

Music-making in the English parish church from the 1760s to 1860s, with particular reference to Hertfordshire

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Abstract

This dissertation focuses on a previously unexplored aspect of music-making in the English parish church during the 1760s to 1860s, namely its local development in response to inter-related episcopal, elite, clerical and economic influences.

The historiography suggests ineffectual episcopal leadership and little gentry engagement with parochial church music-making during this period. By contrast, this study presents evidence of their influence, particularly during the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries. Elite support for Sunday and charity schools was allied with a desire to improve congregational psalmody, and church organs and barrel-organs were given with this objective in mind. Gentry involvement with amateur military bands of music also influenced the instrumentation of choir-bands. These actions were mirrored by those further down the social scale, and formed part of a complex pattern of support for church music-making.

This dissertation argues that methods adopted to improve congregational singing in one generation were reviled in the next. The suggestion that teaching charity school children to sing would result in a congregation of singing adults became a recurring theme, yet time and again it met with little success. Nineteenth-century reform of church music-making has often been presented as a clear-cut progression, with the replacement of choir-bands by a barrel-organ or harmonium, but this dissertation argues that these phases were sometimes parallel rather than sequential, with no inevitable outcome. Furthermore, new evidence reveals that nineteenth-century church rate disputes had a profound effect on church music-making, an area of research neglected in modern literature.

Lack of available seating became a significant problem in parish churches owing to the often compulsory attendance of schoolchildren, which opens up another new area of research. This dissertation argues that attempts to reform music-making contributed to alterations in the church fabric long before ecclesiological reorderings, and had long-lasting repercussions.

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The new rector, like most new clergymen, tried his zealous hand upon the singers. He abolished clarionet, fiddle, bassoon, violoncello [...] and taught, or tried to teach his Sunday School girls to be the singers. [...] The new choir was like a nest of young thrushes chirping out of a bush in a retired corner of your garden, while the old choir was like a colony of ancient rooks at the top of a tree in full view.¹

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¹ J[oseph] F[oxley], 'Transformations at Steeple Eastham', *Churchman's Shilling Magazine and Family Treasury*, Vol. XXXI (1882), p. 75.

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List of Abbreviations

BARS	Bedfordshire Archives and Record Service
BL	British Library
<i>CCEd</i>	<i>The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540-1835</i> , accessed at www.theclergydatabase.org.uk
CCS	Cambridge Camden Society
CRL	Cadbury Research Library
ERO	Essex Record Office
HALS	Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies
HFHS	Hertfordshire Family History Society
<i>HG</i>	<i>Herts Guardian</i>
<i>HM</i>	<i>Hertford Mercury</i>
ICBS	Incorporated Church Building Society
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
LRO	Lincoln Record Office
<i>NPOR</i>	British Institute of Organ Studies, <i>National Pipe Organ Register</i> , accessed at www.npor.org.uk
NRO	Norfolk Record Office
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (Oxford, 2004-, online edn.) accessed at www.oxforddnb.com
SPCK	Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge
<i>VCH Herts</i>	William Page (ed.), <i>The Victoria History of the County of Hertfordshire</i> (5 vols., London, 1902-23), accessed at www.british-history.ac.uk

Unless indicated otherwise, all places referred to in the text are located in Hertfordshire, and all census returns are for England.

The locations of Hertfordshire properties are shown in Appendix 1.

Introduction

The standard work on parish church music-making is Nicholas Temperley's *The Music of the English Parish Church*.² As Temperley noted in his Preface, prior to the publication of this influential work the subject was either ignored completely or touched upon only briefly as part of general music histories. Temperley's work has been cited by most studies of parochial church music and music-making, and summarized and updated by the author in more recent publications and articles.³ *The Music of the English Parish Church* was based on a study of just four regions: the West Riding of Yorkshire 'hit by early industrialisation', Dorset 'which has changed relatively little over the centuries', central London 'which has had its own unique history', and the cathedral city of York.⁴ By contrast, the present study considers Hertfordshire, a county where numerous country houses were owned by the metropolitan elite, some of whom influenced the development of music-making in their rural parish churches.

The accepted view is that music-making developed differently in town and rural parishes. Town churches had organs and parishioners with the means to pay for them, whereas rural churches were left to their own devices, and music-making was provided by groups of rustic singers with or without the support of instrumentalists, for the sake of convenience collectively termed 'choir-bands'.⁵ Temperley delineated this strict dichotomy with chapters on 'Urban parish church music (1660-1790)' and 'Country psalmody (1685-1830)', the different periods reflecting two different developments in psalmody. He found 'no authenticated case of a town church without

² Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, Cambridge Studies in Church Music (2 vols., Cambridge, 1979), 1.

³ For example, Nicholas Temperley, 'Music in Church', in: H. Diack Johnstone & Roger Fiske (eds.), *The Eighteenth Century: Music in Britain*, The Blackwell History of Music in Britain, Vol. 4 (Oxford, 1990), pp. 357-95; Temperley *et al.*, 'Psalms, metrical', *Grove Music Online*, accessed at www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

⁴ Temperley, *Parish Church*, Preface.

⁵ Stephen J. Weston, *The Instrumentation and Music of the Church Choir-Band in Eastern England, with Particular Reference to Northamptonshire, during the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Leicester Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1995), p. 6.

any music' during this period,⁶ where voluntary choirs were later joined, and eventually replaced, by charity schoolchildren supported by an organ.⁷ By contrast he argued 'the country squire and parson, sure of their place in the local order, had little need to impress anyone with the elegance of the parish church and its services'.⁸ Yet Temperley's clear distinction between music-making in town and country parishes has not been found in Hertfordshire. 'Country psalmody' was found in some town churches, and charity children in some rural parishes where music-making, rather than being left solely in the hands of self-motivated singers, was significantly influenced by the local elite and their experience of metropolitan fashion. This blurring of the accepted urban/rural dichotomy is an important finding which advances our understanding of parochial music-making.

