimately acquainted with the details of the repairs and additions [the organ] has at various times received ... in no case have these (without reference to cost or extent) taken so right a direction as in the present. *Everything really worth preserving in the original instrument and for which it might justly claim any excellence has been scrupulously retained* [author's italics], while all that was radically defective... has been replaced by new work on the most modern principles and of the highest style of excellence.

Adding, yet again, that, 'of the care and skill displayed by Messrs. Hill in the performance of their contract I cannot speak too highly'.

Finally, as if to underline what a favour Hill had done the parish, he drew attention to Hill's incorporation of their new design of relief pallet and the addition of the Swell sub-octave to Great coupler, the former described as an, 'ingenious and costly contrivance', noting that, 'Neither of these particulars is included in the specification, but the artistic feeling of the builders has induced them to do, at their own cost, what they thus thought desirable'. One can only speculate as to how infrequently Great and Swell were coupled together with the added weight of the sub-octave coupler.

In summary, the letter effectively absolved Hill of any responsibility for any subsequent malfunction of the organ, however caused. This included the possibility that

the organ might actually be underpowered in its new location because Smart was careful to suggest that though:

the Yarmouth organ may now justly be said to claim the same distinguished place, in its class, among the best modern instruments ... [to] bring it however, fully within the class of the largest and most noted instruments in this country, it still needs the addition of a certain number of stops; but as care has been taken to include in the present work all the necessary space and mechanical preparations for these additions they can (with the exception of some of the Pedal stops) be introduced at any time without disturbing the existing arrangement and at but little more cost than that of the pipes themselves.

At no point within the letter did Smart draw attention to the organ's location since, to have done so would have been to acknowledge a potential and, as it was to prove, fatal error of judgment. As Smart is later said to have remarked, he regarded the north transept as 'a hole' to which, effectively, the organ should never have been consigned. From the point of view of tonal dissemination, his earlier suggestion of the north chancel would have been far better as was to be proved in 1875 by Bishop. But then, the organ would have been invisible to the congregation.

Sadly, the success was short-lived. Within three years the organ's condition and the continued heavy expenditure needed to keep it playable became matters of grave concern. Barely a year after its removal and reconstruction, it was already compromised amidst mounting criticism. A letter to the *Musical Standard* seven months after the opening from a London organist who apparently spoke with authority, listed in some detail the shortcomings of the location and work done, underlining how valuable the organ was as one of the attractions of the Borough:

Upon my recent visit I found 'Meddle and Muddle' had done their work... Placed in the north transept, its large, noble, grand looking old oak case is hidden from view... while the tone is so much smothered that, though great additions have been made to the organ, the pedal department especially... I found it totally impossible from any distant part of the church to detect the presence of pedal stops at all, the full organ being, I had almost said, inaudible. I was glad to find that the greatest vigilance

had been exercised as to the preservation of the old pipes...even the much disliked nowadays (because misunderstood) 'cornet' . The only matter perhaps for regret in the reconstruction is, that the couplers have been placed horizontally over the swell manual, instead of the proper place, as usually adopted, and suggested by Mr. Hopkins's work, at the left hand of the performer. Their present arrangement ... giving the organist needless trouble in having to look in three different directions for his stops... Whether fashion, obstinacy, or ritualistic leaning has consigned so magnificent and rare toned an organ to its present hole, it is of little consequence to inquire ; but it must be manifest... that the instrument, on account of its absurd position, is completely annihilated, while possibly the mechanism may shortly suffer from cold and damp... It is to be hoped then that the instigators of the disastrous scheme just carried out will ... reinstate the instrument in its original position, where it may - under the hands of the talented gentleman who is the organist of the church - ... sustain its reputation as one of the most magnificent and effective instruments of this country.⁵⁵⁴

This was the signal for a barrage of correspondence which, in short, said 'We told you so'. A letter to the *Yarmouth Independent* signed by 'Churchman' early in 1871 stated that:

As the present Mayor [Preston] foretold, damp has seized almost every part of the splendid instrument, the woodwork is out of gear and swelled, and the pipes and metal corroded with rust and gas effluvia. It is asserted that the organist finds considerable difficulty in the discharge of his duty; and one thing is certain, that the melodious harmony of the instrument... has been substituted for comparative discordance and noise.⁵⁵⁵

Further letters to the same effect began to appear with disconcerting regularity, some more generally uncomplimentary about musical matters at St Nicholas, in part fuelled by resentment towards the introduction of psalm-chanting by the choir.⁵⁵⁶ Others described the organ as having been 'ruthlessly smothered' and as an 'unfortunate old friend boxed into a cold corner, there to mutter with bated breath his protests against his ruthless persecutors and doctors.'⁵⁵⁷ According to a rather cryptic letter allegedly written by the instrument itself, it noted that it had, 'well nigh broken down on more

⁵⁵⁴ *Musical Standard*, vol. 13, 20 August 1870, p70.

⁵⁵⁵ *YI*, 4 February 1871 p. 6.

⁵⁵⁶ *YI*, 14 December 1872, p. 3.

⁵⁵⁷ *YI*, 30 November 1872, p. 7.

than one occasion already', and mocked the 'best possible position' advised by the Organ Committee and 'doctors', an anthropomorphic reference to the organ as a patient which clearly took a swipe at Gore Ouseley and Smart as consultants.⁵⁵⁸

Matters came to a head at the annual Parish meeting held on 17 April, 1873. A requisition was submitted to the churchwardens to the effect that:

We, the undersigned [names not reported], being parishioners and ratepayers of the borough of Great Yarmouth, being of opinion that the organ in St Nicholas' Church in this Parish, is sustaining great injury by reason of the dampness of the situation in which it is at present placed, thereby causing probable destruction to it as an instrument, and that it is alone kept in tone and execution at considerable and unnecessary expense to the parish; and referring to a statement published by the Restoration Committee, dated the 5th day of November, 1868, we hereby request you, the churchwardens, to call a meeting of the inhabitants of this parish in vestry, in order, if to them it should seem meet, that the said organ should be restored to its former position.

The tone of the requisition might, at first sight, appear high handed but it should be remembered that the organ had occupied the thoughts of the Borough for almost ten years and that the rebuilding of 1870 ought, under normal circumstances, to have drawn a line under it. Ironically, and in contrast to previous discussions about the organ, there was, as the *Yarmouth Independent* put it, 'perfect unanimity' regarding the need to move the organ away from the North transept. The question was, where to? In the course of the discussions, it became obvious why damage to the organ had been so extensive. In an effort to keep the organ dry, gas heating had been used which, it was acknowledged, was injurious not only to leather but also to metal since the products of combustion would likely have been vented straight into the atmosphere around the instrument. Town gas was then made from coal which when burnt released, in addition to oxides of carbon, compounds of sulphur and nitrogen, and water vapour. These combined with the damp surroundings formed a weak acid cocktail which attacked organ leatherwork

⁵⁵⁸ *YI*, 14 December 1872, p. 3.

and corroded metal. The general dampness would have had a deleterious effect on glued joints as well as making the action stiff due to swelling of wooden parts.

Asked for his opinion regarding the position of the organ, Henry Stonex replied that the very best was in the South aisle but this did not take the choir into account. As he put it:

the very best, as he had said, was the South aisle, but then he thought of the torture he should suffer if the choir was under the tower. The next best place would be the nave, the choir to be stationed against the west side of the reading desk. The third place would be the south chancel facing west.

A little later Stonex was asked if Henry Smart had not condemned the position of the organ *'in toto'* the first day he saw it. This appeared to put Stonex in a quandary since all he seems to have replied was that Smart had said "they must have it out of that place". Why he was asked is unclear since at the start of the meeting Smart's opinion had already been made known; he had apparently replied in somewhat robust tones referring to the North transept as a 'hole'. Asked about the new position of the choir, Stonex felt it was not ideal, he preferring to have seen it further west - more towards the nave. After some further discussion about the choir, a motion put forward by Mr Isaac Preston, son of the late E H L Preston, mayor, that the organ be removed forthwith to its original position, was carried.⁵⁵⁹ Over a year elapsed until the next public announcement was made regarding any proposal for the instrument. In the meantime, the restoration committee had contacted Bishop & Son of London and, as far as we can tell, no other. There is also no further mention of Henry Smart.

⁵⁵⁹ *YL*, 19 April 1873, p. 5.

Part 6: The 1875 Reconstruction

Bishop's report was read out at a committee meeting held on 24 June 1874, including answers to some specific points put to them by the committee chairman, Reverend Venables.⁵⁶⁰ Bishop and the church architect, John Seddon, were present. These confirmed the damage sustained by the organ due to its location, that no advantage would be gained by moving the organ forward out of the transept and that, ideally, it should be near to the centre of the south chancel aisle. Here it could face west and speak freely into the body of the church as well as be exposed to the sun's warmth thus preventing the influence of damp. Bishop's final point was to advocate dividing the organ north and south of the chancel:

1. From great musical effects being so rendered attainable which are impossible in a single instrument.
2. From the more even balance maintained, and the voices of the choir would penetrate the whole church better.
3. The voice of the Preacher would likewise be wider and more evenly heard throughout.

As to the cost, removing the organ from the north transept and thorough overhaul was set at £505. Adding two Pedal stops and altering the sides of the case to accommodate would cost £250, so totalling £755. Dividing the organ would add a further £650, almost doubling the price.

The minutes note the ensuing discussion but no detail beyond Bishop 'strongly' recommending division of the organ and Seddon's approval. It was resolved among other things that Bishop's prepare a report outlining the advantages of dividing the organ and the minimum cost for the work; the organ to be removed from its present location

⁵⁶⁰ NRO PD 23-282, Minutes of the Restoration Committee, 24 June 1874.

as soon as possible. Given that Bishop was in the process of developing and patenting a form of pneumatic assistance for organ actions, it should be no surprise that he would want to incorporate it with the mechanism.⁵⁶¹ In fact, it would be an ideal proving ground since here was an organ which had been relocated and reconstructed by one of the best builders in the country, William Hill, on the advice of several of its foremost consultants, Ouseley and Smart, and which had, within a very short space of time, proved a complete and costly failure. Significant is that Bishop appears to have pre-empted the discussion by preparing two estimates, one for the removal of the entire organ to the South chancel aisle, the other for the dividing of the organ north and south. Pneumatic assistance would be applied to the south section containing the Great and the larger scaled Pedal pipes. This is shown in the firm's estimate book for 1874-6 which also notes the addition of a number of stops.⁵⁶²

Between then and the committee's next meeting of Thursday 24 July, the Bishop records show further correspondence regarding the efficacy of the new pneumatic action as well as some errors in costings. Regarding the action, it would seem trouble had been experienced with right-angled connecting pieces which appear to have offered resistance to the pressure of the action wind so affecting repetition. The solution, outlined in a letter to the vicar, George Venables, of 3 July was to adopt elbow pieces seemingly of larger radius or lesser angle, so making changes of direction in the action tubing more gradual.⁵⁶³ Bishop claimed that the action had been tested with runs of over 100 feet and by executing a shake.

As to the costings, the Church had indicated that no more than £1000 was to be spent inclusive of the pneumatic action. Bishop's estimate had exceeded that amount by

⁵⁶¹ GB patent 3210, 1876.

⁵⁶² Bishop & Son, Estimate Book 1874-76 fols. 35-37, 38-40 estimates dated June 4 1874. There appears to have been an error of transcription in the Yarmouth committee's minute book since the price quoted by Bishop for the original South chancel scheme was £855 not £755 as minuted.

⁵⁶³ Bishop & Son, fols. 69-70.

£50 and, one imagines, anxious to gain the contract, had promised more than it could deliver for the price; a portent of things to come and a sign of what was to be a difficult and, at times, fractious contractual relationship. In order to remain within the figure, two of three new stops promised would have to be priced as separate items leaving one which they proposed to name included in the original figure. Their suggestion was a 'double Reed' which would appear to be the Swell Contra Fagotto 16'. This was a reworking of the existing Swell Horn 8' with new lowest octave to 16' C which as Bishop observed, would sound very fine'. Other stops were also suggested such as an Orchestral Oboe but, since the Double Reed had already been prepared for in the Hill scheme and that soundboard was being retained, adding it is likely to have been the least expensive option whilst indeed giving a fine effect.⁵⁶⁴ The subtle, yet unmistakable 'steer' in the letter toward that register in preference to the others is obvious and an indication of the fine balance struck between tight profit margins, customer satisfaction and a full order book. What also kept the price down, certainly for Bishop & Son, was making the Parish responsible for the iron pneumatic tubing; that and the trench needed to carry it across the chancel.

The meeting also resolved that nothing should be attempted unless at least £750 could be raised and that before a public appeal was announced, it would be better to append the names of gentlemen who might be willing to head the subscription list. Gurney's Bank of Norwich subscribed £100 and Sir Edmund Lacon MP, £50. Henry Stonex himself promised to donate a new Gamba on the Great and a separate swellbox at the back of the Swell organ for the Vox Humana. Obtaining a faculty was dealt with without any dissension since by now, it was obvious that a return to the situation pre-1870 was impossible and resolving the organ question, once and for all, paramount.

⁵⁶⁴ Elvin notes that the lowest octave of the stop was to be of half-length pipes which, if true, would also have kept down the cost. See Laurence Elvin, *Bishop and Son, Organ Builders*, (Lincoln: 1984), p. 232.

Bishop's estimate book shows that between the July and September committee meetings, a further attempt was made to reduce the price by omitting any new stops (presumably except those being donated by Henry Stonex).⁵⁶⁵ The appeal for funds was announced at morning service on Sunday, 2nd August.⁵⁶⁶ *The Independent* carried a subscription list (updated in subsequent editions)⁵⁶⁷ showing the amount raised, a brief description of the work and an editorial⁵⁶⁸. Subscribers included the aforementioned and many other local gentry as well as the Singer Sewing Machine Co. and Thomas Paine⁵⁶⁹, a native of Yarmouth and founder of the law firm, Linklater & Paine, who was knighted in 1882.

Matters proceeded swiftly. At the committee meeting of 24th September, 1874, the vicar announced he had seen the casefront of the old Harris organ from St Peter, Mancroft in store with Hedgeland organbuilders in London, which could be made available for about £90. This together with the existing Jordan case would form a complementary pair given some form of casing was necessary to screen the north side. Henry Stonex was to negotiate with Hedgeland, offering no more than £80. By November 1874, the committee felt sufficiently encouraged by the level of subscriptions received, upwards of £675 already in hand or promised, threw caution to the wind and announced the work was to be started without delay.⁵⁷⁰ The committee meeting of 6th November centred largely around the final position of the divided instrument. This was done using screens placed in the chancel aisles indicating roughly the dimensions of the cases to gain an idea of their visual impact. As to the tonal effect, two harmoniums were placed one each in the north and south chancel aisles and played.

⁵⁶⁵ Bishop & Son *ibid.* ff 94-96 reduced estimate, July 27th 1874.

⁵⁶⁶ *YL*, 8 August 1874, p. 6.

⁵⁶⁷ *YL*, 29 August 1874 et al., p. 4.

⁵⁶⁸ *YL*, 10 October 1874, pp. 4, 8.

⁵⁶⁹ Sir Thomas Paine (1822-1908) Slinn, Judy 'Paine, Sir Thomas (1822-1908)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, OUP, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/49713>, [accessed 3 Feb 2016]

⁵⁷⁰ *YL*, 14 November 1874, p. 4.

This is an interesting approach to the problem of gauging the spatial and quieter tonal effect of the organ when divided. French pressure-system harmoniums, particularly those with the standard four-row specification, were powerful instruments and often found use as 'orgues du chœur' in French churches and cathedrals. They also sound not unlike a French romantic organ and so their application here was not as extraordinary as might first appear.

The experiment was deemed satisfactory and it was also decided that the console would be placed on the west side of the south section of the organ thus reversing the layout from the original estimate of June 4th. The rough sketch accompanying the appeal notice in the newspapers shows the organ sited at the east end of the aisles behind the choir stalls.