Interest in parish church music-making began with clergymen collecting and studying church instruments and tunebooks, typical of the antiquarian clerics described by Tiller as 'jackdaw-like accumulators of both gems of information and unconsidered trifles'.⁹ Canon Galpin's report of an encounter with a surviving church band at Winterbourne Abbas (Dorset) during the early 1890s inspired others to explore the subject.¹⁰ Canon Ditchfield's *Parish Clerk* (1907) comprised 'anecdotes, recollections, facts and biographical sketches of many clerks in different parts of England', submitted by writers 'far advanced in years' recollecting 'scenes of their youth', some relating to church music-making.¹¹ But prior to Temperley's *Parish Church* the only monographs devoted to parish church music-making were Canon MacDermott's *Sussex Church Music in the Past* (1922) and *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels* (1948) in which he described the 'minstrels', their instruments and music,

⁶ Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 139.

⁷ Nicholas Temperley & Sally Drage, 'Preface', *Eighteenth-century Psalmody*, Musica Britannica Trust (London, 2007), pp. xix-xxvii.

⁸ Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 141.

⁹ Kate Tiller, *English Local History An Introduction*, 2nd edn (Stroud, 2002), p. 15.

¹⁰ F.W. Galpin, 'The Village Band. An Interesting Survival', *Musical News*, Vol. 5 (8 July 1893), pp. 31-2 & (15 July 1893), pp. 56-8.

¹¹ P.H. Ditchfield, *The Parish Clerk* (London, 1907), Preface.

based on personal research in Sussex and anecdotal evidence submitted by listeners following his BBC radio broadcasts. He listed 'places which had church bands or barrel-organs between 1660 and 1860', the period he considered them to be active.¹² Although few sources are given and there is no bibliography, part of the correspondence survives in the British Library.¹³

The historiography relating to the main themes investigated during the course of the present study is outlined below. Several of these topics have received considerable attention, some have become 'perceived wisdom' which can be traced back to Galpin, Ditchfield and MacDermott, but others have been almost completely neglected.

Elite and military influence

Until recently the orthodoxy that eighteenth-century England was *Das Land Ohne Musik* was largely unchallenged. Brewer argued that although music-making was 'a badge of gentility' nonetheless it had 'a low status on the list of polite accomplishments'.¹⁴ This interpretation has now been questioned, and according to Holman, 'it could be argued that England was the most musical country in Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century', with the 'average Georgian gentleman' regularly participating in music-making both in London and the provinces.¹⁵ McVeigh noted the 'effect on musical dissemination' as the elite 'journeyed between London and their country seats',¹⁶ and Cowgill and Holman have also remarked upon the 'extraordinary

¹² K.H. MacDermott, *Sussex Church Music in the Past* (Chichester, 1922); *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels: an Account of the Church Bands and Singers in England from about 1660 to 1860* (London, 1948), p. 67.

¹³ BL, Add MS 47775A-B Kenneth Holland MacDermott, 'The Old Church Gallery Minstrels', collections (1934-52).

¹⁴ John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination. English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1997), pp. 532-4.

¹⁵ Peter Holman, 'Eighteenth-Century English Music: Past, Present, Future', in: David Wyn Jones (ed.), *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot, 2000), p. 3.

¹⁶ Simon McVeigh, 'Introduction', in: Susan Wollenberg & Simon McVeigh (eds.), *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 4 -7.

amount of musical activity outside London'.¹⁷ Yet none of these studies considered the influence of the elite's experience of metropolitan church music-making on their rural parishes, which will form a key part of the present study.

Temperley referred to the 'general ignorance of music among the clergy',¹⁸ and his comment has been repeated by others including Gammon, who argued that this contributed to the poor state of church music.¹⁹ This has now been challenged by McVeigh, who noted that musical societies operating all year 'grew up in every town' where like-minded enthusiasts might meet 'cathedral singers and clergy'.²⁰ Chevill found that Oxford and Cambridge music societies flourishing during the mid- to late-seventeenth century involved many clergymen and undergraduates destined for the church, and influenced the formation of societies by clergy in cathedral cities.²¹ Similarly, Southey found keen musicians among the prebendaries of Durham cathedral, in particular the celebrated Sharp family.²² Despite these studies of provincial music-making, the influence of the elite on parish music-making is a largely unexplored theme, yet the effects of its presence or absence is apparent throughout the present study, and the inter-connectedness of the clergy and elite families is an important feature which will be highlighted.

The accepted view is that the only non-keyboard instruments considered suitable for gentlemen to play were the German flute and strings, and attention has been drawn to the dependency of gentry music-making on either professional

¹⁷ Rachel Cowgill & Peter Holman (eds.), 'Preface', *Music in the British Provinces 1690-1914* (Aldershot, 2007), p. xxi.

¹⁸ Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 146.

¹⁹ Vic Gammon, '“Babylonian Performances”: the Rise and Suppression of Popular Church Music, 1660-1870', in: Eileen Yeo & Stephen Yeo (eds.), *Popular Culture and Class Conflict 1590-1914: Explorations in the History of Labour and Leisure* (Brighton, 1981), p. 72.

²⁰ Simon McVeigh, 'Introduction', pp. 4-7.

²¹ Elizabeth Chevill, 'Clergy, Music societies and the Development of a Musical Tradition: A Study of Music Societies in Hereford, 1690-1760', in: Wollenberg & McVeigh, *Concert Life*, pp. 36-7.