The committee minutes recommence late in June 1875, after the organ had been completed. This is significant for the fact that between then and the previous meeting, a major change to the proposals had been made which involved the entire organ being played pneumatically, yet there is no mention of the extra expenditure being authorised. This is revealed in a fourth revision to Bishop's estimate sent in ten days after the committee meeting of November 6th⁵⁷¹, followed a month later by a separate estimate⁵⁷² sent to the vicar for placing 'the "tribune" or keyboards in the Choir stalls adding for the purpose a Pneumatic apparatus to the Choir, Swell and South Pedal Organs, "as we strongly recommend" ' adding the remark that, 'the advantages of this plan are obvious, the Organist being placed in the best possible position for judging of the effect he is

⁵⁷¹ Bishop & Son, fols. 238-40. Bishop's 4th 'adjusted estimate' of November 16th appears to show the southern location for Great and Pedal crossed out. What appears to be a later draft [ff.248-250 incomplete] definitely refers to 'placing the Gt organ and the 32ft Open in the present case, on the North side of the chancel'. Had it not been decided to apply pneumatic action to the whole organ, the organist would have been placed at some distance from the choir stalls.

⁵⁷² Bishop & Son *ibid.* fols. 290-92.

producing; & for conducting his Choir. There are also constructive advantages for the Organ Builder'.

The estimate also included, significantly, extra stops for the Pedal organ (see Appendix A), and a Solo organ. The accompanying letter, no doubt sensing the business potential, contained the following:

We have omitted to state in [the estimate] ... that – in the event of the additions being deferred till after the organ is re-erected, and they were done by instalments – for every £100 worth or over of work ordered we could give you a reduction of 5% and for every £200 worth & over a reduction of 7%. But if done now, at the factory 10%. In much haste
Yours very truly
Bishop & Son.

P.S. We must urge on your remembrance that item (1) [pneumatic action work] must be done now; and the [additions to the] North pedal organ must also be done now or 'prepared' to be done at a future time.

A further letter dated January 5th, 1875 confirmed the pneumatic work subject to the approval of the architect and dismissed the suggestion the organ be brought forward more to the west with some rather spurious arguments about arches and windows.⁵⁷³

The console was placed in the chancel approximately midway between the north and south cases.⁵⁷⁴ A photograph shows the two cases with the console among the choir stalls on the south side with the organist facing south.⁵⁷⁵

News of progress was published at intervals in the *Great Yarmouth Parish Magazine*. The March 1875 issue carried a résumé which was at pains to stress that only the mechanical side of the organ was being altered and all the pipes were being stored either in the church or the vicarage. Two letters were also published from Bishop & Son as if to demonstrate that the vicar had the management of the project firmly in hand.

The first dated 18 February 1875 read:

⁵⁷³ Bishop & Son *ibid.* fols. 306-307.

⁵⁷⁴ F. Johnson, 'The History of the Parish Church Organ Part II' *Yarmouth Mercury*, 5 July 1902, p. 3.

⁵⁷⁵ NRO Y/TC 86/12/54-87, PH4, Photographs of Great Yarmouth, nd [c 1870], including the town wall, the interior of the parish church, Rows 99 and 117, and of Burgh and Caister Castles.

Reverend Sir, In Reply to your enquiries, we beg to assure you that from ten to twenty men have been continuously employed on the organ since December 1st, and will remain so employed until about the 20th April, when we hope to commence re-erecting. We think we may venture to promise that we shall be ready to open on Thursday, June 24th, but this entirely depends on whether we can proceed without interruption...

A second reply dated 22 February suggests the vicar had attempted to accelerate the pace as well as alluding once more to the problem of interruption, 'We regret we dare not promise an earlier date than that mentioned... we are making every effort to accelerate the progress of the work. We must rely on your promise to save us from interruption whilst re-erecting'.

The vicar had personal reasons for wanting the organ ready as early as possible since his daughter was due to be married on June 23rd. Enough of the instrument was finished by then and as the *Yarmouth Independent* reported, 'there can be little doubt that the organ will be immensely improved by its removal from the confined space which it formerly occupied'.⁵⁷⁶ In some respects, it is perhaps not surprising that interruptions were encountered since the men worked out of a shed erected for the purpose on the side of the church. That Bishop's regarded the pressure to complete or at least have enough of the organ ready for the wedding as irksome, to say the least, is hinted at in a letter to the vicar dated 21 July 1875 which mentions the inclusion of a receipt for a cheque paid, 'for loss of time of Mr C Bishop and nine men & a boy from 9 o'clock on June 23rd'.⁵⁷⁷

The following week, the committee met for a final deliberation prior to the opening event. Henry Stonex and the vicar had prepared a report which drew attention to a number of modifications to the original proposals and a sharp escalation in cost,

⁵⁷⁶ *YI*, 26 June 1875, p. 5.

⁵⁷⁷ Bishop & Son *ibid.*, fols. 540-541.

some of which was to be met by the vicar alone but still leaving a substantial deficit. The increase was put down to two main factors: 1) that the Pedal Double Open Diapason 32' required a 'helper' rank [here referred to as a 'sympathetic' register] in order to 'cause it to produce the effect desired...' 2) completely pneumatic action with detached console. The specification of the Pedal organ remained unchanged from its Hill predecessor save for the large-scale Bourdon which could be the 'helper' rank referred to. It suggests that Hill's additions to and reworking of the Gray pipes had not been particularly successful and the Bourdon, adding the second harmonic and some residual ones further up, would hopefully augment it, something which, in practice, it failed to do. As will be seen later, Bishop's either miscalculated the quantity of wind needed or the human effort to raise it was insufficient because it proved almost impossible to use the 32' Double Open Diapason until the Binns rebuild in 1903. A prospectus issued in 1897 for the restoration appeal stated that it required four, sometimes five men to blow it: and even then it was? very difficult to maintain a proper and even supply of wind.⁵⁷⁸

The cost of these two items, the 'helper' rank and the action work with detached console, amounted to £210 which the vicar agreed to pay from his own resources and probably accounts for why there was no mention of them in the minutes prior to this date. Elsewhere, almost £180 was spent providing the iron tubing and £90 for the associated trench work. The casefront from St Peter Mancroft eventually cost £90 including carriage so that, with other incidentals, and allowing for Bishop having further reduced his core price to £905, the final total amounted to over £1600 of which, by then, £867 was promised or in hand. Nonetheless, Stonex and the vicar were able to report that:

⁵⁷⁸ NRO PD 28/355.

... while wishing to be cautious in any expression touching the success of the alterations and additions, we are thankful... to say that... of the work we believe it to be very admirably and well done; that the organ is really more powerful than ever; that the additional stops introduced are of a very superior quality, having much of the quality of good old organ pipes about them (said to be very difficult to secure in these days) and we add the expression of our reasonable conviction that the Parishioners ought to be well pleased with the results ...

For ourselves... they have not disappointed us in more than one particular, and that not a serious one (the new 'Bourdon') ...

The tones are as fine as ever, soft and strong, and penetrate the whole building. The effects of the divided organs for antiphonal purposes must be superior to those of any other organ in the world [!]

The formal opening of the instrument took place on Tuesday, 6 July with two services at 11 am and 4 pm which were advertised extensively in the local press.

Arrangements were also made with the Great Eastern Railway to issue special cheap return tickets (return for the price of an ordinary single ticket) on the day from selected stations in Norfolk and Suffolk.⁵⁷⁹

Reporting of the event was on a national scale⁵⁸⁰, even allowing for syndication, and fulsome accounts of the proceedings including the specification and detailed if somewhat inaccurate descriptions of Bishop's pneumatic mechanism were published in local newspapers.⁵⁸¹ Elsewhere, reports appeared under the heading 'A Novel Experiment', drawing attention in particular to the distance separating the two halves of the organ, variously put at between fifty and seventy feet, and the location of the console in the chancel. The magazine *The Choir* wrote of the 'far more striking antiphonal effects than can be obtained from organs occupying two sides of a narrow chancel', and also published the specification detailing what was old and new.⁵⁸² The

⁵⁷⁹ Wells, Norwich, Tivetshall, Saxmundham, Lowestoft and intermediate stations to Yarmouth.

⁵⁸⁰ Short reports appeared in regional newspapers as diverse as the *York Herald* and *Cheltenham Chronicle*.

⁵⁸¹ *YI*, 10 July 1875, p. 3; *IJ*, 10 July, p. 11; *NorChron*, 10 July, p. 6; *NorNews* 10 July, p. 9.

⁵⁸² *The Choir*, 17 July 1875, pp. 453-454.

Musical Times wrote of the organ as a: 'wonderful piece of ingenious mechanism, and the tone of the new stops exceedingly fine'.⁵⁸³

The final bill for the work was £1612 and after a further appeal for funds, the amount was cleared by the Autumn of 1876. As far as the conduct of the project went, in the main, matters seem to have proceeded amicably enough between the Parish and the organ builders. There were, however, a number of instances where Bishop's charges for various items were called into question. Without the letters from Stonex, it is difficult to be certain but it appears that various ranks, the Hohl Flute, Clarabella and the Voix Celestes, were not included in their estimates and, as Bishops put it in relation to the last named '... if we find we can afford it, we will give you the Voix Celestes'.⁵⁸⁴ A few months later and the exchanges between the vicar and Bishop & Son had become less than felicitous. The vicar's letters are not preserved but Bishop's replies suggest the Parish felt they were being hard-done by, a perception vigorously rebutted. They concerned charges made for visits subsequent to the final handing-over of the instrument which, it would seem, the vicar felt should have been made gratis. Bishop's reply was robust:

The charges for visits are made after the first, and those for which a charge has been made were all at your request and not for our own purposes. We regret our time on these occasions should appear to you of so little value; we were under the impression that we were favouring you by reducing it from £10.10s per visit. If our profits were sufficiently high to admit of these expenses being included we should be only too glad to do so.⁵⁸⁵

The letter dated 21 July refers to panel work for which the Parish wanted to charge

Bishop & Son:

We cannot imagine why we are charged for the panel work which carried the organ back to the wall on each side when in the gallery which we

⁵⁸³ *MT*, vol. 17, no. 390, 1 August 1875 p. 180.

⁵⁸⁴ Bishop & Son, fols. 444-445, letter to Henry Stonex, 1 May 1875. Stonex complained to the site foreman that Bishops had 'not been very generous with [him, the Parish] in the matter of the organ'.

⁵⁸⁵ Bishop & Son *ibid.* fols. 535-536, Letter to Rev'd Venables, 14 July 1875.

have used for the same purpose again. This fact must have escaped you. We certainly consider you are treating us rather harshly in this matter & though with every disposition to meet you, we could not yield the points you demand without doing ourselves an injustice.

As a set off against the erecting the organ cases (which your own letters led us to believe you did for your own account) we plead the new Compⁿ action (£20); fitting in Stop'd Diap (£5); extra pedal (prep'd) for trem^o to Choir ... for a Choir Compⁿ &c. &c.

Our visits (after the first) were simply to give advice... but we are willing if you like to call this item £20 in lieu of £29 – 8. 0.

The letter finished with a postscript:

'The gas stoves with boiler and pipes attached are made by John Wright & Co. Essex Works, Broad Street, Birmingham. We could get one for you wholesale price and should strongly advise its use [illegible]... the north organ in damp weather.⁵⁸⁶

It would appear that the old problem with damp on the north side of church was an ever present source of trouble but, tellingly, it also shows Bishop's preparedness to overlook their clients' parsimoniousness for the sake of good business relations.

Mention has been made elsewhere of the addition of the third rank to the Choir Mixture and the Orchestral Oboe in 1877. On the strength of these two, the vicar put out a call for the adding of the Solo Organ which had been prepared for with keys and bellows only and the completion of the Pedal Organ.⁵⁸⁷ He also drew attention to the blowing arrangements suggesting that instead of the customary four or five men needed to blow it manually, that gas, hot air or hydraulic engines might be used.⁵⁸⁸ In the event, the Solo organ remained an aspiration, and only a Bourdon of large scale was added to the Pedals at the time. The remaining 16' Pedal registers, a metal Open 16' and a new Violone 16' were added in August 1885 at the expense of the Vicar, albeit reluctantly, and a special service to mark their insertion was held in the evening on Thursday

⁵⁸⁶ Bishop & Son *ibid.* fols. 540-541. Letter to Rev'd Venables 21 July 21 1875.

⁵⁸⁷ NRO PD28/388 *GYPM*, January 1878 'A Pastoral Letter'.

⁵⁸⁸ Y283 (05) *ibid.*; NRO PD 28/232. Rev'd George Venables '*A Few Memoranda Connected with Great Yarmouth Parish 1886*' (Great Yarmouth: George Nall, 1886) p.13. Copy is interleaved between Minutes of Restoration Committee 21 January 1887.

August 27th.^{589 590} Regarding the Solo organ, though it was never inserted during the lifetime of the Bishop instrument, the vicar clearly saw it as a priority for the future. A passage contained in his Memoranda of 1886 is of interest in suggesting how the Solo organ might have been located in the building to best effect. He wrote:

Whenever it is inserted, I leave it on record as my observation, that it might be wise to place it on a bracket in the south aisle, upon the transept wall, facing west. The eastern wall of the south transept would afford the position most convenient for the works and would be by far the cheaper position. But I incline to believe that two or three stops ought to be placed to face down the north aisle and an equal number down the south aisle, in order to secure the effects which are desired. The space above the eastern arch of the Tower has also very much to be said in favour of that position. This important question of the best position will probably be settled by securing three men on ladders to blow cornets from these points while the organ is being played, and thus to judge of the effect*. Anything done to this unusually fine organ ought to be of the *best* quality and effected in the *best* way.

Venables was obviously struck by the possibilities of pneumatic action for deploying sections of the organ to best effect and for providing accompanimental resources in such a vast building though, given the locations he had in mind, providing wind could have been a problem. Novel and practical too, was the idea of playing cornets in imitation of Tuba ranks to test their effect; played fortissimo, the tonal qualities and power levels are not dissimilar. Venables added a footnote to his remarks where he suggested that trombones might also be used. He also suggested not placing the division too high up because of tuning access, about ten feet from the floor. Other locations suggested were spaces within the crossing which, 'would not interfere with the erection hereafter of a groined roof in the Tower.'⁵⁹¹

⁵⁸⁹ Specifications of the organ published subsequently, for example, *Musical Opinion*, August 1888, show just one Violone 16' so the supposition is that it replaced the Hill/England stop of 1870.

⁵⁹⁰ NRO PD 28/393 *GYPM* August 1885, 'The Vicar has felt compelled to render himself responsible for the payment, but he hopes, and believes that after Thursday 27th, the amount owing will be small'.

A specification for the Solo is contained in Bishop's additional estimate of December 15th, 1874 and provided for a Concert Open Diapason 8', Harmonic Flutes 8' & 4', and Tubas 8' & 4'.⁵⁹² There is no denying that the effect of Tubas in the South aisle would have been extremely impressive suggesting that even then a Nave Division was seen as almost a necessity. The idea was again mooted after the Second World War when, following the destruction of the Binns organ in 1942 and the erection of the Hill organ from St Mary the Boltons, London, in 1961, plans were also in hand to re-erect the redundant Jordan, Byfield & Bridge organ from St George's Chapel, Yarmouth in the parish church made playable from the main console as a 'nave' organ. This was not pursued through lack of funds.

Despite the additions made in 1885, the organ did not live up to expectations. Some clues as to the problems encountered are contained in the minutes of the Restoration Committee's meetings and the *Parish Magazine*. An article entitled '*The Restoration of the Parish Church Organ*' appeared in the *Parish Magazine* for October 1898 citing the opinions of experts including Henry Willis who had little to say beyond 'the Organs must come down'. Dr Edmund Turpin was more forthcoming writing that 'the necessity for rebuilding and replanning the organ must be evident to all who recognise the present time-worn state of the instrument and the ruinous condition into which many of its mechanisms have fallen'. It was also noted that:

the distance between the two parts of the organ is so great (greater even than that between the two parts of the organ in St Paul's Cathedral) that, between the time when the keys are struck by the organist and the time when the sound reaches the congregation a distinct interval elapses. The organ therefore utterly fails to control the singing of the congregation.⁵⁹³

⁵⁹² Bishop & Son *ibid.* fols. 290-292.

⁵⁹³ NRO PD 28/402

Bishop's pneumatic action had apparently become very slow and unreliable, the effect made worse by having the two most powerful divisions, Great and Swell, placed North and South with some forty feet between them. Elsewhere, reference is made to damp and former leakage in the roof of the church.⁵⁹⁴ The latter had been the subject of extensive building work following a letter to the Restoration Committee dated 12 April, 1889 from a local architect, Henry Olley, who had been asked by the vicar to inspect the roof of the North Chancel Aisle. The report was to have repercussions for the organ since it was found that both the North and South Chancel roofs would need extensive reboarding and other repairs. In places, roofing joints were coming apart and lead work had holes in it. The whole had been badly repaired at the time of the 1845-48 restoration; the subject of an acrimonious dispute between the church trustees and subscribers. Coal-fired heating had corroded metal work such as ties and nails and dried out roof timbers, causing them to twist.

The church architect, J L Pearson, visited shortly after and suggested the organ be taken down in order to gain further accommodation in the South Aisle and that the roofs of the Aisles be properly restored. In the event, it was decided not to remove the organ but to encase the two sections where they stood so that the roofs could be uncovered and repaired.⁵⁹⁵ A course of action which had been considered too risky in 1869 was now considered acceptable and effectively signed the organ's death-warrant.

Much of the restoration of the chancel roofs took place during the winter months of 1891-92. The casing-up of the organ did not prevent snow and rain penetrating the interiors so ruining the action and winding. At the same time, high ground-water levels under the church floor were drawn attention to by Stonex's successor, Haydon Hare, in a report to the Restoration Committee. In it he referred to the impossibility of creating a

⁵⁹⁴ NRO PD 28/233 fol.47 Extracts from newspaper reports of a Public Meeting held 26 October 1898.

⁵⁹⁵ NRO PD 28/232, Minutes of the Restoration Committee 15th April 1889.

'crypt' or well in which to place blowing machinery: owing to water table troubles.⁵⁹⁶ It can be imagined too that the iron-piping used as pneumatic tubing under the chancel floor had corroded to the point where leakage of action wind was inevitable.

Despite the terminal state of the instrument, it was still being used for recitals since notices appeared in the *Parish Magazine* in May 1896 and June 1898. Nonetheless, Haydon Hare's dissatisfaction with the organ was made abundantly evident in his report when he wrote:

The Church demands a very large organ, owing not only to its exceptional size but also to its awkward construction from a musical point of view, in order to fill the building with sound. Therefore it must have a superabundance of Foundation (Diapason) tone, in fact exceptionally so. The present organ for its size is sadly wanting in this Diapason tone, though the stops of that quality are very sweet, but they are of small scale and want adding to so that the grand full tone of a real Cathedral Organ may roll through the Church. The present bellows and blowing apparatus being in very bad repair must be new and enlarged... Large quantities of wind and heavy wind pressures are most important necessities.⁵⁹⁷

With that, the history of the organ took an abrupt turn. J J Binns' contract provided for an organ of 65 stops over four manuals and pedals and, while roughly 60% of the pipework from the Bishop organ was retained, there is no record of what, if any, revoicing took place despite assurances it would not be interfered with. What is apparent is that little, if any, of the Jordan reedwork survived. If Hare's remarks are anything to go by, what was left became entirely subsumed in something much larger and quite alien to what had been provided in 1733.

⁵⁹⁶ NRO PD 28/233, fol. 39.
⁵⁹⁷ PD 28/233 *ibid*.

Chancel Organ

For the accompaniment of the weekday services, a new chancel organ was built by W C Mack of Great Yarmouth. The June 1885 edition of the *Parish Magazine* carried an interesting article by the vicar about it from which there is the distinct feeling, together with his remarks above about the Solo organ that he was becoming something of an aficionado.⁵⁹⁸ He wrote:

June 1885 - ...The Vicar is very desirous to erect, and pay for, a small finger organ in the Parish Church, because it is certain that it will enable us very greatly to improve the services daily of Morning and Evening Prayer, in Church...

The organ, erected last week, in this Church, by Mr Mack, is lent by him in order to that we might make thorough experiments as to size, shape, position, pitch, arrangements of keyboard, arrangements for clergy and choir, &c., so that we may, if possible, contrive everything in the best way... it is believed that (after three changes) the conclusion desired has been arrived at. The present [small] organ will remain as it now is until a new one shall have been constructed by Mr Mack, and which, it is hoped, may perhaps be ready at the end of August. It will be in shape different from the present organ, so as to obscure the view in any direction as little as possible. It will be arranged in the most convenient manner for communication with player, choir and officiating minister, and the stops will be such as seem best adapted to assist a small congregation in chant and song of praise... Moreover, it is proposed to use a number of old pipes belonging to the great organ, which have not been used for very many years, forming as they once did a "mounted cornet" which has long since yielded to superior arrangements. More for the sake of old associations than for any other reason, as many of these pipes as possible will be adapted to the proposed Daily Service Organ. The value of them is small, but the use of them... will be interesting to those who love old associations.

The article concluded with a paragraph about how the organ was to be financed which began, 'How is the money to be raised? This certainly is a very great puzzle, especially when so much is needed...' and ended with the offer for sale of two harmoniums at 10 gns. each, presumably the ones used in the siting experiments for the

⁵⁹⁸ NRO PD28/393, *GYPM* 1885

main organ. As early as 1874 in the April edition of the *Parish Magazine*, an article had appeared describing how the vicar wished to use the North Chancel aisle as a chapel for the daily service and the erection of a small organ to accompany it.⁵⁹⁹

It was inaugurated at Evensong on Wednesday, 18th November 1885 and cost £124. For all the vicar's preoccupation with the minutiae of its appointment, it transpires the organ was one of Mack's typical 'stock' single manual and pedal organs incorporating some pipework from the Cornet of the Jordan organ, though which ranks it was used in is not recorded. That Mack would have been much in sympathy with this material is attested by other surviving instruments by him; a bold, classical chorus on low wind pressure with attractive flutes and a mild string probably all enclosed save for the Open Diapason – a very capable little organ. It is shown in advertising literature of the time and surviving photographs located in the South transept and was later enlarged by Norman & Beard to two manuals in 1907.⁶⁰⁰ An almost identical one (as originally built) survives in Gillingham church near Beccles in Suffolk.

⁵⁹⁹ See NRO PD 28/236.

⁶⁰⁰ *Cook's Directory of Great Yarmouth*, 1894, p. 217. The organ depicted is believed to be very similar to the one built for St Nicholas's.

Conclusion

The history of the organs and organists at Great Yarmouth provides us with an understanding of how matters relating to the employment and status of church organists, and the procurement and use of organs were regulated over a period of almost two centuries. It also sheds light on the progress made in managing the musical resources of the Church of England by the end of the nineteenth century before the advent of the Diocesan Advisory System. The increased awareness of the organ as an object of cultural and artistic significance, and as such, worthy of consideration under the same headings as a piece of ecclesiastical wood-carving or stone tracery, is set against a continued ambivalence towards the instrument on the part of church authorities engendering a level of disquiet within the Borough which might be thought unprecedented but for lack of research into other areas of the country.⁶⁰¹ It cannot be said that this is an isolated example; something which only further research will clarify.

The value of the organ to the Borough of Great Yarmouth was never in any doubt. Heighington's appointment as the first organist, while attended with some uncertainty as to what to expect from him, nonetheless helped establish the reputation of the instrument for the future. Another part of Heighington's contribution was the creation of the persona of the organist as the musical factotum within the municipality. The evidence contains very little about Heighington as an organist *per se* but we do know a great deal about his other musical activity and its social ramifications. In this regard, Heighington was not alone, as a perusal, for example, of R J S Stevens's *Recollections of an Organist in Georgian London* shows. Stevens was an apprentice to

⁶⁰¹ James Semple Kerr, Conservation Plan 7th ed. Australia International Council on Monuments and Sites, p. 4. defines cultural significance as 'something which has value to people and society.'

William Savage, Almoner and Master of the Choristers at St Paul's Cathedral. He later became organist to St Michael's, Cornhill in 1781 followed by appointments as organist to the Inner Temple in 1786 and the Charterhouse in 1796. He was also Gresham Professor of Music. It might be expected that given these appointments, Stevens would have recorded more detail of his organistships and of the organs he played. However, by far the greater part of his recollections is taken up with social matters such as his friendship with Edward, 1st Baron Thurlow, the Lord Chancellor, his glee compositions, and membership of various glee and catch clubs. His life as an organist only receives mention when he describes, for example, his election to various posts and passing remarks about other players of the instrument. On the surface, it would seem that the organ as an instrument did not matter much to him except that residency at some of the foremost religious establishments in London brought with it greater social standing, access to a better class of pupil, and, importantly, greater earning opportunities.⁶⁰²

The same can be said of Heighington in that his position within the Borough provided an entrée to higher social strata and a level of approbation which, had he played any other instrument, would not have been so readily attainable especially given that the organist's role was pivotal when it came to furnishing the musical component of civic trappings. As to any writings by Heighington on the subject of organists or organs, nothing is known.

John Christian Mantel and Henry Chicheley, on the other hand, are examples of organists who, despite having been trained evidently to a higher standard than Heighington, attracted relatively little attention in their lifetimes. Compared with Heighington, neither appears to have had the business acumen to capitalise on his situation and in Chicheley's case, had to resort to a variety of other means such as

⁶⁰² Mark Argent ed. *Recollections of R J S Stevens, An Organist in Georgian London*. (London: Macmillan, 1992).

shopkeeping, in order to make a living. Yet it was not for Chicheley's services to the town as a stationer, bookseller and purveyor of horse remedies that he was remembered and from which he probably derived the bulk of his income, but for his musicianship. As the former, he was unremarkable, just another tradesman. As an organist, his ability was acknowledged well into the nineteenth century and part of that acknowledgment was that through his playing, he maintained the status of the organ.

In all the instances quoted above, the instrument also acted as a facilitator, conferring status upon the player and, because it itself was an object possessing significance and value for people and society, a status symbol, the player was required to maintain it. The same can be said much later of W T Best and his forty-year long association with the Willis organ in St George's Hall, Liverpool. The relationship was symbiotic; the organ was a Willis masterpiece and Best was the foremost recitalist of his time. That Best was frequently called upon to open new instruments is indicative of how much it was hoped he would confer status upon them.⁶⁰³

That status also encompassed a visual element since, even when the St Nicholas organ was silent, as with many other similar organs, it could be seen; the instrument had a distinct visual presence in the richness of its casework and in its structural elevation on the gallery in the south-west corner of the church. Throughout its life, the visual aspect of the instrument was never far from people's minds; one reason why its relocation eastwards in 1869 was so vehemently opposed. In relocating it, it was being robbed of one element which contributed to people's appreciation of it. It was why, for example, when it was finally rebuilt by Binns in 1903, the use of the casefronts on the back of each section in the chancel received adverse comment from the Musical

⁶⁰³ Henry Davey, 'Best, William Thomas (1826–1897)', rev. Nilanjana Banerji, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2295>>, [accessed 30 May 2017]

Times.⁶⁰⁴ Thus, the organ could only be valued as a totality if it could be seen, played upon well, and, in addition, if the purpose for which it was being played fitted with contemporary need.

The last of these three elements only became a matter for earnest debate with the appointment of Henry Stonex in 1850. The organ started to figure large in people's minds, and then, arguably, for the wrong reasons. From a state of benign disposition towards it, some people began to view it as an object requiring improvement, updating, reconfiguration. The organ had, after all, much in common with other emerging technologies of the period such as hydraulic and pneumatic power, and the advancements of mechanical engineering in transport, to name just a few. The organ then entered a phase when it became an object of 'meddle and muddle', when its ethos and hence its fabric were picked over, found wanting, supposedly, and slowly destroyed in an effort to recreate it in the spirit of the age.

Even in some of the darkest moments in its history, when it either fell into disuse or was badly played and maintained, there were individuals prepared to champion its cause, yet the lack of a coherent approach both to the organ itself and its relationship to its surroundings forced the expenditure of large sums of money in vain attempts to cope with contemporary liturgical need and the maintenance of the organ's profile. This was the case from the second half of the nineteenth century, at a time of rapidly altering perceptions of the organ's mechanical and tonal appointment, and its liturgical function. When E H L Preston described the wanton alteration or defacement [of organs] as:

an act of injustice to the memory of men who laboured to advance the art, and who little thought of the irreverent treatment which their grand instruments would receive from posterity...

⁶⁰⁴ *MT*, no. 774, 1 August 1907, p. 516.

little might he have imagined how those words would resonate some two centuries later.⁶⁰⁵ In this respect, the events of 1869/70 went far beyond the outpourings of vague sentimentality; they were an as yet uncoordinated and putative expression of a much more deep-rooted view about the nature of progress and how that came to be applied to art-works and objects.

Stonex's complaint that the organ as it stood, could not give effect to the:

best modern compositions or the music now required for the ordinary services of the Church...⁶⁰⁶

encapsulated an attitude which did not view the instrument as an equal partner along with the player and composer in the making of music. It also reflected a perception which was not borne out in Stonex's practice as organist in that, despite having acquired an instrument which, for all its failings, had significant potential, he chose not to capitalise on it. The evidence surrounding the use to which the organ was put does not mount up until the mid-1880s and even then, for example, as a recital instrument, little was heard of it despite it being celebrated as one of the town's major attractions. Stonex's aspiration that the organ should be capable of giving effect to modern church music is set against the reality that, for example, the St Nicholas choir only performed an anthem twice a month and then at Evensong, suggesting the requirement the organ be reconstructed had only partly to do with musical utility and not a little to do with prevailing ideas of progress. All the more significant therefore, is that Haydon Hare, Stonex's successor, whose ideas of what an organ should be were far more radical than anything Stonex might have contemplated, lost little time in using the organ, despite the instrument having all but failed, giving a whole series of recitals in the summer of 1895, barely a few months after his appointment.

⁶⁰⁵ *YL*, 17 October 1868, p. 6.

⁶⁰⁶ NRO DN/CON 140. Affidavit of Henry Stonex.

The organ was symbolic of an idea which had first taken shape in 1733; an object such as an intricate clock, a newly invented scientific device such as a telescope or some such other novel construction to which two attributes, value and status, could be attached. The subsequent history of the organ concerns these two attributes and how they could be perpetuated and kept up-to-date. At times, particularly at the turn of the eighteenth century, little attention was paid to these attributes and their maintenance so that by the mid-1840s, the organ was in a very poor condition. The church too was described as one of the dirtiest in the kingdom; indicative of a situation bordering on desuetude. Consequently, the church's music generally and in particular the organ's status and value were neglected, a state of affairs not lost on one correspondent who found the string of more or less competent organists and indifference on the part of the clergy and Corporation no longer tolerable:

When it is considered how powerful is the influence of sacred music; what an auxiliary it is to the Catholic Religion, *and how it has, to use the mildest terms, been neglected in every respect in Yarmouth church,* [author's italics] I am justified in now calling the attention of our honourable and much esteemed Minister, and the Mayor & Council to the subject.⁶⁰⁷

When voices were raised calling for the organ to be repaired in 1844 following George Warne's appointment, the memory of its past status was rekindled and, so it was thought, that status could be resurrected. To an extent, Warne was able to give substance to that hope though the condition of the building prevented the use of the organ for a significant part of his tenure; services were conducted in the chancel. Since the maintenance of that status also depended to some extent on attention being drawn to the organ through people seeing and hearing it, continuity was lost and his departure in 1850 came after a period of disappointment.

⁶⁰⁷ *NorChron*, 26 December 1840, p. 3.

Stonex, young, enthusiastic and competent, soon drew attention to problems arising from having opened up the church to almost its floor area before the Commonwealth. With that, the focus of the liturgy became remote from the organ. As far as the Church was concerned, attributes such as artistic worth and identity were secondary to practicalities regarding choral accompaniment and an eastward location of the liturgical stage. Despite questions being asked, none of these practicalities took much account of whether the organ – Jordan's instrument – was actually suitable for its new role and, for that matter, whether that should have been asked of it, in other words whether it should have been left alone rather than attempt a reconstruction, and a new organ provided for the job. As Henry Hansell, proctor in the Consistory Court case of 1869, pointed out, a small choir organ would be adequate and as a correspondent to the *Yarmouth Independent* wrote three years later, after the Hill reconstruction:

As an advocate for [the organ's] old quarters [position] ... Let our ancient friend be really restored, and he will charm as of yore, and if [the choir must have] their accompanist near them, let a small choir organ be erected for the purpose, using the larger instrument for voluntaries only. Had this been done instead of the last mistaken removal, I believe considerable saving would have been effected.⁶⁰⁸

Contemporary accounts of services and the writings of the various incumbents indicate the congregation was not inclined to join in the singing, leaving it to the clergy and choir. However, so wedded was the parish to the idea of the Jordan organ as *the* instrument to do all the work, that it did not occur that a second one might have been more suitable. Significant was a set of associations where the primacy of the choir and liturgy had to be seen to be upheld and adorned by objects which reflected the 'glory' of what took place at the altar. A parallel may be found, for example, in the almost overbearing sumptuousness of baroque altarpieces in the churches of southern

⁶⁰⁸ Hansell: *NorChron*, 16 January 1869, p. 3; *YI*, 21 December 1872, p. 3.