²² Roz Southey, *Music-making in North-east England during the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 78-9.

musicians or wind instrumentalists from the local militia.²³ The effect of military bands of music on social music-making in England during the Napoleonic era has been the subject of recent studies,²⁴ but although the possibility of links between church and military bands has been highlighted by scholars including Lomas, Drage, Herbert and Barlow, little research has been undertaken.²⁵ The present study advances our understanding of this topic by presenting actual connections between military and choir-bands, and considers the evidence that the elite may have supported and funded both ventures.

Children

Temperley argued that charity children trained to sing elegantly were an agent of change in the music of the eighteenth-century town parish church.²⁶ But although he referred to Bishop Porteus' 1790 Charge to his clergy calling for Sunday school children to be taught to sing, Temperley gave only one early example of this being undertaken, and considered neither the wider implications for other charity schools, nor its long-term influence.²⁷ The accepted view is that choirs of Sunday school children were a nineteenth-century innovation introduced to replace choir-bands, but evidence presented in this study suggests that the formation of children's choirs was encouraged in the late 1790s as a direct response to Porteus' Charge. The driving force behind this desire to use children's voices and the ways in which it was achieved are neglected topics, and central to the present study. Gant noted that churches in both

²³ Brewer, *Pleasures*, p. 558.

²⁴ Mark Philp (ed.), *Resisting Napoleon: The British Response to the Threat of Invasion, 1797-1815* (Aldershot, 2006); Cowgill & Holman, *British Provinces*.

²⁵ Michael John Lomas, *Amateur Brass Bands and Wind Bands in Southern England between the late Eighteenth Century and circa 1900* (Open Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1990); M.J. Lomas, 'Militia and Volunteer Wind Bands in Southern England in the late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *Journal of the Society of Army Historical Research*, Vol. 67 (1989), pp. 158-9; 'The Wiltshire Militia Band, 1769-c.1831', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, Vol. 85 (1992), pp. 93-100; Sally Drage, *The Performance of English Provincial Psalmody c.1690-c.1840* (Leeds Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 2009), pp. 51-2; Trevor Herbert & Helen Barlow, *Music and the British Military in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 2013), p. 108.

²⁶ Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 101.

²⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 213 & 229.

town and larger rural parishes had 'large choirs of well-drilled, well-dressed charity children'.²⁸ Evidence presented in this study develops this argument further, indicating that even in small rural parishes attempts were made to install choirs of charity children.

Jacob argued that the provision of uniforms for charity school children in charitable foundations such as Christ's Hospital, London led to a similar practice in other parishes, providing 'a visible token' of the generosity of patrons and encouraging further donations.²⁹ Furthermore, the children's elevated position in church galleries 'illustrated the fruit of the charity of parishioners'.³⁰ In a development of this argument, the present study illustrates the interconnected nature of the provision of charitable relief to children and using them to improve congregational singing, and how their very visible presence in church was used to further both objectives. Concerning the use of a barrel-organ at Aynhoe (Northants.) Davidson suggested it may have been used to teach children psalmody: 'Was this imitating the London charity-children who were taught to lead the metrical psalms, and sat by the organs in the City churches?'.³¹ The evidence presented in this study indicates that the answer to this tentative question is a resounding yes, and that it was a key objective in numerous parishes.

The teaching of psalmody to children is an important topic addressed in this dissertation, which reveals a repeated rhythm of expectation that teaching children to sing would produce good congregational singing and attract worshippers. The role of Victorian schoolteachers in the church has been studied by Smith, who noted some sort of participation in worship was a usual requirement for both male and female teachers,

²⁸ Andrew Gant, *O Sing unto the Lord: A History of English Church Music* (London, 2015), p. 234.

²⁹ W.M. Jacob, 'The Eye of his Master: Children and Charity Schools', in: Diana Wood (ed.), *Studies in Church History, Vol. 31: The Church and Childhood* (Oxford, 1994), p. 370.

³⁰ W.M. Jacob, ' "... This congregation here present ...": Seating in Parish Churches during the Long Eighteenth Century', in: Kate Cooper & Jeremy Gregory (eds.), *Studies in Church History, Vol. 42: Elite and Popular Religion* (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 301.

³¹ Hilary Davidson, *Choirs, Bands and Organs. A History of Church Music in Northamptonshire and Rutland* (Oxford, 2003), p. 68.

and often involved playing the organ and or acting as choirmaster.³² But little attention has been given to earlier teachers and their methods. This dissertation presents new evidence of children taught to sing by school patrons, parish clerks, choir-band members and organists, which advances our knowledge of this neglected topic.

Organs and organists

Obelkevich argued that in the nineteenth century organs 'had long been considered unsuitable for parish worship',³³ and according to Wolffe, they were still seen by some clergy as 'Popish'.³⁴ Williams argued that organs were finally accepted because they could imitate other instruments, and represented a compromise between those nonconformists who used no instruments, and European Catholic churches which used a full orchestra.³⁵ Williams and Bicknell both attributed the impetus to install larger church organs to their fashionable use in pleasure gardens – sixteen London pleasure gardens and one in Norwich used organs during the eighteenth century,³⁶ and the present study provides supporting evidence that their introduction was influenced by secular fashion.

Thistlethwaite asserted that by 1800 most larger market towns in the south of England with a single parish church had an organ,³⁷ and Browne found this was largely true of Devon, although some towns remained without.³⁸ By contrast, in Hertfordshire only eight towns had organs by 1800, suggesting a further modification to the orthodoxy that town parishes generally had organs. Temperley found a correlation between the number of parish church organs installed, population size and (for

³² John T. Smith, 'The Parson's Fag': the Schoolteacher as the Servant of the Church in the second half of the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, Vol. 34 no.1 (2002), pp. 1-22.