Germany.⁶⁰⁹ A small choir organ would have smacked of parsimony, detracting from the centrality of a choral based liturgy – everything associated with it had to be of similar value, magnifying the proceedings, not detracting from them. Which is why the Jordan organ with all its associations had to be used. However, the argument that it should be revered like an old master did not sit easily alongside Victorian belief in progress and the advancement of science. As the eminent Anglican theologian and naturalist, Charles Kingsley, wrote to Charles Darwin on the publication of his 'Origin of Species...'

From two common superstitions, at least, I shall be free, while judging of your book. 1) I have long since, from watching the crossing of domesticated animals & plants, learnt to disbelieve the dogma of the permanence of species.³ 2). I have gradually learnt to see that it is just as noble a conception of Deity, to believe that he created primal forms capable of self development into all forms needful pro tempore & pro loco, as to believe that He required a fresh act of inter-vention to supply the lacunas w^h. he himself had made.⁴ I question whether the former be not the loftier thought...⁶¹⁰

And by inference, that permanence in man-made objects was also no longer a given and that change to suit altered circumstances was also possible and 'needful'.

Society was beginning to discover that comfortable living for the masses was a real possibility. For too long it had been yearned for yet thought unattainable. Now it was a reality and the same line of thought could be applied to objects such as organs. It was a mindset which had not yet learnt how to accommodate old masters and the benefits of progress at the same time. As the editor of the then new periodical

Engineering - wrote in 1866:

Engineering has done more than war and diplomacy; it has done more than the Church and the Universities; it has done more than abstract philosophy and literature. It has done... more than our laws have done...

⁶⁰⁹ The Monastery Church of the Holy Trinity, Ottobeuren, and the Minster at Zwiefalten (south east of Stuttgart) are two examples.

⁶¹⁰ University of Cambridge: Darwin Correspondence Project, *Letter no. 2534*, <<https://www.darwinproject.ac.uk/letter/DCP-LETT-2534.xml>> [accessed 30 May 2017]

to change society. We have reached an age of luxury, but without effeminacy. Few of our middle class... could be induced to exchange their homes and appliances for comfort for the noblest villas of ancient Rome.⁶¹¹

Preston's acknowledgement of the debt owed to old masters was not a debt universally recognized, and so the organ was sacrificed for the supposedly greater good of contemporary liturgical necessity.

When the matter was being debated in the 1860's, much of the impetus for enlargement came from Henry Smart. Smart thought he was dealing with a client of means with the potential to realise another project to his own satisfaction. Yet when the restoration committee began to slice away at the budget, his initial impression of the available largesse was proved wrong. Worse still, he appears to have been persuaded to acquiesce to the organ being placed in the North Transept even though he knew that it was the least environmentally favourable location (Smart is later said to have referred to the North Transept as the 'hole' and that the organ should be moved out of it),⁶¹² a point referred to by Henry Hansell, proctor for the defendants, in his remarks to the Consistory Court on 11th January 1869 and subsequently echoed in the musical press.⁶¹³ Preston did his best to counter Smart's arguments but was outflanked simply because he did not have the necessary technical and musical knowledge.

In terms of what we might understand as conservation, it is surprising that Jardine's proposal received any consideration at all. It did because the thought of making the organ larger and more powerful fitted with the latest mechanical aids, and the instrument's being re-located to suit liturgical requirement seemed an attractive

⁶¹¹ Quoted in Asa Briggs, *A Social History of England*, (London: Book Club Associates, 1983), p. 190.

⁶¹² Smart's comment was heard at a meeting of the Yarmouth Vestry reported in the *Yarmouth Independent*, 19 April 1873.

⁶¹³ *NorChron*, 16 January 1869, p. 3; The *Yarmouth Independent* subsequently published a number of letters which had appeared in the *Musical Standard* on the same subject, see, for example, *YI*, 25 March 1871, p. 3.

proposition; it accorded with a popular perception of significance, symbolic worth and progress. What did not register was that, had the Jardine scheme gone ahead, the concept of the organ as a lasting physical entity would have been heavily compromised. Fortunately, Hill's reconstruction did preserve much of the original, if only on grounds of cost and because there were voices which at least wished to preserve the pipework. Stonex's views are not recorded except in broad terms even though he was a member of the restoration committee, and it is interesting to conjecture what his reaction might have been if only the most minimal alterations had been made to provide the organ, for example, with a separate Pedal division of 29 or 30 notes, C-compass Swell organ, an enlarged complement of mechanical couplers and registration aids.⁶¹⁴

There were voices of support: the London organist, name unknown, who found 'meddle and muddle' had been at work, who saw the absurdity of consigning an instrument, supposedly the Borough's jewel in the crown, to the North Transept where it could only be seen from one viewpoint; someone who understood the destructive potential of 'fashion, obstinacy, or ritualistic leaning' when applied to 'so magnificent and rare-toned an organ';⁶¹⁵ Hansell quoting a correspondent who complained of Willis's rebuilding of the St Paul's Cathedral organ in 1862, 'raging furiously' yet 'utterly ineffective' in the main part of the building, swamping the singers in the choir.

After the first move in 1869, Stonex himself had to contend with the disadvantages of putting the organ in the North Transept when, in April 1873 during a debate about the organ's deteriorating condition, he suggested a location, together with the choir, in the nave west of the reading desk enabling it to be seen and heard well by both choir and congregation. Despite support from the Vestry, he was overruled and

⁶¹⁴ NRO DN/CON 140. Stonex's affidavit sworn before the Consistory Court, 19 December 1868, is as much as we can tell of his views on organs based on his experience at Yarmouth.

⁶¹⁵ *Musical Standard*, vol 23, 20 August 1870, p. 70.

though there is no direct evidence for it, it can only be presumed for ideological reasons.⁶¹⁶

Smart, given his reputation, could have warned the church that it risked damaging the organ if it were placed in the North Transept. Yet his subsequent letter to the Committee congratulating them on Hill's rebuild appears as an attempt to divert their attention away from potential failure, particularly in the light of his subsequent remarks on hearing the organ had indeed failed. It also suggests, though we have no direct evidence for it, that Smart had been leant on very heavily by the committee to go along with the north transept position despite all the warnings to the contrary.

At this point, other elements come to the fore such as the lack of a consistent approach to building maintenance. This is highlighted for example by the fact that canon law at the time required that churches be surveyed once every three years and any defects reported by either the Dean, Dean and Chapter, Archdeacon, and any other in authority. Churchwardens could be compelled to make the repairs but without particular consideration of what might occur to the building as a result and without necessarily employing an architect.⁶¹⁷ For these reasons, without a regular and detailed inspection by a qualified individual, problems could develop unseen to the point where other elements such as organs suffered in consequence, for example, from long-term ingress of rainwater or dampness. This was exactly the case at St Nicholas after the 1875 organ rebuilding. It did not occur to the church authorities to ensure that the chancel aisle roofs were sound before installing the organ there. It was not until 1955 that a statutory requirement of inspection of a church's fabric and significant goods every five years by an architect and repairs undertaken in an appropriate manner, came into force.⁶¹⁸

⁶¹⁶ *YL*, 19 April, 1873, p. 5.

⁶¹⁷ Canon LXXXVI 1604. <<http://www.anglican.net/doctrines/1604-canon-law/#p1-5>> [accessed 11.04.2017]

⁶¹⁸ Inspection of Churches Measure 1955, No. 1, 3 and 4 Eliz. 2

Today, at a time when strenuous efforts are being made to restore and recapture what little we have surviving of old masterpieces of organ building, Edward Harbord Lushington Preston, mayor of Great Yarmouth, is revealed as someone who had a greater innate understanding of the intrinsic value of the organ than many others supposedly better qualified. He understood that the attributes of the organ, in the long term, resided in its physicality and not in an object which had been reduced to a few minor aides-memoire of something long past but was otherwise a very different instrument. Binns' reconstruction of 1903, while remaining clearly an organ as conventionally understood (as opposed to the reworking proposed at the hands of Hope-Jones) had little in common with the Jordan instrument.⁶¹⁹ Haydon Hare's dismissal of the Jordan Diapasons as 'very sweet... but of very small scale' and his desire for 'the grand full tone of a real cathedral organ' together with an insistence on 'large quantities of wind and heavy wind pressures' as being 'most important necessities' are indicative of the organ it had become.⁶²⁰ There is no doubt, however, that the Binns instrument was excellent in its own right and that Haydon Hare's stipulation that the organ, 'must have a super-abundance of Foundation (Diapason) tone, in fact exceptionally so...' would have flooded the building with Diapason tone (the Great had four ranks of unison Open Diapasons with the first on six inches wind pressure).⁶²¹ But continuity had been lost and what had been the famed organ in St Nicholas was, in reality, a succession of different instruments, each one's link with its predecessor becoming more and more tenuous until finally the link was broken and the original claim to fame had to be fundamentally re-evaluated.

⁶¹⁹ NRO PD28/233 Minutes of the Restoration Committee fols. 20-21. The minutes of the Restoration Committee are sketchy and require further research but Hope-Jones' proposals involved electric action, Diaphones and use of the 'larger wooden pipes' implying the rest of the pipework would be new. The organ was to be placed under the North Tower arch.

⁶²⁰ NRO PD 28/233, fol. 39, meeting held 3 June 1898.

⁶²¹ NRO PD 28/233 fol. 39; *MT*, 1 August 1907, no.774, pp. 514-515.

The flaw in the process, if a flaw it was, was the criteria upon which comparisons were made. Throughout, Preston's comparison with an old master was not felt to have any real validity. Smart did say that all the old pipes would be scrupulously preserved and the organ committee were at pains to ensure that too, but his suggestion of Jardine to do the work in 1869 and the wholesale reconstruction that would have entailed showed where his sympathies lay; all were in the hands of the tradesmen who rebuilt it and who, by and large, had to give the parish something for its money so that the notion of 'scrupulous' preservation of old material lacked any real substance. The organ was ultimately a utility object that also had to fulfil the role of being 'one of the finest organs in the country'. Maintaining that role was to prove its undoing.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Specifications: The Organ 1733 - 1875.

1733 Specification

Great:

Open Diapason I
Open Diapason II
Stopped Diapason
Principal
Twelfth
Fifteenth
Tierce
Furniture III rks
Sesquialtera V rks
Cornet V rks
Trumpet I
Trumpet II
Clarion

Swell:

Open Diapason
Stopped Diapason
Principal
Cornet III rks
Trumpet
French Horn
Clarion

Choir:

Open Diapason wood
Stopped Diapason
Principal
Stopped Flute
Vox Humana I
Vox Humana II

Compass:

Great and Choir: GG, AA – d^{'''} 55 notes
Swell: C – d^{'''} 39 notes

Specification B after repair and additions by G P England, 1812

Great:

Open Diapason I
Open Diapason II
Stopped Diapason
Principal
Twelfth
Fifteenth
Tierce
Furniture III rks
Sesquialtera V rks
Cornet V rks
Trumpet I
Trumpet II
Clarion

Swell:

Open Diapason
Stopped Diapason
Principal
Cornet III rks
Trumpet
French Horn
Clarion

Choir:

Open Diapason
Stopped Diapason
Principal
Stopped Flute
Mixture II rks
Vox Humana I
Vox Humana II

Pedal:

Pedal Pipes GG – BB unison (8'), C – c double (16')

Compass:

Great and Choir:	GG, AA – f'''	58 notes
Swell:	C – d'''	42 notes
Pedal:	GG, AA – c	17 notes

Additional work:

Three new key sets. †
Bellows releathered. †
Additional wind trunk to supplement existing one considered inadequate.
Manual compass extended by three notes to f'''. †
Choir key action rebuilt with roller movement instead of backfalls †
Front pipes regilded. †
Fifteen front pipes replaced. †*
Mixture II rks added to the Choir.*
Pedal Pipes. *†

Price: 320 gns.

Specification C after repair and additions by Gray & Davison, 1844.⁶²²

Great:

Open Diapason	}	Hopkins & Rimbault refer to these as 'Open in front' and 'inside'.
Open Diapason	}	The scales at G are 7" (in front) and 7¼" (inside). †
Stopped Diapason		metal treble
Principal		
Twelfth		
Fifteenth		
Tierce		
Mixture	III rks	
Sesquialtera	V rks	
Cornet	V rks	
Trumpet I		
Trumpet II		
Clarion		

⁶²² These specifications are taken from an article which appeared in a supplement to the *Norfolk Chronicle* 21 September 1844. It would appear this is the earliest record of the organ including the changes made to it up to and including Gray & Davison's work of 1844 since the Gray & Davison shopbook from this period does not mention Great Yarmouth and the accounts give no details beyond a general description and the sums paid and by whom.

Swell:

Open Diapason
Stopped Diapason to C metal from c†
Principal
Sesquialtera III rks†*
Trumpet
French Horn
Clarion

Choir:

Open Diapason metal, new, from G (gamut G)†*
Stopped Diapason metal from c
Principal
Stopped Flute metal treble
Fifteenth†
Mixture II rks
Cremona from g

Pedal:

Great Open Diapason 21½ wood (new on separate chest)
GG – 21½" x 25" *
Small Open Diapason 16 wood (England, known locally as England's
Violone) C – 7½" x 9" †

Couplers:

Swell to Great
Great to Pedal
Choir to Pedal
Double Diapason to Manual (this coupled up England's Pedal Pipes presumably
to the Great, so forming a manual bass)*

Compass:

Great and Choir: GG– f''' 58 notes (59 notes if GG# is included
to match reported pedal compass)
Swell: C – f''' 54 notes
Pedal: GG – c 18 notes

Accessories:

three composition pedals to Great (inserted by Henry Smart in 1835).

Additional work:

1. two new 'horizontal' bellows 12' x 6' 8" in place of original wedge
bellows.*

2. New pipes to lowest octave of 'inner' Open Diapason *
3. Choir Open Diapason new metal pipes from Gamut G (5 1/3') to replace wooden pipes.*
4. Vox Humanas removed from Choir (Smart states that both ranks were removed as being 'of the vilest description'^{623 624}). Cremona inserted. Hopkins & Rimbault note a Fifteenth was inserted on the other slide which is corroborated by Smart who would have kept one if only to show how bad the stop was. The Norfolk Chronicle report suggests one Vox Humana was retained but this is probably erroneous since no documented revisions were undertaken to the organ between 1844 and 1869.†*
5. Bass octave to Swell inserted – box deepened 'as well as widening it at the back by a foot to receive the larger pipes '† [these dimensions suggest the insertion of just a Stopped Diapason Bass rather than a full scale completion of all the ranks].
6. Swell Cornet replaced with a Sesquialtera III rks.*†
7. Additional set of pallets to lowest octave of Great to improve winding.†

Cost £364 15s 2d including interest on the bill which was not settled in full until June 1848.⁶²⁵

**Norfolk Chronicle*; †Hopkins & Rimbault, 1st edition 1855 Appendix no. 260 p.538-539

⁶²³ *YI*, 28 March 1868, p. 8.

⁶²⁴ BOA, Gray & Davison Accounts 1827-28, vol. 1 p. 57. Gray & Davisons' account for 1827 for work done to the St George's Chapel organ also saw the removal of the Vox Humana in that organ together with a German Flute. They were replaced with a Dulciana and Fifteenth suggesting that here, as at St Nicholas, the Vox Humana had been less than satisfactory.

⁶²⁵ BOA, Gray & Davison Accounts 1844-48, vol. 4, p. 251.