³³ Jim Obelkevich, 'Music and Religion in the Nineteenth Century', in: Jim Obelkevich, Lyndal Roper & Raphael Samuel (eds.), *Disciplines of Faith* (London, 1987), p. 552.

³⁴ John Wolffe, 'Introduction', in: John Wolffe (ed.), *Religion in Victorian Britain* (5 vols., Manchester, 1988-97), V, p. 2.

³⁵ Peter Williams, *English Organ Music and the English Organ under the First Four Georges* (Cambridge Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1962), pp. 100-1.

³⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 280-2; Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 193.

³⁷ Nicholas Thistlethwaite, *The Making of the Victorian Organ* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 66.

³⁸ Nigel Browne, *Organs, Organ-Builders and Organists in Nineteenth-Century Devon* (Exeter Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 2005), p. 14.

London) incidence of charity schools.³⁹ A correlation between the presence of church organs and parish Sunday schools in Hertfordshire provides supporting evidence for this finding.

Davidson asserted that Northamptonshire and Rutland organs were usually the gift of an individual or family,⁴⁰ and Pacey found that most of the smaller villages which acquired organs in the early nineteenth century were estate villages, with the organ 'paid for by the squire or noble family at the Hall'.⁴¹ Likewise Browne attributed the 'unexpectedly lavish provision' in some parts of Devon to donation by local landowners.⁴² He also noted that some organs were purchased by the rector, the rate-payers or were on loan, and that subscriptions are under-represented because they rarely appear in vestry minutes. Although the present study has found evidence of all these funding methods, they varied according to changing fashion, clerical and economic influences, which furthers our understanding of this subject. Obelkevich asserted that organs became status symbols as the nineteenth century progressed, when 'affluent congregations replaced their organ three or four times in the course of the century',⁴³ a phenomenon also seen in some wealthy Hertfordshire parishes. Miele found a close temporal relationship between the arrival of a new incumbent and the initiation of restoration or rebuilding, with two-thirds of restorations started within five years of a clerical appointment.⁴⁴ But a development of his argument is the correlation between the appointment of a new incumbent and the installation of a new organ, which was the case in many Hertfordshire parishes.

³⁹ Nicholas Temperley, 'Organs in English Parish Churches 1660-1830', *Organ Yearbook*, Vol. X (1979), pp. 83-100.

⁴⁰ Davidson, *Choirs*, p. 62.

⁴¹ Robert Pacey, *Lincolnshire Church Organs* [...] (Burgh-le-Marsh, 2002), p. 4.

⁴² Browne, *Organs*, p. 33.

⁴³ Obelkevich, 'Music', p. 552.

⁴⁴ Chris Miele, 'Their interest and habit': Professionalism and the Restoration of Medieval Churches, 1837-1877', in: Chris Brooks & Andrew Saint (eds.), *The Victorian Church. Architecture and Society* (Manchester, 1995), pp. 169-170.

Shuker has highlighted the under-reported role of women organists throughout England during the period 1750-1850.⁴⁵ Evidence from Hertfordshire supports his findings, which challenge the accepted view that women made no significant contribution to church organ-playing until the mid nineteenth century. The orthodoxy is that during the nineteenth century church music-making by choir-bands was displaced by the vicar's wife or schoolteacher playing a small organ.⁴⁶ Obelkevich asserted they were 'chiefly wives and daughters of parson, squires, and farmers', but referred to both MacDermott and Ditchfield in his research,⁴⁷ and Temperley's fleeting reference to women organists claimed they were usually the 'vicar's wife or daughter'.⁴⁸ Hillsman asserted there is little evidence that women were organists 'except when men were not available, which meant primarily in country areas'.⁴⁹ He attributed this to the Victorians' increasing obsession with diplomas, and the fact that men were more likely to study for them.⁵⁰ Barger asserted that women's involvement in church music-making during the nineteenth century faced both prejudice and the expectation that they would seek no financial reward.⁵¹ Yet in this study it will be argued that the voluntary nature of women's involvement, which led to their under-representation in the historical record, owed much to protracted funding difficulties in the church rather than any lack of ability or over-riding desire to forgo financial reward.

⁴⁵ David Shuker, 'More than 'distinguished ornaments'? Women organists in late-Georgian England', *Organists' Review*, Vol. XCVI (Feb. 2010), pp. 7-11; 'The Pitfalls of Received Wisdom: Women Organists in Anglian Churches and Chapels in Great Britain from 1750 to 1850', *Organ Yearbook*, Vol. XXXIX (2010), pp. 101-12.

⁴⁶ Gant, *O Sing*, p. 253.

⁴⁷ James Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey 1825-1875* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 148-9.

⁴⁸ Temperley, *Parish Church*, pp. 234 & 301.

⁴⁹ Walter Hillsman, 'Women in Victorian Church Music: Their Social, Liturgical and Performing Roles in Anglicanism', in: W.J. Sheils & Diana Wood (eds.), *Studies in Church History*, Vol. 27: *Women in the Church* (Oxford, 1990), p. 448.

⁵⁰ Walter Lee Hillsman, *Trends and aims in Anglican church music, 1870-1906, in relation to developments in churchmanship* (Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis, 1985), p. 136; 'Women', pp. 449-50.

⁵¹ Judith Barger, *Elizabeth Stirling and the Musical Life of Female Organists in Nineteenth-Century England*, *Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 1 & 46.

Barrel-organs

The use of church barrel-organs is a key part of the present study, owing to their intended function of supporting singing by both schoolchildren and the general congregation. The popularity of barrel-organs among the gentry and aristocracy during the eighteenth century has not been widely researched, although Williams observed that barrel-organs were ‘symptomatic of a preoccupation with mechanical things’ in much of Europe in the late eighteenth century.⁵² Similarly, very little research has been undertaken into the use of church barrel-organs apart from Turner’s research 1997-2002, the main focus being the tunes pinned on the barrels and the tempo at which they could be played.⁵³

MacDermott speculated that church barrel-organs were often ‘used to entertain the bucolic (and alcoholic) peasant mind in the village inn’.⁵⁴ This unsubstantiated remark, probably based on the presence of sacred and secular barrels on the same organ, led to the popular misconception that barrel-organs could be used in church on Sunday, but the village inn for the rest of the week.⁵⁵ It is therefore perhaps unsurprising that *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music* summarized their use in just one sentence: ‘By the end of the century, some churches in Great Britain that could not support a choir or band had installed barrel-organs, whose mechanical mechanisms [*sic*] were pinned to play the most popular psalm and hymn

⁵² Williams, *English Organ Music*, p. 137.

⁵³ Christopher Turner, ‘Barrel Organs’, *British Institute of Organ Studies Reporter*, Vol. XXI no. 2 (Apr. 1997); ‘The Decline of the Gallery Tradition’, in: Christopher Turner (ed.), *Georgian Psalmody 1. The Gallery Tradition* (Corby Glen, 1997), pp. 71-9; ‘Miserable Machines: the Role of the Barrel Organ within Georgian Psalmody’, in: Christopher Turner (ed.) *Georgian Psalmody 2. The Interaction Between Urban and Rural Practice* (Corby Glen, 1999), pp. 65-72; ‘Psalmody Singing and the Role of the Barrel Organ in the Anglican Church of the Nineteenth Century’, in: Jeremy Dibble & Bennett Zon (eds.), *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 32-45.

⁵⁴ MacDermott, *Minstrels*, pp. 40-1.

⁵⁵ For example Noel Boston, ‘The Barrel Organ’, in: International Association of Music Libraries, *Music, libraries and instruments: papers read at the Joint Congress, Cambridge, 1959* (London, 1961), p. 203; Harry Woodhouse, *Face the Music: Church and Chapel Bands in Cornwall* (St Austell, 1997), p. 53.

tunes'.⁵⁶ Unfortunately many studies referring to church barrel-organs contain factual errors, for example McGrady stated 'the barrel organ was operated by a metal barrel [...] each barrel had a repertoire of ten to fifteen hymn or psalm tunes',⁵⁷ and Hillsman described their sound as 'organ-like', despite the fact that they are themselves organs.⁵⁸

During the 1950s Canon Boston began to compile a list of church barrel-organs, aiming to discover which tunes were played.⁵⁹ Following his untimely death in 1966 his research notes were used by Langwill to publish a work concerned with both chamber and church barrel-organs, but these he presented solely as replacements for choir-bands, and gave few tunelists or references. Langwill commented 'we shall probably be right if we say the highest number of barrel organs would have been found in churches between 1840 and 1850',⁶⁰ and this is commonly accepted to be the period in which they were most widely used. According to Hillsman 'Barrel organs enjoyed their greatest vogue in the 1840s',⁶¹ while Obelkevich and Weston even asserted that barrel-organs were not introduced until the 1840s.⁶² By contrast, Temperley has stated that barrel-organs became widespread in country churches after about 1790.⁶³ In Hertfordshire very few churches had them before 1800, but they then became increasingly common. This was because their introduction was often linked to the establishment of a charity school, particularly following the foundation of the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church (National Society) in 1811. These findings challenge what is already known

⁵⁶ Charles E. Brewer, 'Protestant church music in England and America', in: , in: Keefe, Simon P. (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 174.

⁵⁷ Richard McGrady, *Music and Musicians in Early Nineteenth-Century Cornwall* (Exeter, 1991), p. 91.

⁵⁸ Hillsman, *Trends*, p. 218; see also Bicknell, *English Organ*, p. 210.

⁵⁹ Noel Boston, 'Barrel Full of Tunes', *Church Times* (9 July 1954), p. 531; 'The Barrel-Organ', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, New Series, Vol. 7 (1959), p. 99; 'Barrel Organ' (1961), pp. 200-4.

⁶⁰ Lyndesay G. Langwill & Noel Boston, *Church and chamber barrel-organs: their origin, makers, music and location: a chapter in English church music*, 2nd edn. (Edinburgh, 1970), p. 13.

⁶¹ Hillsman, *Trends*, p. 218.

⁶² Obelkevich, *Religion*, p. 147; Weston, *Instrumentation*, p. 219.

⁶³ Temperley, 'Music in Church', p. 387.

about the use of church barrel-organs, and amends what is known about both their intended function and the period in which they were most widely used.

Singers and choir-bands

Disputes between choir-bands and clergy have been recorded by MacDermott (Sussex),⁶⁴ Baddley (Somerset),⁶⁵ Lee (Norfolk)⁶⁶ and Spaeth (Wiltshire).⁶⁷ The orthodoxy is that such disputes led to the introduction of a harmonium or organ, usually a barrel-organ, and the suppression of choir-bands has been seen by historians such as Gammon, Lee and Adelman as part of a wider conflict between elite and popular cultural values.⁶⁸ Many authors cite Hardy's *Under The Greenwood Tree*⁶⁹ as an authoritative account of the replacement of a choir-band with an organ,⁷⁰ despite Hardy's own experience of church music-making during this era being restricted to stories handed down by his grandfather and father, both church musicians. In the preface to the 1896 edition, Hardy explained his descriptions of 'west-gallery musicians' were intended to be a 'fairly true picture' of village customs common during the 1830s-40s.⁷¹ Intriguingly, in February 1905 Hardy questioned Galpin at a lecture he gave to the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club,⁷² and in Hertfordshire just five months later Galpin again lectured on 'The by-gone music of our parish

⁶⁴ MacDermott, *Minstrels*, p. 7.