The Organ - 1869

Specification A of Jardine's proposal:

New stops marked *

Great:

1. Double Open Diapason	16'* metal A
2. Bourdon	16'* wood [the original gives this at 8' pitch but must be an error in transcription]
3. Open Diapason [1]	8'
4. Open Diapason [2]	8'
5. Stopped Diapason	8'
6. Gamba	8'* (strong), metal
7. Harmonic Flute	8'* metal to fiddle G, wood below
8. Quint	6'* metal
9. Principal	4'* (large scale) metal
10. Principal	4'
11. Harmonic Flute	4'* metal to tenor C, wood below
12. Twelfth	3'
13. Fifteenth	2'
14. Tierce	1 $\frac{2}{3}$
15. Sesquialtera	V rks
16. Mixture	III rks
17. Cornet	V rks from Fiddle G upwards B
18. Contra Trombone	16' C
19. Posaune	8'*
20. Trumpet	8'
21. Clarion	4'

Swell:

22. Bourdon	16'* wood
23. Open Diapason	8'
24. Höhl Flute[sic]	8'* wood
25. Salcional [sic]	8'* tenor C metal grooved below tenor c into Höhl Flute
26. Principal	4'
27. Flute	4' D
28. Twelfth	3'*
29. Fifteenth	2'* metal
30. Piccolo	2'* open, wood
31. Mixture	
32. Oboe	8'* metal
33. Horn	8' "
34. Trumpet	8' "
35. Voix Humaine	8'* "
36. Clarion	4' "

Choir:

37. Lieblich Bourdon	16'* wood
38. Open Diapason	8'
39. Dulciana	8'* metal
40. Viol de Gamba	8'* metal to tenor C grooved below tenor C into Dulciana
41. Stopped Diapason	8'
42. Principal	4'
43. Flute	4'
44. Clear Flute	4'* wood (open)
45. Fifteenth	2'
46. Mixture	
47. Clarinet	8'* metal

Pedal:

48. Double Open Diapason	32' wood E
49. Open Diapason	16'* " F
50. Open Diapason	16' " G
51. Open Diapason	16'* metal H
52. Principal	8'* wood
53. Principal	8'* metal
54. Mixture	2 ranks* 12 th & 15 th metal
55. Mixture	3 ranks* 17 th , 19 th & 22 nd metal
56. Trombone	16'* 'striking' reed wood throughout
57. Posaune	8'* (large scale) metal

Couplers:

Swell to Great
Swell octave to Great
Swell suboctave to Great
Choir to Great
Swell to Pedal
Great to Pedal
Choir to Pedal

Compass:

manual: CC to G in alt. 56 notes
pedal: CCC to F. 30 notes

Accessories:

Four composition pedals each to Great and Swell

Ventil pedal to admit and cut off wind to stops nos. 2,6,7,8,9,11,17,18,19 [the remaining stops effectively constituted the Jordan Great organ, the arrangement being, presumably, Smart's idea that it would be possible to show how it sounded in comparison with the Jardine rebuild by simply operating the pedal. It would have entailed two soundboards on the Great, an arrangement which would have been unthinkable without Smart's 'Pneumatic Apparatus'. It also omitted one important constituent namely the Cornet, but this was proposed to be remodelled anyway.]

Remarks on the foregoing stops:

- A. This stop to be metal as far down as the lowest note that may be required to stand in proposed new tower of the case and thence wood.
- B. This stop to be remodelled from the present mounted cornet as follows- it is to commence at Fiddle G instead of Middle C as at present, and to consist of 5 ranks namely Open Diapasons, Principal, Twelfth, Fifteenth and Octave Twelfth. The metal Stop Diapason forming the present first rank, to be disposed of as hereafter mentioned.
- C. This stop to consist of the smaller of the two present Great organ Trumpets transposed an octave downwards and with the addition of all the requisite new pipes down to CCC and up to G in alt.
- D. This stop to be the present first rank of the great organ mounted Cornet transposed to 4 feet pitch and with new pipes carried down to CC in wood and to G in alt in metal.
- E.† This stop to consist of the present pedal pipes by Gray, lengthened to the 32 feet pitch (thus the present GGG pipe to be lengthened to CCCC and so on) and the remaining pipes to the upper F to be new.
- F.† The CCC pipe of this stop to be 13 ins x 11 inside measure.
- G.† This stop to consist of the present small pedal pipes by England completed upwards by new pipes.
- H.† The lowest octave of this stop to be made of the best Vielle Montague [sic]⁶²⁶ ⁶²⁷ zinc very solid and with mouths and languids of metal.

⁶²⁶ The transcript of Jardine's proposal in the minute book omits these items within the specification (transcription error) so that it has been necessary to surmise which registers they refer to in the following remarks.

⁶²⁷ A misreading of Vieille Montagne. This was a zinc mine located in Belgium and well known for the production of high quality zinc throughout the 19th century...
<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vieille_Montagne> [accessed 15/11/2017]

Hill & Son

Hill & Son's initial specification is contained in both the affidavit sworn on 14 December 1868 and in the company's estimate book for 1868.^{628 629} The cost was put at £600 for which the church was to receive an instrument of 38 stops of which four were prepared, which made as much use of existing material as practicable and was considerably smaller than the Jardine proposal. As will be shown later, it was eventually decided to expand it for a further £200 to something more nearly approaching Jardine's though without being quite so heroic.

Hill & Sons' estimate book from December 8th, 1868, quoted for the following:

Great:

1. Double Diapason	16'* metal with CC – F# stopped wood
2. Open Diapason	8'
3. Open Diapason	8'
4. Stopped Diapason	8'
5. Principal	4' } ⁶³⁰
6. Octave	4'*}
7. Twelfth	3' [sic]
8. Fifteenth	2'
9. Tierce	1½ [sic]
10. Sesquialtera	5 rks
11. Mixture	3 rks
12. Cornet	5 rks
13. Double Trumpet	16'*
14. Trumpet	8'
15. Trumpet	8'
16. Clarion	4'

Swell:

17. Lieblich Bourdon	16'*
18. Open Diapason	8'

⁶²⁸ NRO DN/Con140

⁶²⁹ BOA, Hill Estimate Book 2, January 1862 - May 1877, pp. 46, 60.

⁶³⁰ The affidavit and estimate book differ as to whether the Principal or the Octave was the new register. It is likely to have been the Octave, the customary nomenclature being retained for the existing Jordan register.

19. Stopped Diapason	8'
20. Principal	4'
21. Mixture	4 rks. 15.17.19.22 (remodelled to increase scale)
22. Oboe	8'*
23. Horn	8'
24. Trumpet	8'
25. Clarion	4'

Choir:

26. Open Diapason	8'
27. Dulciana	8'*
28. Stopped Diapason	8'
29. Principal	4'
30. Flute	4'
31. Fifteenth	2'
32. Mixture	[not specified]
33. Clarinet	8' Cremona extended to CC

Pedal:

34. Double Open Wood	32' (existing Gray pipes lengthened from GGG to CCCC)
35. Open Wood	16'*
36. Violoncello	16' (part England, part new)
37. Principal	8'
38. Trombone	16'

Couplers:

Swell to Great
 Swell to Choir
 Swell to Pedal
 Great to Pedal
 Choir to Pedal

Compass:

manual: CC to F in alt 54 notes
 pedal: CCC to F 30 notes

Accessories:

4 combination levers to Great
 2 combination levers to Swell

* - new stops

In order to reduce cost, Hill's scheme required only one new manual soundboard for the Great and two new soundboards for the Pedal (the 32' Open Wood was to be placed on its own). The compass was restricted to 54 notes from C – f''' which would have been considered old-fashioned even then, particularly in an organ of this size when new instruments were being built to the more usual 56, and in some cases, 58 note compass.⁶³¹ As previously noted, the original Great organ soundboard did duty for the Choir leaving the option, supposedly, of five vacant slides being available for additional registers. Elsewhere, the Swell organ was to retain its soundboard enlarged to accommodate the Lieblich Bourdon and the Oboe, and its compass extended upwards from D to F in alt (it was already of CC compass). The mixture was to be rescaled and have its composition altered with the addition of a fourth rank (presumably the 22nd). The swellbox itself was to be renewed. The Pedal organ was new in concept in so far as, while limited in variety and power for an organ of this size and in such a building, it was of 'modern' compass and capable of being coupled to all three manuals.

Nonetheless, for an instrument which had to do duty both for church music and recitals, the requirement that all the original pipework had to be retained as far as practicable would have acted very much as a brake on any real development of the organ without the substantial additions and reworking along the lines first put forward by Smart and Frederick Jardine. In the event, between Hill's estimate of December 1868 and the instrument as finally reconstructed there was a considerable difference. The minutes of the restoration committee meeting of 1st February 1869, immediately after the grant of the faculty, record Henry Stonex's great regret that a further £200 could not be expended, 'as that would render it a much finer instrument in every respect.' It was

⁶³¹ There is the possibility Hill removed England's compass extension of 1812 so bringing the soundboards back to their original number of notes to better make use of bar and pallet widths in the bass especially given that a new Double Diapason was being added. This would have also saved money on extra pipes being needed for top notes.

his belief that the Town would want to see the organ as perfect as possible and that further subscriptions would be forthcoming. It was agreed, therefore, that Stonex should meet with Henry Smart and Hill & Son to discuss what additions might be made for the extra sum.⁶³²

⁶³² Mr Preston suggested that Mr W C Mack might be appointed to superintend the work to which the committee secretary, Mr C J Palmer replied that he doubted whether Hill would allow his work to be superintended by Mack or any other local man. As if to underscore Henry Stonex's role in the matter, the chairman, Reverend H R Nevill said that he, Stonex, would watch the progress of the work and check anything not in accordance with the specification.

The final specification was as follows:

Great:

1. Double Diapason	16'* metal with CC – F# stopped wood
2. Open Diapason	8'
3. Open Diapason	8'
4. Stopped Diapason	8'
5. Gamba	8'†
6. Principal	4' } ⁶³³
7. Principal	4'* }
8. Twelfth	3' [sic]
9. Fifteenth	2'
10. Tierce	1½ [sic]
11. Sesquialtera	5 rks
12. Mixture	3 rks
12. Cornet	5 rks
13. Double Trumpet	16'*
14. Posaune	8'
15. Trumpet	8'
16. Clarion	4'

Swell:

17. Lieblich Bourdon	16'*
18. Open Diapason	8'
19. Stopped Diapason	8'
20. Gamba	8'*
20. Principal	4'
21. Suabe Flute	4'*
22. Fifteenth	2'*
23. Piccolo	2'*
24. Mixture	4 rks. 15.17.19.22 (remodelled to increase scale)
25. Contra Fagotto	16'†
26. Horn	8'
27. Trumpet	8'
28. Oboe	8'*
29. Voix Humaine	8'*
30. Clarion	4'
Tremulant	

Choir:

31. Lieblich Bourdon	16'†
32. Open Diapason	8'
33. Dulciana	8'*

⁶³³ The affidavit and estimate book differ as to whether the Principal or the Octave was the new register. It is likely to have been the Octave, the customary nomenclature being retained for the existing Jordan register.

34. Stopped Diapason	8'
35. Claribella	8'†
36. Principal	4'
37. Flute	4'
38. Fifteenth	2'
39. Mixture	2 rks.
40. Clarionet	8' Cremona extended to CC

Pedal:

42. Double Open Wood	32' (existing Gray pipes lengthened from GGG to CCCC)
43. Open Wood	16'*
44. Violoncello	16' (part England, part new)
45. Principal	8'
46. Trombone	16'*

Couplers:

Swell to Great
 Swell suboctave to Great
 Swell to Choir
 Swell to Pedal
 Great to Pedal
 Choir to Pedal

Compass:

manual: CC to F in alt 54 notes
 pedal: CCC to F 30 notes

Accessories:

4 combination levers to Great
 2 combination levers to Swell
 Full Organ pedal

* - new stops
 † - prepared for

1875 The Bishop Specification:

Adjusted Estimate 16 November 1874

1. Remove the Organ at St Nicholas' Church G^t Yarmouth, dividing the same and placing the Great organ and the 32 ft Open in the present case on the N side of the chancel with a new bellows to supply it (carrying round the impost in Deal,) and placing the Double Open Diapason, Open Diapason and part of the 32 ft Open in Prospect pipes and quiet the 32 ft sound board pallets by cutting away the wood.
 2. Fit up all the keyboards with the Swell, Choir and part of the Pedal organ on the south side.
 3. Remake the G^t Organ Rollerboards, refit trunks, trackers, drawstops, compositions, &c. bringing nearly the whole of the mechanism home for the purpose. Connect the North side with the keyboards by an extended form of our Patent Pneumatic action and iron piping passing underground. Pneumatic bellows to supply the highly compressed air to act on the valve pallets attached to each key and drawstop &c. on the North side. The action to be noiseless and not liable to derangement and easy to the touch.
 4. New Choir Organ Soundboard of ten sliders in place of the present old and very defective one. New one to be of Mahogany and leathered.
 5. Repallet Swell soundboard.
 6. Harmonic Flute 4 ft to be added to Great Organ in lieu of Tierce to CC.
 7. Convert the Swell Horn (which too closely resembles the Trumpet) into a Double Horn adding a 16 ft bass; add new Horn of very large scale in place of it.
- The whole of the above to be carried out in the most artistic and workmanlike mode to include all expenses of carriage, removal, fixing &c. (the place and the platform for the Organ and iron piping being prepared to receive them for the sum of nine hundred pounds £900. exclusive of the iron piping required.

Great Organ:

1. Double Open Diapason Metal
2. Open Diapason Large
3. Open Diapason small
4. Gamba or Viola to be given by Mr Stonex
5. Stopped Diapason, metal trebles (Clarabella*)
6. Principal large
7. Principal small
8. Twelfth
9. Fifteenth
10. Harmonic Flute in lieu of Tierce
11. Mixture (3 ranks)
12. Sesquialtera (5 ranks)
13. Clarabella C in lieu of Cornet
14. Double Reed
15. Trumpet
16. Trumpet Small
17. Clarion

Choir Organ:

1. Open Diapason
2. Hohl Flute in place of metal St Diapason
3. Dulciana
4. Flute
5. Principal
6. Fifteenth
7. Cremona
8. Mixture
9. Salicional (prepared)
10. Orchestral Oboe (prepared)

Swell Organ:

1. Bourdon
2. Open Diapason
3. Stopped Diapason
4. Gamba
5. Principal
6. Suabe Flute
7. Piccolo
8. Fifteenth

9. Mixture (3 ranks)
10. Horn to be converted into Double Reed and bass supplied
11. Horn new of large scale
12. Trumpet
13. Hautboy
- Swell Organ cont.

14. Clarion
15. Vox Humana, in a distinct box to be placed at back of present box at the expense of Mr Stonex.

Pedal Organ:

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------|
| 1. Double Open Diapason | 32 feet |
| 2. Open Diapason | 16 " |
| 3. Violon | 16 " |
| 4. Principal | 8 " |
| 5. Trombone | 16 " |

...Bourdon 16ft...to be inserted at an extra cost of £50⁶³⁴

25 per cent tin to 75 Lead, pipes of the Gamba tone to be spotted metal. Front pipes to be of best Zinc with metal mouths.

The final specification as recorded in the *Yarmouth Independent*, 10 July 1875, including comments on the new stops and proposed additions. Noteworthy are the signals to the organ blowers on north and south sides.

Great Organ, CC to G, 56 notes

- | | | | |
|----|-------------------------|----|---|
| 1. | Double open Diapason | 16 | A,B |
| 2. | Open diapason, major | 8 | B |
| 3. | Ditto do. minor | | A |
| 4. | Stopped diapason, metal | 8 | A |
| 5. | Viola | 8 | Rich and powerful, string quality of tone, to which the spotted metal, of which it is composed, adds. C |
| 6. | Clarabella | 8 | Invented by J C Bishop. Thick flutey tone. C |
| 7. | Principal | 4 | B |

⁶³⁴ The entry in Bishop & Son's letter book is very faint and so could only be partially transcribed.