⁶⁵ Ken Baddley, 'Trouble in the Gallery', in: Turner, *Georgian Psalmody 1*, pp. 17-25.

⁶⁶ Robert Lee, 'Rural Society and the Anglican Clergy, 1815-1914. Encountering and Managing the Poor', *Studies in Modern British Religious History*, Vol. 11 (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 50-1.

⁶⁷ Donald A. Spaeth, *The Church in an Age of Danger: Parsons and Parishioners, 1660-1740* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 237-9.

⁶⁸ Gammon, "Babylonian Performances", pp. 62-88; Obelkevich, *Religion*, p. 147; Robert James Lee, *Encountering and Managing the Poor: Rural Society and the Anglican Clergy in Norfolk 1815-1914* (Leicester Univ. PhD thesis, 2003), p. 52; Dale Adelman, *The Contribution of Cambridge Ecclesiologists to the Revival of Anglican Choral Worship 1839-62*, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Aldershot, 1997), p. 7.

⁶⁹ Thomas Hardy, *Under the Greenwood Tree or the Mellstock Quire. A Rural Painting of the Dutch School* (London, 1872).

⁷⁰ For example, MacDermott, *Minstrels*, p. 3; Ian Bradley, *Abide with Me. The World of Victorian Hymns* (London, 1997), p. 5; John Potter, *Vocal Authority: Singing Style and Ideology* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 79.

⁷¹ Hardy, 'Preface', *Greenwood Tree* (London, 1896 edn.), pp. v-vi.

⁷² F.W. Galpin, 'Notes on the Old Church Bands and Village Choirs of the Past Century', *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club*, Vol. 26 (1905), pp. xl & 172-81.

churches' at the *English Church History Exhibition* held at the Town Hall, St Albans.⁷³ Galpin noted that the barrel-organ 'supplanted the Church Bands in towns and villages during the early part of the last century', perhaps coloured by his meeting with Hardy.⁷⁴ In this study it will be argued that although in some churches barrel-organs were introduced to replace choir-bands, the main impetus in many cases was the establishment of a charity school, as noted above. Furthermore, in some instances the use of church barrel-organs preceded the widespread incidence of choir-bands, which challenges the accepted interpretation of events.

Yet Drage has suggested the decline of the church band owed much to industrialization and the accompanying migration from country to town, rather than to the introduction of a barrel-organ,⁷⁵ moreover Smith found that in Oldham and Saddleworth the introduction of an organ did not necessarily lead to the removal of the band, and no evidence of conflict.⁷⁶ This dissertation presents evidence that organs and choir-bands co-existed in some churches, but that they played for different services, supporting Smith's observation.

According to Marsh, by 1780 'nearly all rural churches had choirs again',⁷⁷ but there is little evidence of Hertfordshire choir-bands by this date, and consequently little evidence of conflict. In 1979 Temperley asserted 'the barrel organ would generally replace the church band in a country church, and to some extent would also replace the choir. This indeed, was what commended it to many clergymen',⁷⁸ and again in 2006: 'The 'singers' met their fate when an organ or barrel-organ was installed in the

⁷³ *English Church History Exhibition: at the Town Hall, St Albans, from 27th June to 15th July 1905* (St Albans, 1905); *Church Times* (30 June 1905), p. 842; *Musical Times* (1 Aug. 1905), p. 526.

⁷⁴ Francis W. Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music: their History and Character* (London, 1910), p. 174.

⁷⁵ Sally Drage, 'A Reappraisal of Provincial Church Music', in: Wyn Jones, *Music*, p. 175.

⁷⁶ Mark Smith, *Religion in Industrial Society: Oldham and Saddleworth, 1740-1865* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 54-5 & 93.

⁷⁷ Christopher W. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 404.

⁷⁸ Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 235.

church'.⁷⁹ Yet MacDermott suggested they were used only in churches with no band,⁸⁰ and the present study supports his proposal. Furthermore Turner observed that barrel-organ use coincided with the main choir-band period, 'long before the influence of the Oxford Movement'.⁸¹ The concurrent activities of organs and choir-bands discussed in the present study support this suggestion, and provide evidence that developments in parochial music-making were often parallel rather than the sequential progression accepted by perhaps the majority of historians. Furthermore, although Burns argued that an early- to mid-nineteenth century 'Diocesan Revival' was the key reforming initiative during this period, evidence presented in this dissertation suggests that the reform of church music-making was already underway in the late eighteenth century.⁸²

Temperley listed the few churches known to have used instruments between 1742 (the earliest post-Restoration date known) and 1785, based principally on secondary sources including Langwill's list, itself updated from MacDermott.⁸³ Temperley concluded that the most essential instruments, that is, bassoons or cellos, were commonly introduced 1740-70, and 'the period when bands were commonest was roughly 1780 to 1830'.⁸⁴ This suggestion was supported by Weston who found 1780-1840 to be the period of greatest choir-band activity in Eastern England.⁸⁵ Temperley later argued that by the mid-1800s 'variously constituted bands of instruments had become a common feature',⁸⁶ but this does not appear to have been the case in Hertfordshire where by the mid-1800s few churches had bands but many had barrel-organs, suggesting a significant amendment to the accepted view.

⁷⁹ Temperley, 'Music in Church', p. 387.

⁸⁰ MacDermott, *Sussex*, p. 50.