8.	Octave	4	A
9.	Harmonic Flute	4	Resembling the ordinary flute of the orchestra. C
10.	Twelfth	2 2/3	A
11.	Fifteenth	2	A
12.	Mixture 3 ranks	various	A
13.	Sesqui-altera 5 ranks	"	A
14.	Double Trumpet	16	A, B
15.	Trumpet, major	8	B
16.	Trumpet, small	8	A
17.	Clarion	4	A

Swell Organ, CC to G

1.	Double diapason	16	B
2.	Open diapason	8	A
3.	Gamba	8	Bright sparkling tone C
4.	Stopped diapason metal	8	A,D
5.	Voix celestes	8	Producing a beautiful undulating effect C
6.	Principal	4	A
7.	Suabe flute	4	B
8.	Fifteenth	2	A
9.	Piccolo	2	B
10.	Mixture 4 ranks	various	B,D
11.	Contra Fagotto	16	Adding to the depth of tone A,C,D
12.	Horn	8	Large and broad tone C
13.	Trumpet	8	A
14.	Hautboy	8	B
15.	Clarion	4	A
16.	Vox humana, in an inner box	8	... by which the effect of great distance is attained B
17.	Tremulant		..new... noiseless... in place of the former noisy one

Choir Organ, CC to G

1.	Open Diapason	8 feet	A,D
2.	Dulciana	8	B
3.	Hohl flute	8	Very clear, distinct tone... A,C
4.	Keraulophon	8	B
5.	Principal	4	A
6.	Flute	4	A
7.	Fifteenth	2	A
8.	Mixture 2 ranks but a 3 rd prepared. Third rank added 1877		A,B ⁶³⁵
9.	Cremona	8†	B,D
10.	Prepared slide for Orchestral Oboe		8† rank added 1877 C

⁶³⁵ *YI*, 6 October 1877, p. 5. The Orchestral Oboe, it states, was first heard in the voluntary played after the second lesson at Evening service on Wednesday, 3rd October 1877.

North Pedal Organ, CCC to F, 30 notes

- | | | |
|-------------------------|--|-----|
| 1. Double Open Diapason | 32 | B,D |
| 2. Grand Bourdon | 16 very large scale, adding much to the
profundity of this Organ. C | |

South Pedal Organ, CCC to F, 30 notes

- | | | |
|------------------|---------|-----|
| 1. Open Diapason | 16 feet | B |
| 2. Violon | 16 " | B,E |
| 3. Principal | 8 " | A,B |
| 4. Trombone | 16 " | B |
- Preparations for additions

Couplers:

1. Swell to Great
2. Swell octave
3. Swell Sub-octave
4. Swell to pedals
5. Great to pedals
6. Choir to pedals
7. Swell to choir

Ten Composition Pedals

Pneumatic communication to tremulant

Ditto bellows signal south side

Ditto do do north side

Swell crescendo by double pneumatic attachment.

Solo Organ – The keyboard and bellows are planted, but the wind chest and pipes not at present provided. The stops are intended to be of an entirely distinct character of tone, and adapted for leading Congregational singing.

† in separate swellbox.

Stop attributions:

A. Jordan

B. Hill & Son

C. Bishop & Son
D. Gray
E. G P England

Chancel Organ by W C Mack as built in 1885 ⁶³⁶

Great (probably enclosed except for the Open Diapason):

Open Diapason	8
Stopped Diapason	8
Viol di Gamba	8
Principal	4
Flute	4
Mixture	II rks 12.15.

Pedal:
Bourdon 16'

Compass:
manual: 56 notes C – g ^{'''}
pedal: 30 notes C – f

Two composition levers

⁶³⁶ See Hayden A 'Star Organ William Christmas Mack and St Mary's Sedgeford, Norfolk' The Organ, No 443 February 2008 pp 2-7; and from Norman & Beards' order book vol. 11 p. 62 job no. 827, 18 January 1907 'Parish Church, Great Yarmouth Reconstruction of Small Organ'.

Appendix B:

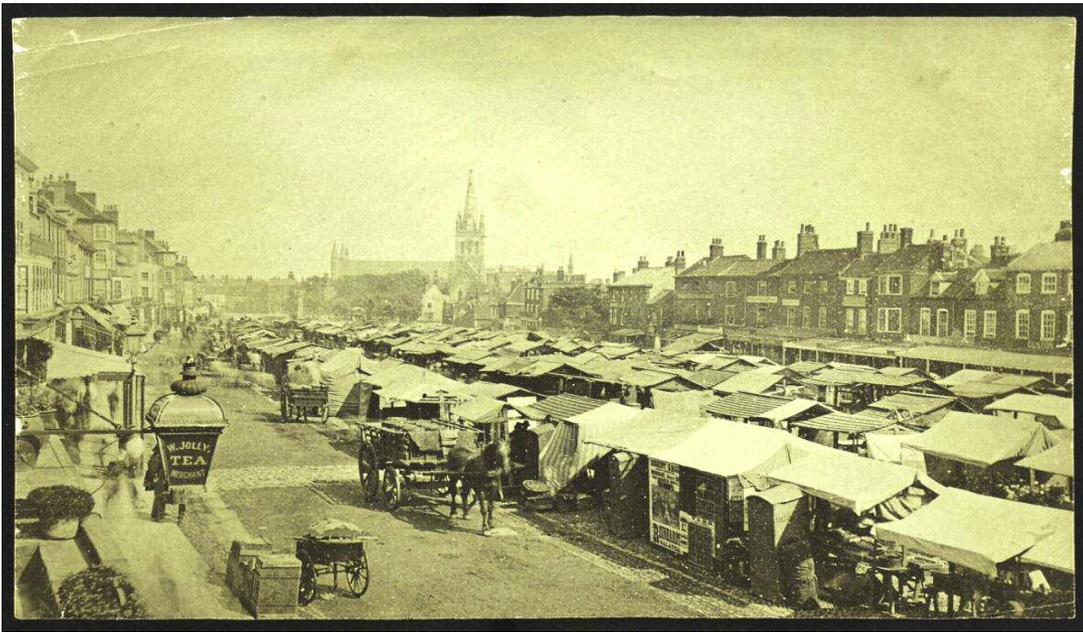
Letter from Henry Smart to the Restoration Committee, 5 February 1870.

Gentlemen, Your organ being now completed and erected in its place in the Church, I have to report that having carefully examined it throughout the progress of its construction and since its completion at Yarmouth I find that all the work has been done in complete accordance with my specification and to my entire satisfaction – I find further that Messrs. Hill having most faithfully and zealously executed their contract are in terms of their agreement with you, now entitled to receive 75 per cent of the balance remaining unpaid of the Contract sum of £800 together with the extra sum of £5 as recently agreed in Yarmouth and this I beg to certify accordingly.

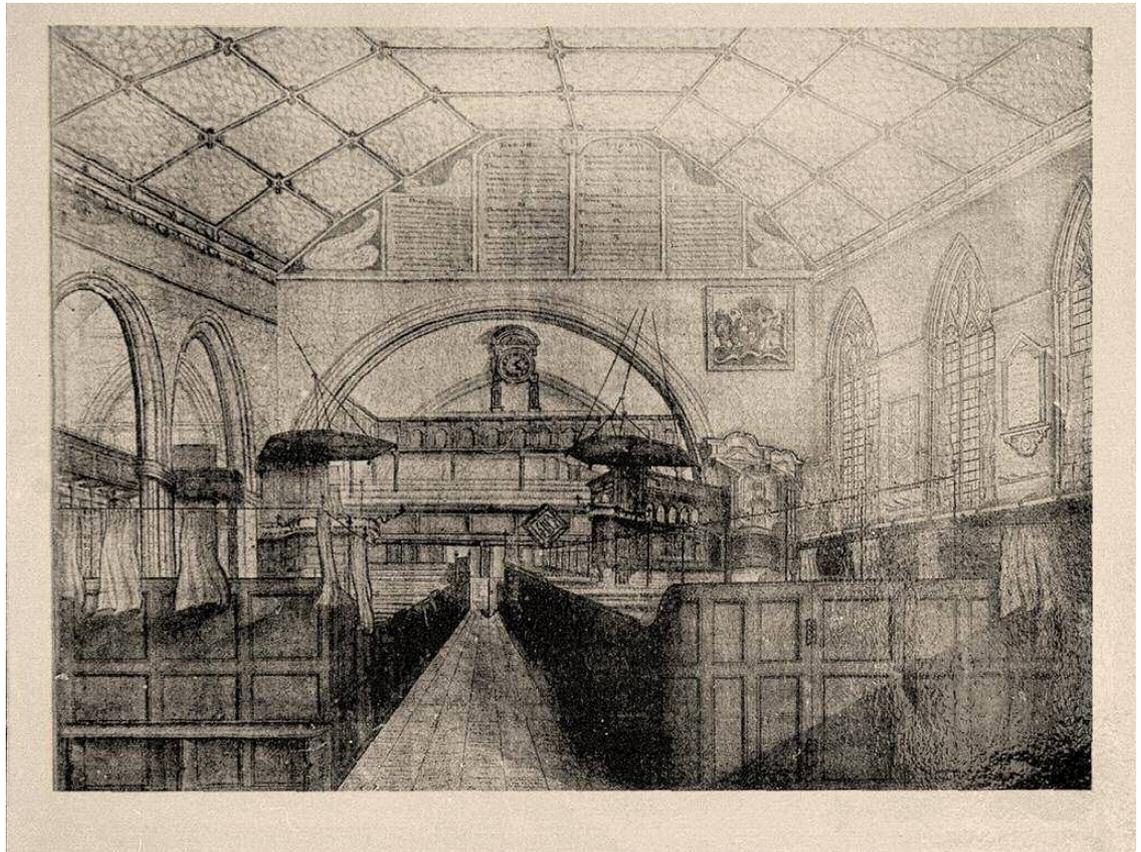
I cannot leave this subject without congratulating you on the Eminent Success of the work you have now completed. As I have known the Yarmouth organ for nearly 40 years and am intimately acquainted with the details of the repairs and additions it has at various times received, I am in a position to say that in no case have these (without reference to cost or extent) taken so right a direction as in the present. Everything really worth preserving in the original instrument and for which it might justly claim any excellence has been scrupulously retained, while all that was radically defective, whether arising from the action of time or from the imperfect mechanical knowledge of the original builders has been replaced by new work on the most modern principles and of the highest style of excellence. The Yarmouth organ may now justly be said to claim the same distinguished place, in its class, among the best modern instruments, which it formerly held among those dated a century and a half since. To bring it however, fully within the class of the largest and most noted instruments in this country, it still needs the addition of a certain number of stops; but as care has been taken to include in the present work all the necessary space and mechanical preparations for these additions

they can (with the exception of some of the Pedal stops) be introduced at any time without disturbing the existing arrangement and at but little more cost than that of the pipes themselves. Of the care and skill displayed by Messrs Hill in the performance of their contract I cannot speak too highly. All the mechanical work has been executed in a style far superior to the best of that usual among English organ builders and the voicing of the many new stops supplied by them leaves nothing whatever to be desired. It is necessary that I should direct the committee's attention to the fact that in two important items namely, an ingenious and costly contrivance for compensating the air pressure on the pallets or valves of the Great organ and an additional coupling stop between the Great and Swell organs Messrs. Hill have even exceeded their contract. Neither of these particulars is included in the specification, but the artistic feeling of the builders has induced them to do, at their own cost, what they thus thought desirable. As these two items were not specified by me, no claim for payment in respect of them can be supported and I do not believe that Messrs Hill have any intention of making such claim. But I may venture to suggest that the cost of the additions I have mentioned might be fairly and equitably defrayed by the committee should they at any time feel themselves in a position to entertain such a view. I am etc. H S. London 5th February 1870.

ILLUSTRATIONS



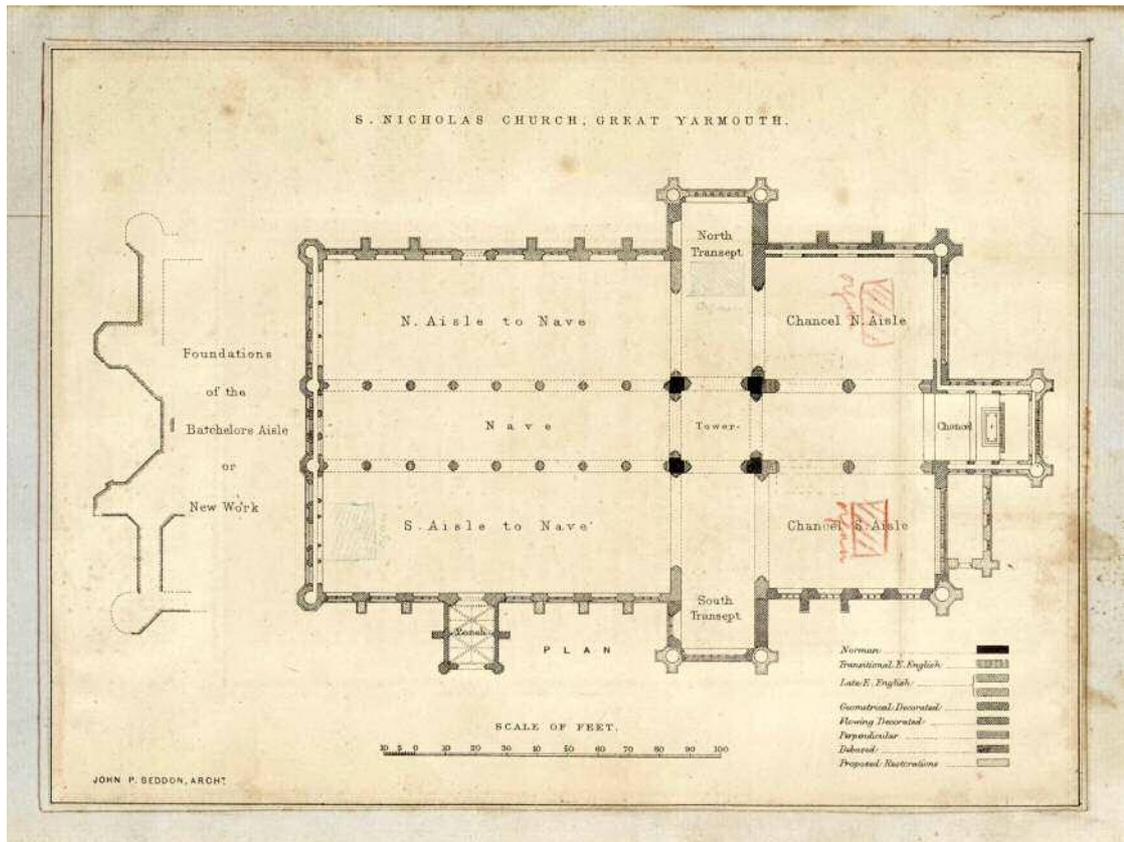
1. NRO Y/TC 86/12/77. Great Yarmouth Market Place ca. 1870 seen from the south showing the dominant position of St Nicholas's parish church at the north end.



2. C713/1185 - South aisle of St Nicholas Church, Great Yarmouth, in 1819 before the building was opened up. Right, the mayor's seat and alderman's gallery, and on the left, the Fisherman's gallery, and also the Lancastrian School gallery under the clock. From an oil painting by John Preston. Image courtesy of Norfolk County Council Library and Information Service.