⁸¹ Turner, 'Decline', p. 78.

⁸² Arthur Burns, *The Diocesan Revival in the Church of England c.1800-1870*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford, 1999), p. 2.

⁸³ Temperley, *Parish Church*, pp. 148-151 & 197.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*

⁸⁵ Weston, *Instrumentation*, p. 219.

⁸⁶ Temperley & Drage, *Psalmody*, p. xix.

Nonconformist music-making

Although music-making in the parish church rather than nonconformist meetings is the focus of the current study, it is important to note the significance of this related field. Indeed, provincial Anglican and nonconformist church music is collectively known as psalmody,⁸⁷ reflecting the fact that some pieces were used in both church and chapel. Rainbow, Temperley and others have discussed the influence of nonconformist, especially Methodist, music on Anglican church music-making,⁸⁸ and evidence of this influence has also been found in Hertfordshire. Although Drage suggested that Watts' hymns were only sung by dissenters,⁸⁹ Bradley stated they were 'enthusiastically taken up by all denominations',⁹⁰ and this study supports his assertion.

Hillsman argued that the replacement of choir-bands adversely affected village life because gallery musicians often stopped attending church when disbanded, weakening the fibre of village life.⁹¹ But Temperley suggested that during the early nineteenth century some choir-bands served both their parish church and one or more local nonconformist chapels where they continued to sing and play,⁹² and Hertfordshire evidence lends support to this argument.

Church accommodation

Jacob has described how the seating arrangement of a typical eighteenth-century parish church reflected the social hierarchy of the community. The vicar's or rector's family pew was usually situated in the chancel and the major landowner's nearest to the pulpit, with lesser landowners and farmers placed in order of rank, and

⁸⁷ Drage, *Performance*, p. ii.

⁸⁸ Bernarr Rainbow, 'Parochial and Nonconformist Church Music', in: Nicholas Temperley (ed.), *Music in Britain: The Romantic Age 1800-1914* (London, 1981), pp. 144-67; Nicholas Temperley, 'John Wesley, Music, and the People Called Methodists', in: Nicholas Temperley & Stephen Banfield, *Music and the Wesleys* (Illinois, 2010); 'The Music of Dissent', in: Isobel Rivers & David L. Wykes (eds.), *Dissenting Praise* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 197-228.

⁸⁹ Sally Drage, 'William Cole's View of Modern Psalmody', in: Bennett Zon (ed.), *Music and Performance Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain. Essays in Honour of Nicholas Temperley* (Farnham, c.2012), p. 267.

⁹⁰ Ian Bradley, 'Nonconformist Hymnody', in: Robert Pope (ed.), *T&T Clark Companion to Nonconformity* (London, 2013), p. 237.

⁹¹ Hillsman, *Trends*, p. 217.

⁹² Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 240.

so on down the social structure with the least prestigious seats furthest away.⁹³ Likewise, Brooks and Saint have argued 'pew rents ensured that the physical arrangement of the church interior would replicate the class structure of the eighteenth century parish'.⁹⁴ One method of achieving proximity to the pulpit was to erect a prominent gallery on a level with it,⁹⁵ and therefore galleries were often built by the elite during the eighteenth century.

Temperley discussed the need for singers to be placed together as a group, and consequently the building of singing galleries in both urban and rural parish churches.⁹⁶ Addleshaw and Etchells noted the most usual place for singers was 'a singing-loft or gallery generally, though not always, at the west end' otherwise a singing pew at the back or side of the nave,⁹⁷ and Clarke stated 'almost every church had a gallery, or a pew, for the singers' during the eighteenth century.⁹⁸ The orthodoxy is that many problems arose from the singers' perceived position of superiority in the west gallery.⁹⁹ Gammon asserted the creation of singing galleries upset the congregation's hierarchy since 'entry was to be by merit, not status',¹⁰⁰ and Jacob also argued they might cause some of the poorer sort to be elevated above their betters,¹⁰¹ but there is little evidence of this in Hertfordshire.

The increasing need to accommodate children and their role in music-making in the late-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth-century church is a new area of research. Temperley stated that galleries 'often contained seats for the charity children',¹⁰² and historians agree that charity school children were often seated in organ galleries in

⁹³ Jacob, 'congregation', pp. 294-8.

⁹⁴ Brooks & Saint (eds.), 'Introduction', *Victorian Church*, p. 4.

⁹⁵ Jacob, 'congregation', pp. 297-8.

⁹⁶ Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 154.

⁹⁷ G.W.O. Addleshaw & Frederick Etchells, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship* (London, 1948), p. 9.

⁹⁸ B.F.L. Clarke, *The Building of the Eighteenth-Century Church* (London, 1963), p. 31.

⁹⁹ Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 156; W.M. Jacob, *Lay People and Religion in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 219.

¹⁰⁰ Gammon, "Babylonian Performances", p. 70.

¹⁰¹ Jacob, 'congregation', p. 301.

¹⁰² Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 154.

order to form a choir.¹⁰³ Yet rather than only sitting in childrens' or organ galleries, Addleshaw and Etchells noted children were often accommodated in shared galleries, with singers occupying a few seats at the front or side, the rest being used by 'children or ordinary members of the congregation'.¹⁰⁴ Although Yates recorded the presence of 'tiered seating for children, singers and musicians' at Parracombe (Devon) he offered no explanation for its need, nor its implications.¹⁰⁵ Evidence of similar shared arrangements found in the present study indicate that children sang both with organs and with choir-bands, which makes an important contribution to our understanding of parochial music-making.