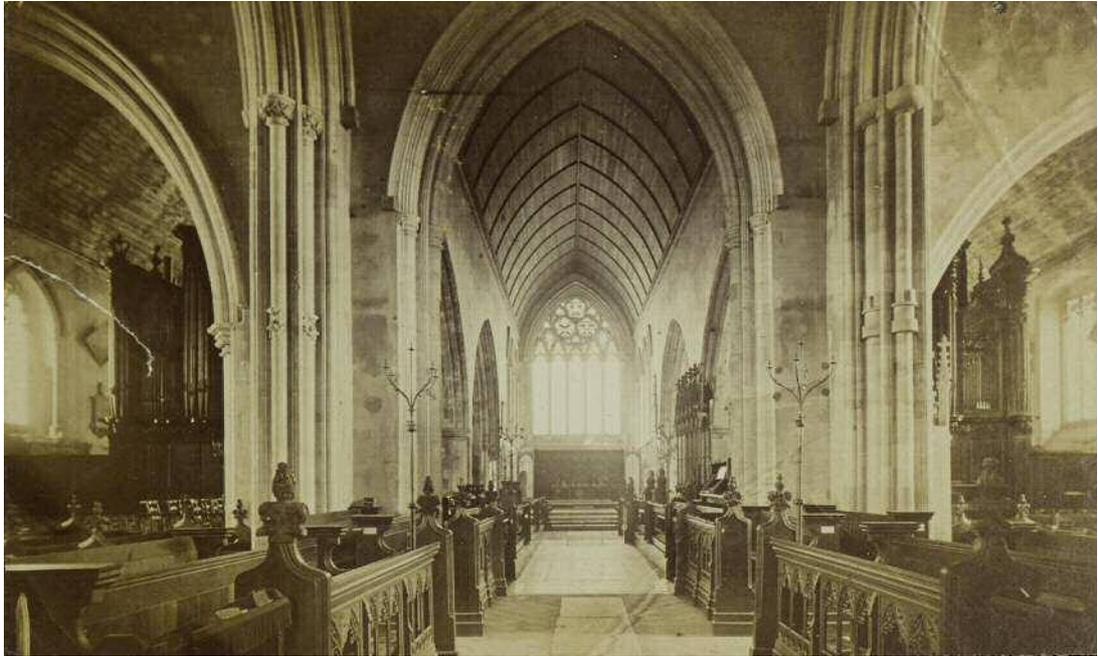
3. C713/1801 – Interior of St Nicholas from South Transept looking North West showing the organ in its original position at the West End of the South Aisle. Engraving by Rock & Co., 1860. Image courtesy of Norfolk County Council Library and Information Service.



4. NRO PD 28/232. Ground plan of St Nicholas' parish church drawn by J P Seddon (undated) showing the three locations of the organ.



5. NRO Y/TC 86/12/75. Interior from the South West corner of the church (undated but between 1870 and 1874). The organ after Hill's reconstruction is just visible through the third nave arcade from left.



6. NRO Y/TC 86/12/76. Interior of St Nicholas looking east from just forward of the crossing after 1875 showing the two organ cases positioned either side of the choir. The console is on the south side of the choir stalls. Some framing is visible over the console above the music desk where the Solo organ would have been placed. This was acoustically, the most advantageous position the instrument ever had.

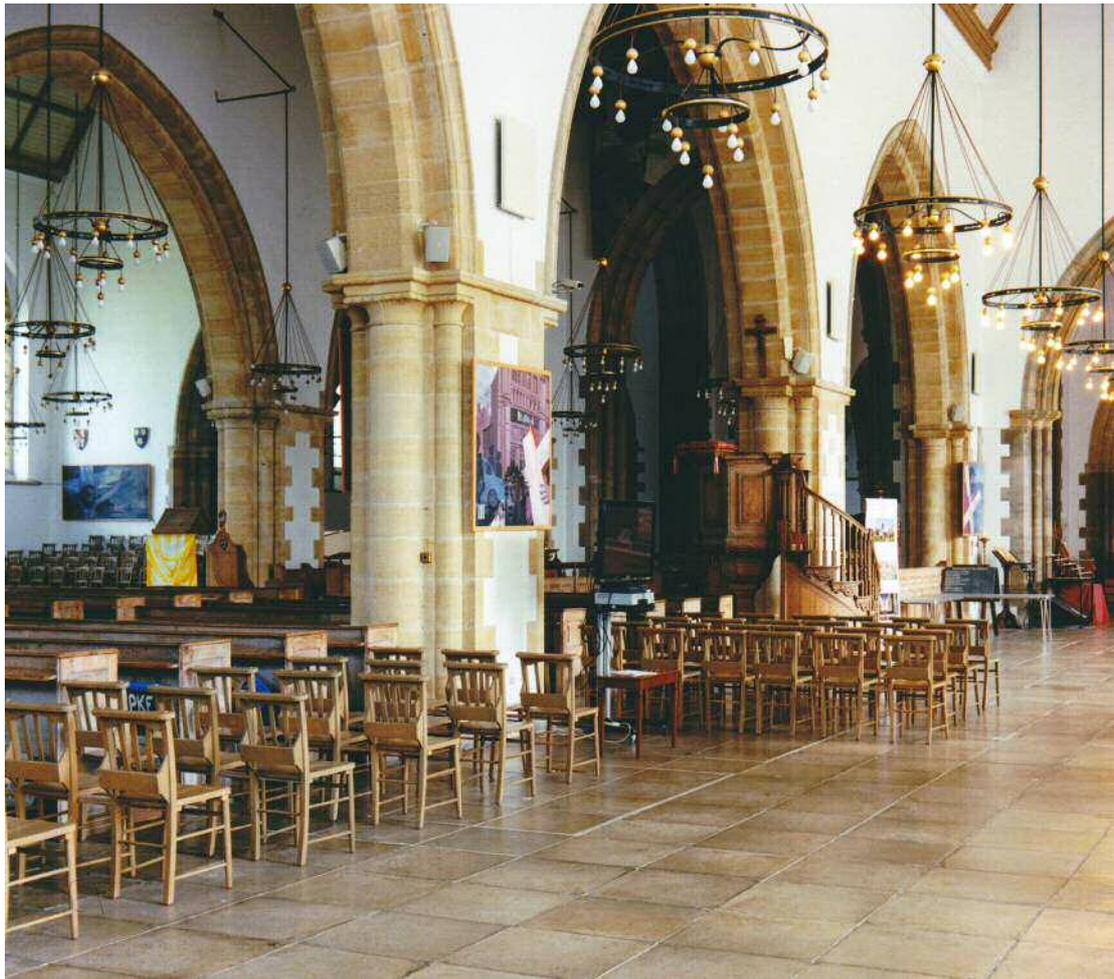
7. E H L Preston, Mayor of Great Yarmouth and Chief Magistrate.

NRO ACC 2009/19, box 30,
Palmer, Perlustration of Great
Yarmouth, vol. 1, pt. 2, facing p.
256.



8. Henry Stonex as a young man.

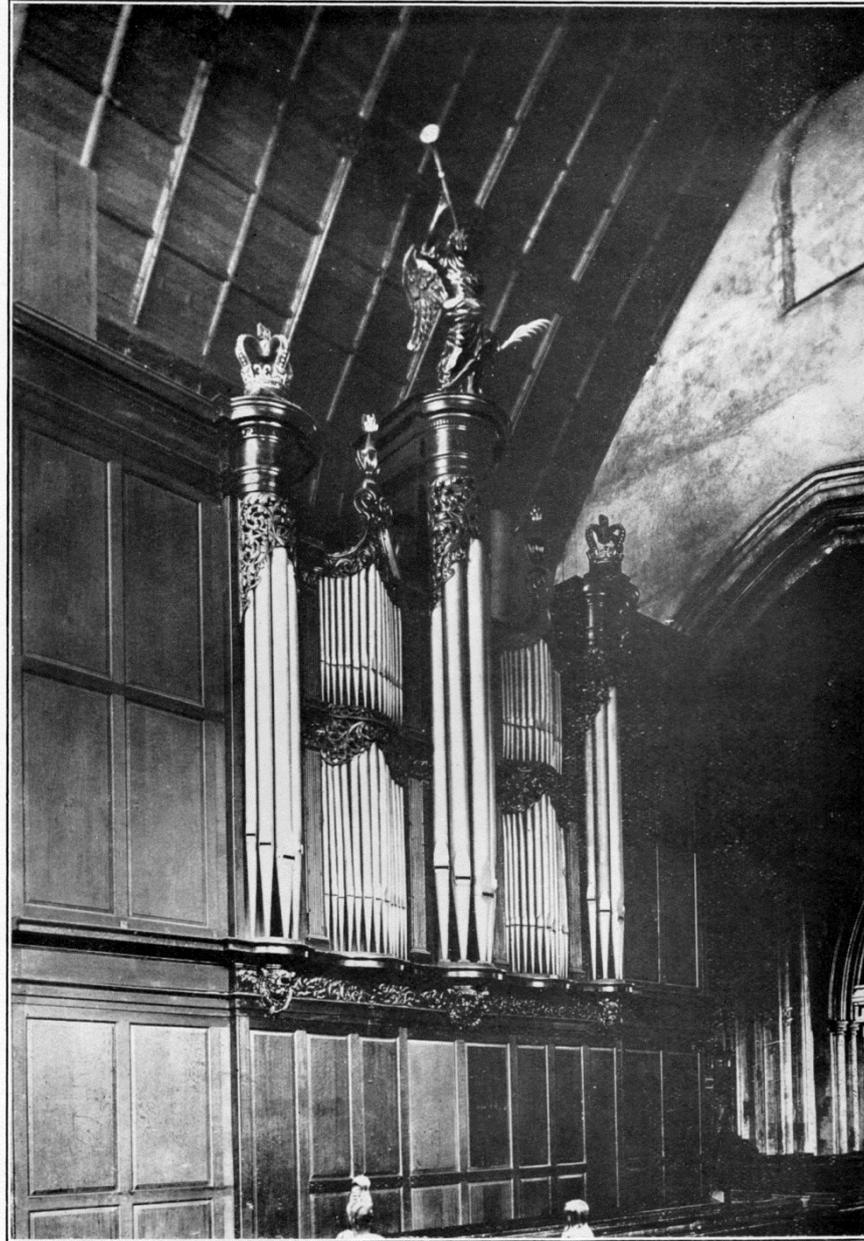
NRO ACC 2009/19, box 30,
Palmer, vol. 1, pt. 1 between pp.
48-49.



9. Interior of St Nicholas seen from under the position of the 1733 organ loft. Even allowing for Stephen Dykes Bower's widening of the nave arcade spans following bomb damage in 1942, it is indicative of the conditions Henry Stonex had to work under. Following its removal to the North Transept in 1870, a viewer standing at this point not far from the south porch entrance, would hardly have been aware of organ (compare with previous photograph from a similar position). Photograph © the author.



10. Interior looking south west towards the position of the 1733 organ loft. The viewer is standing in the South Chancel aisle where the south case of the 1875 Bishop reconstruction was located. Photograph © the author.



11. The casefront of the Abraham Jordan organ used as the back of the north section of J J Binns' reconstruction of 1903. Photograph by Ernest Adcock. Image reproduced courtesy of *The Organ* magazine.



12. St Nicholas's Parish Church ca 1870.
<<https://norfolk.spydus.co.uk/cgi-bin/spydus.exe/ENQ/OPAC/BIBENQ?BRN=718573>>
accessed 10/10/2018 . Image courtesy of Norfolk County Council
Library and Information Service.

Table Music performed at St Nicholas 1821-1891 to be inserted here

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archival Sources

Norfolk Record Office

Great Yarmouth St Nicholas Parish Records

- PD 28/230 Report book of the committee for the restoration of St Nicholas church and the establishment of a national school 1845-1851
- PD 28/232 Restoration Committee book 1860-1892
- PD 28/233 Restoration Committee book 1893-1904
- PD 28/236 Correspondence and papers relating to the reconstruction of St Nicholas's church and payments by the War Damage Commission. 1952-1963
- PD 28/354 Memorials of the Restoration of the Parish Church of St Nicholas and of the Establishment of National Schools at Great Yarmouth', compiled by Charles John Palmer, volume 1 1797-1845
- PD 28/355 Memorials of the Restoration of the Parish Church of St Nicholas and of the Establishment of National Schools at Great Yarmouth', compiled by Charles John Palmer, volume 2 1846-1847
- PD 28/375 Vestry minutes (signed) 1855-1971

Great Yarmouth Parish Magazines

- PD 28/381 1869
- PD 28/382 1870
- PD 28/387 1875
- PD 28/388 1878
- PD 28/391 1881
- PD 28/392 1884
- PD 28/393 1885
- PD 28/398 1890
- PD 28/402 1898

Great Yarmouth Corporation Records

- | | | |
|-----------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| Y/C 19/10 | Assembly Book | Oct 1701-Feb 1719 |
| Y/C 19/11 | Assembly Book | 1718-1737 |
| Y/C 19/12 | Assembly Book | Oct 1737-Sep 1750 |
| Y/C/19/15 | Assembly Book | Sep 1786-Sep 1801 |
| Y/C 19/16 | Assembly Book | Dec 1801-Oct 1814 |
| Y/C 20/1 | Hutch Books | 1591-1848 |
| Y/C 19/24 | Waste Assembly Book | 1745-1754 |
| Y/C 39/4 | Churchwardens' Accounts | 1778 – 1779 |
| Y/C 39/5 | Churchwardens' Accounts | 1790 – 1791 |

Great Yarmouth Corporation Records cont.

Y/TC 86/12/54-87 Photographs of Great Yarmouth, nd [c 1870], including the town wall, the interior of the parish church, Rows 99 and 117, and of Burgh and Caister Castles. nd [c 1870]

Norwich, St Peter Mancroft Parish Records

PD 26/71 Churchwardens' accounts 1580-1652, with visitation answers, 1639, and minutes and memoranda to 1654. 1580-1654
PD 26/73 Churchwardens' accounts 1707-1752

Notebooks of Dr Arthur Mann

MS 428 Norfolk Musicians
MS 431 Norwich Cathedral Musicians vol 2 (C-L)
MS 442 Great Yarmouth Musical Events
MS 451 Musgrave Heighington
MS 33221, 725X7 Dr A.H. Mann. Notes on Musgrave Heighington.

Norwich Diocesan Archives

DN/CON 140 Case papers 1864-1870

Records of the Dean and Chapter of Norwich Cathedral

DCN 12/76 Audit Papers 1743
DCN 12/151 Audit papers 1820

Miscellaneous

RFM 1/61/2/4. Map by William Faden ca. 1797
KL/C 7/13 Lynn Corporation minutes, 12th October 1752. The Town Hall, King's Lynn: Hall Book
SO 244 958X2 Norfolk and Suffolk Church Choral Association minutes, Nov 1859-Sep 1896

London Metropolitan Archives

P69/DIO/B/066/MS11276A: Articles of agreement between Renatus Harris of Bristol, organ builder, and the rector, churchwardens and other parishioners of St Dionis Backchurch, for building and erecting an organ in the parish church (with counterpart); also miscellaneous vouchers and correspondence.

British Organ Archive

Hill Estimate Book 2, January 1862 - May 1877, pp. 46, 60

Records of Bishop & Son, Organ Builders, London

Estimate Book 1874-76

Books and Articles

Addleshaw, G W O and Etchells, Frederick, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1956)

Adlung, Jakob, *Musica Mechanica Organoedi, Das ist: Gründlicher Unterricht von der Struktur, Gebrauch und Erhaltung, etc. der Orgeln, Clavicymbel, Clavichordien und anderer Instrumente, in so fern einem Organisten von solchen Sachen etwas zu wissen nöthig ist.* (Berlin: Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel, 1768)

Albrecht, Johann Lorenz (1732-1768) ed. *Jakob Adlung, Musica Mechanica Organoedi, Das ist: Gründlicher Unterricht von der Struktur, Gebrauch und Erhaltung, etc. der Orgeln, Clavicymbel, Clavichordien und anderer Instrumente, in so fern einem Organisten von solchen Sachen etwas zu wissen nöthig ist.* (Berlin: Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel, 1768)

Andersen, Poul-Gerhard, Joanne Curnutt transl., *Organ Building and Design*, (London: Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1969)

Argent, Mark ed. *Recollections of R J S Stevens, An Organist in Georgian London.* (London: Macmillan, 1992)

Aston, Margaret, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016)

Atherton, Ian, Eric Fernie, Christopher Harper-Bill and Hassell Smith, *Norwich Cathedral: Church, City and Diocese, 1096–1996.* (London: Hambledon Press, 1996)

Banfield, Stephen, *Music in the West Country*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2018)

Bates, Frank, *A Musician in Retirement*, (Norwich: Jarrold & Son, 1930)

Beresford, John ed. *Reverend James Woodforde, The Diaries of a Country Parson vol 1 1758-1781.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1926)

Betts, Maxwell, *A Jewel or Ornament : The Illustrated Story of the Historic Organs and the Choral Tradition in the Church of Saint Mary and Saint Thomas of Canterbury*, (Wymondham, 1974)

Bicknell, Stephen, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996)

Bonavia-Hunt, Noel, *The Modern British Organ*, (London: A. Weekes & Co., 1947).

Boydell, Barra, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004)

Borsay, Peter, *The English Urban Renaissance. Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989)

Borsay, Peter, *All the town's a stage: urban ritual and ceremony* quoted in *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns*, ed. Peter Clark, (London: Hutchinson, 1984)

Bridge, Frederick, *Organ Accompaniment of the Choral Service*, (London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1855)

Briggs, Asa, *A Social History of England*, (Book Club Associates, 1983)

Brück, Helga, Robert Hallmann, and D. Galbraith. *John Christian Mantel = Johann Christian Scheidemantel : 1706-1761*, (Weimar: H. Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1998)

Burney, Fanny ed. *Memoirs of Doctor Burney*, 3 vols. (London: Edward Moxon, 1832)

Calendars of the Inner Temple. <<https://www.innertemple.org.uk/who-we-are/a-brief-history-of-the-inn/calendars-of-inner-temple-records-1505-1845/>> [accessed 29/09/2017]

Clark, Peter, *British Clubs and Societies 1500–1800: The Origins of an Associational World*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

Cook's Directory of Great Yarmouth, 1894

Courtney, Jack, ed. *Theatre Organ World*, (London: Theatre Organ World Publications, 1946)

Cowgill, Rachel, 'Disputing Choruses in 1760's Halifax: Joah Bates, William Herschel, and the Messiah Club' in *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914* eds. Rachel Cowgill, Peter Holman . (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007)

Cowper, William, 'Mr Village and Mr Town', *The Connoisseur*, 1756; quoted in *The Englishman's Magazine*, no. XXX

Dale, James Murray, *The Clergyman's Legal Handbook; A Manual of the Laws Affecting the Rights, Position, and Duties of the Clergy. Including the Law Applicable to New Parishes and Ecclesiastical Districts, 5th edition* (London: Seeley, Jackson & Halliday, 1869)

Davies, Horton, *From Watts and Wesley to Maurice, 1690-1850 Worship and Theology in England*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press 1961).

- Davies, Rowland, *Journal of the Very Rev. Rowland Davies, Dean of Ross*. (Camden Society Publications no.68, 1857)
- Davey, Henry, *Best, William Thomas (1826–1897)*, rev. Banerji, Nilanjana, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2295>> [accessed 30 May 2017]
- Dawe, Donovan, *Organists of the City of London, 1666-1850*, (Padstow: Dawe, 1983)
- Dickens, Charles ed.' The Norfolk Gridiron', *Household Words* , vol. 7 no. 160 April 16th 1853 pp163 -165 <<http://www.djo.org.uk/household-words/volume-viii.html>> [accessed 11/10/2017]
- Ecclestone, A W and J L Ecclestone, *The Rise of Great Yarmouth*. (Yarmouth, 1959)
- Ehrlich, Cyril, *The Music Profession in Britain Since the Eighteenth Century, A Social History*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985)
- Elvin Laurence, *Bishop and Son, Organ Builders*, (Lincoln: 1984)
- Evans, Robert and Maggie Humphreys eds. *Dictionary of Composers for the Church in Great Britain and Ireland* (New York: Mansell, 1997)
- Farnie, D.A. *The English Cotton Industry and the World Market 1815-1896* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lancashire_Cotton_Famine> [accessed 10/10/2017]
- Fawcett, Trevor, *Music in Eighteenth Century Norwich and Norfolk*, (Norwich: University of East Anglia, Centre for East Anglian Studies, 1979)
- Foster, Joseph publ. *Foster's Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714* vol. 3 Early series, (London Parker & Co. 1891)
- Frühauf, Tina, *The Organ and Its Music in German-Jewish Culture*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Gauci, Perry, *Politics and Society in Great Yarmouth 1660-1722*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996)
- Gee, Henry and W.H. Hardy eds., *Injunctions of 1559 from Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (New York: 1896) <<https://history.hanover.edu/texts/engref/er78.html>> [accessed 19/05/2017]
- Großgebauer, Theophil, *Wächterstimme aus dem verwüsteten Zion : Das ist, treuherzige und notwendige Entdeckung. Aus was Ursachen die vielfältige Predigt des Worts Gottes bey Evangelischen Gemeinen wenig zur Bekehrung und Gottseligkeit fruchte*. (Frankfurt am Main, 1661)
- Hands, Timothy , *A Hardy Chronology*, (London: Macmillan, 1992)

Harding, Thomas ed. *Heinrich Bullinger, Fifth Decade in the fifth sermon 'Of Prayer'* (Cambridge: Parker Society, Cambridge University Press, 1852)

Hird, Richard , *The Succession of Organists at Durham Cathedral*,
<<http://www.duresme.org.uk/CATH/Armes.htm>> [accessed 2 October 2017]

Holmes, Geoffrey, *Politics, Religion and Society in England 1679-1742*, (London: Hambledon Press, 1986)

Honeybone, D & M eds. *The Correspondence of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society 1710-1761* , The Lincoln Record Society vol. 99 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010)

Jebb, John, *The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland*, (London, 1843)

Klima, Slava, Garry Bowers, Kerry Scott Grant eds. *Memoirs of Dr. Charles Burney, 1726-1769*, (University of Nebraska Press, 1988)

Lane, Margaret, *Edgar A Lane, Musician 1865 -1938*, (Swanage, 1976)

LaTrobe, John Antes, *The Music of the Church Considered in Its Various Branches*, (London, 1831)

Leffler, Henry, *An Account of Organs and Organ Builders, 1800*, facsimile edition publ. British Institute of Organ Studies, 2010

LeStrange, Richard, *Monasteries of Norfolk*, (King's Lynn, 1973)

Lewis, Walter and Thomas, *Modern Organ Building*, (London: William Reeves: 1923)

Lightwood, James, *Methodist Music of the Eighteenth Century*, (London: Epworth Press, 1927)

Lupson, Edward J, *St Nicholas' Church, Great Yarmouth: Its History, Organ, Pulpit, Library, Etc.* (Yarmouth, 1881)

MacCulloch Diarmaid, *Thomas Cranmer*, (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1997)

MacCulloch Diarmaid, *Thomas Cranmer*, (Yale University Press, 1996)

McLuhan, Marshall *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York : McGraw-Hill, 1964)

Meeres, Frank, *A History of Great Yarmouth*, (London: Phillimore, 2007)

Mithobius, Hector, *Psalmodia Christiana... Das ist gründliche Gewissens Belehrung, was von der Christen Musica, sowohl Vocali als Instrumentali zu halten* (Jena, 1665)

Musgrave, William, *A General Nomenclator and Obituary, with Reference to the Books Where the Persons are Mentioned, and Where Some Account of Their Character is to be Found*, ed. George Armytage, (London: Harleian Society, 1901) 6 vols

Ouseley, Frederick A. Gore . 'On the Position of Organs in Churches'. *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, vol. 12, 1885, pp. 75–90.
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/jrma/12.1.75>> [accessed 11/10/2017].

Owen, D M & S W Woodward eds., *The Minute Books of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society 1712-1755*, Lincoln Record Society, (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1981) 73 (1981)

Palmer, Charles John:

The Perlustration of Great Yarmouth: with Gorleston and Southtown. 3 vols (Great Yarmouth: George Nall, 1872-1875)

The History of Great Yarmouth: designed as a continuation of Manship's history of that town. (London, 1861)

Palmer C J ed. *Henry Manship, The History of Great Yarmouth* (Great Yarmouth, 1854)

Palmer, Vivien J. *St Peter Mancroft, Norwich 1650 – 1800*, (Norwich, 1955)

Porter, William, 'Hamburg Organists in Lutheran Worship', in Kerala J Snyder ed. *The Organ as a Mirror of Its Time, North European Reflections, 1610-2000*. OUP 2002

Rainbow, Bernarr, *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church 1839-1872*, (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1970)

Roast, T,
One hundred pupils of Zechariah Buck: Norwich Cathedral's influential music teacher seen through the careers of his pupils, (Norwich: 2010)

Rogers, Francis Newman, *A Practical Arrangement of Ecclesiastical Law*, (London : Saunders and Benning, 1840)

Rohr, Deborah, *The Careers of British Musicians 1750-1850*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)

Sainsbury, John, *A Dictionary of Musicians from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time*, 2nd ed. (London, 1827)

Sayer, Michael, *Samuel Renn English Organ Builder*, (London: Phillimore, 1974).

Scholes, Percy, *The great Dr. Burney : his life, his travels, his works, his family and his friends*, 2 vols (London : Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1948)

Smith, G H, *A History of Hull Organs And Organists: Together With an Account of the Hull Musical Festivals And the Formation of the Various Musical Societies In the Town.* (London: A. Brown, 1910)

Spark F R and J Bennett , *History of the Leeds Musical Festivals 1858-1889* (London: Novello, 1892)

Spark, William, *Henry Smart, His Life and Works* (London: William Reeves, 1881)

Stacy, John publ. *General History of the County of Norfolk Intended to Convey all the Information of a Norfolk Tour With the Most Extended Details of Antiquarian, Statistical, Pictorial Architectural and Miscellaneous Information, Including Biographical Notices Original and Selected*, 2 vols (Norwich: 1819)

Steer, John, *Parish Law: Being a Digest of the Law Relating to Parishes*, (London: Saunders and Benning, 1830)

Sumner, Gerald, *Lancaster Priory A History of the Organs*, (Lancaster: 2013)
Surtees Society, Publications of the,
<<https://boydellandbrewer.com/series/publications-of-the-surtees-society.html>>
[accessed 16/01/2018]

Sutton, Sir John, *A Short Account of Organs Built in England*, (London 1847)

Sykes, Norman, *Church and State in England in the Eighteenth Century*, Historical Association Leaflet no 78

Strype, John, 1643-1737. *Annals of the Reformation And Establishment of Religion: And Other Various Occurrences In the Church of England, During Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign. A new edition.* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1824)

The Book of Common Prayer 1559 reprint (London: William Pickering, 1844)
<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=qWRNAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false> (accessed 11/10/2017)

Temperley, Nicholas:

The Music of the English Parish Church, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979)

Thistlethwaite, Nicholas, *The 1735 Richard Bridge Organ in Christ Church Spitalfields*, (London: The Friends of Christ Church, Spitalfields, 2015)

Thornsby, Frederick ed., *Dictionary of Organs and Organists*, (Bournemouth: 1912)

Venables, George, *A Few Memoranda Connected with Great Yarmouth Parish 1886*, (Great Yarmouth: George Nall, 1886)

Whitworth, Reginald:

The Electric Organ, (London: Musical Opinion, 1930)
The Cinema and Theatre Organ, (London: Musical Opinion,
1932)

Wilson, John ed. 'Roger North on Music' (1959) in *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain, Vol. 4: The Eighteenth Century* . ed. by H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990[1991])

Williams, Peter, *The European Organ 1450-1850*, (London: Batsford, 1966)

Whitehead J B, *The History of the Great Yarmouth Grammar School 1551-1951* (Great Yarmouth 1951)

Wright ,Susan ed., David M Palliser, 'The Parish in Perspective' in *Parish, Church and People, Local Studies in Lay Religion 1350-1750* (London: Hutchinson, 1988)

Wright, Susan ed., Jonathan Barry, 'The Parish in Civic Life: Bristol and its Churches 1640-1750' in *Parish, Church and People, Local Studies in Lay Religion 1350-1750* (London: Hutchinson, 1988)

Articles

Baker, David M, 'We have won the day: an eighteenth-century English organ controversy', *The Organ*, vol 54, 1976, 85-88;

'John Varley Roberts and the Music of Halifax Parish Church, 1868-1882' *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society* , vol 21 (NS): 2013, 105-126;

'Glee Unions in Halifax and District from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Centuries', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society* vol 24 (NS) 2016, 46-69

Bruinsma, Henry, 'The Organ Controversy in the Netherlands Reformation to 1640', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* vol.7, no.3, 1954. pp. 205-212

Finberg, H P R, Local History in the University, Inaugural Lecture delivered in the University of Leicester, 26th May 1964. (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1964)

Fleming, Simon, 'The Musical Activities of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, vol. 48 Iss. 1, 2017

Healey, Jonathan, Why Local History Matters: Lecture delivered at Oxford University's Department for Continuing Education, 14th November 2012.

<https://www.academia.edu/2550380/Why_Local_History_Matters>

Johnson, Frederick, 'The History of the Parish Church Organ', *Yarmouth Mercury*, June 14, July 5, July 12, 1902

Newman, Kate, 'William Henry Grattan Flood (1859 - 1928): Musician and Writer',

The Dictionary of Ulster Biography

<<http://www.newulsterbiography.co.uk/index.php/home/viewPerson/504>>

Owen, W B, 'Rogers, Edmund Dawson (1823–1910)', rev. Alan Gauld, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)

<<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35812>>

Parker, Andrew, 'Buck, Zechariah (1798–1879)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)

<<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3851>>

Port M H, Peto, 'Sir (Samuel) Morton, first baronet (1809–1889)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)

<<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22042>>

Slinn, Judy, Paine, Sir Thomas (1822–1908), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)

<<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/49713>>

Temperley, Nicholas:

'Organs in English Parish Churches 1660-1830', *Organ Yearbook*, vol 10, (Amsterdam: Frits Knuf, 1979), pp. 83-100

Jonathan Gray and Church Music in York, 1770-1840, Borthwick Papers no. 51 (York: University of York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research)

Wollenberg, Susan, 'Music in 18th-Century Oxford' , *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, vol. 108, 1981, pp. 69–99. JSTOR, <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/765954>>

Wren Society, vol. 19, pp. 54-55.

Reports

Central Committee for the Protection of Churches, *The Protection of our English Churches. Report for 1923 of the Central Committee for the Protection of Churches with an account of the Diocesan Advisory Committees and their work.* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1923-1925)

Gladstone, W H, *Music as an Aid to Worship and Work*, Church Congress Reports, 1884 reprinted in: A102 Summer School Texts C. Religion: Conformity and Controversy. (Milton Keynes: The Open University, 1988)

Heywood, Stephen, Norfolk County Council, *The Chapel of St George King Street, Great Yarmouth, An Architectural History.* Norfolk Historic Environment Record no. 4336

Kerr, James Semple, *The Seventh Edition Conservation Plan 2013, A Guide to the Preparation of Conservation Plans for Places of European Cultural Significance*,

(Australia ICOMOS Inc., 2013) <<http://australia.icomos.org/publications/the-conservation-plan/>>

In Tune With Heaven, The Report of the Archbishops' Commission on Church Music, (London: Church House Publishing, Hodder & Stoughton, 1992)

A Copy of the Poll for the Knights of the Shire for the County of Norfolk Taken at Norwich 23rd March 1768, printed Crouse, Norwich 1768
<https://books.google.co.uk/books/about/A_Copy_of_the_Poll_for_the_Knights_of_th.html?id=IPsHAAAAQAAJ>

Theses

Adelmann, Dale Lawrence, 'The Contribution of Cambridge and the Ecclesiological (late Cambridge Camden) Society to the Revival of Anglican Choral Worship, 1839-62', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 1991)

Jackson, Gordon, *The Economic Development of Hull in the Eighteenth Century*, (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Hull, 1960),

Knight, David S, *The Organs of Westminster Abbey and Their Music*, (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, King's College, 2001)

Murphy, J D, 'The Town and Trade of Great Yarmouth, 1740-1850', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of East Anglia, 1979)

Roast, Thomas 'Composers of Norwich Cathedral 1620 – 1819' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of East Anglia, 1998)

Stedman, Rex, 'Vox Populi, The Norfolk Newspaper Press 1760-1900.' Thesis submitted for Fellowship of the Library Association, 1971

Newspapers and Periodicals

Cheltenham Chronicle

Ipswich Journal

London Daily News

Monthly Musical Record

Musical Standard

Musical Times

Norfolk Chronicle

Norfolk News

Norwich Mercury

Southern Times

The Choir

The Ecclesiologist

The Era
The Literary Examiner
Musical Times
The Organ
The Times
Yarmouth Gazette

Yarmouth Independent – complete series in Great Yarmouth Library albeit in poor condition in parts so that pagination cannot be relied upon. This has been cross-referenced as far as possible with British Newspaper Archive holdings which are incomplete.

Yarmouth Mercury
York Herald

Abbreviations

MEPC	The Music of the English Parish Church
NRO	Norfolk Record Office
OUP	Oxford University Press
CUP	Cambridge University Press
GYPM	Great Yarmouth Parish Magazine
MT	Musical Times
NorMerc	Norwich Mercury
NorNews	Norfolk News
NorChron	Norfolk Chronicle
YI	Yarmouth Independent