Ward found evidence of parishioners 'who commonly absent themselves upon account of small children',¹⁰⁶ and in Hampshire Smith found some parents took turns to attend divine service or care for young children at home until they were old enough to behave responsibly.¹⁰⁷ By contrast, Woods stated 'In the west gallery period children attended the whole service, including the sermon, sitting with their mothers', but he cited no evidence.¹⁰⁸ Yet the present study suggests that attendance of poor children at church was often compulsory from a very young age, and that they were seated separately from their parents. This arrangement was often closely related to church music-making and, because they were commonly seated in galleries, became intricately involved in questions of hierarchical propriety.

¹⁰³ Walter Hillsman, 'Choirboys and Choirgirls in the Victorian Church of England', in: Wood, *Church and Childhood*, p. 447; Williams, *English Organ Music*, p. 116.

¹⁰⁴ Addleshaw & Etchells, *Architectural Setting*, pp. 93 & 98.

¹⁰⁵ Nigel Yates, *Buildings, Faith and Worship* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 193 & 196; *Liturgical Space. Christian Worship and Church Buildings in Western Europe 1500-2000*, Liturgy, Worship and Society Series (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 92-3.

¹⁰⁶ W. Reginald Ward, *Parson and Parish in Eighteenth-Century Surrey. Replies to Bishops' Visitations*, Surrey Record Society, Vol. XXXIV (Guildford, 1994), p. 162.

¹⁰⁷ Mark Smith (ed.), *Doing the Duty of the Parish: Surveys of the Church in Hampshire 1810*, Hampshire Record Series, Vol. XVII (Winchester, 2004), p. li.

¹⁰⁸ Rollo Woods, *Good Singing Still: A Handbook on West Gallery Music* (Telford, 1995), p. 57.

This historiographical survey has introduced the broad topics forming the basis of this study. After discussing the social and ecclesiastical context of parish church music-making in relation to Hertfordshire, this dissertation will discuss its introduction and or development during four periods. These comprise the 1760s to 1800s, during which interested members of the elite exerted their influence; the 1810s to 1820s when choir-bands were prominent and the establishment of National Schools had a profound effect; the 1830s to 1840s which saw the introduction of Tractarianism and the impact of church rate disputes; and finally the 1850s to 1860s when many church choirs were formed and churches 'restored'.

1. Context

1.1. Hertfordshire

Covering just over 630 square miles, Hertfordshire is one of England's smallest counties. Clockwise from the south, it is bordered by Middlesex (London), Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire and Essex, and there is a marked contrast between the hillier west bordering the Chilterns and the flatter eastern region (see Appendix 1).¹⁰⁹ With no large towns or cathedral until the late nineteenth century it has been described as a 'county of small towns',¹¹⁰ and in 1801 although the county's population was 97,000, only twelve parishes had a population greater than 2000.¹¹¹ Several major routes from London pass through Hertfordshire, including the Great North Road to York (now the A1), the Old North Road (Ermine Street, now the A10) and the Holyhead Road (Watling Street, now the A5).

Straw-plaiting and hat-making became significant Hertfordshire industries following the stoppage of supplies of Italian straw hats at the onset of the Napoleonic Wars, and until the late nineteenth century the west Hertfordshire districts of St Albans, Hemel Hempstead, Berkhamsted and Hitchin were centres for the straw trades.¹¹² Workers in the straw industry were predominantly girls, women, and young boys, and children also formed a significant proportion of the workforce in the silk and paper mills sited next to rivers in south and west Hertfordshire, with major mills in Tring, St Albans and Watford.¹¹³ The population of these districts therefore became the fastest-growing between 1801 and 1851.¹¹⁴ To the east of the county the main

¹⁰⁹ Lionel M. Munby, *The Hertfordshire Landscape* (London, 1977), p. 35.

¹¹⁰ Terry Slater & Nigel Goose, *A County of Small Towns: The Development of Hertfordshire's Urban Landscape to 1800* (Hatfield, 2008).

¹¹¹ PP 1831 (348) *Comparative account of the population of Great Britain, 1801, 1811, 1821, and 1831*.

¹¹² Nigel Goose, 'Straw-Plaiting and Hat-Making', in: Short, *Historical Atlas*, pp. 90-1.

¹¹³ Eileen Wallace, *Children of the Labouring Poor: The working lives of children in nineteenth-century Hertfordshire* (Hatfield, 2010).

¹¹⁴ Nigel Goose, 'Population, 1801-1901', in: Short, *Historical Atlas*, pp. 56-7.

employment was in agriculture, and in 1907 Hertfordshire was still described as ‘an agricultural rather than an industrial county’.¹¹⁵

1.1.1. Landowners

In addition to those owned by long-established county families, Hertfordshire landed estates have been considered desirable by successful Londoners ever since the sixteenth century, resulting in a steady influx of wealthy families.¹¹⁶ Hertfordshire was considered sufficiently distant from the capital for most new landowners to maintain their London address with the associated advantages of metropolitan society and taste, while allowing them to become prominent members of the local community, and many served as Sheriffs or Deputy Lieutenants.¹¹⁷ Stone and Stone found that proximity to London was the ‘overwhelming influence’ on Hertfordshire property ownership,¹¹⁸ and in a recent assessment of Dury and Andrews’ 1766 map of Hertfordshire, Macnair *et al.* noted half of the 169 properties with named occupiers had been purchased since 1700, of whom 14% were lawyers, and 40% city merchants, overseas traders, brewers and bankers.¹¹⁹ This trend continued into the nineteenth century.

Since parks were the most conspicuous status symbols in early-eighteenth-century rural society, landowners spent fortunes on landscaping by leading figures such as Brown and Repton, on improvements to their houses and, in some cases, local churches. The consequence was the enlargement of parks, closing of footpaths and alienation of landowners from the poor.¹²⁰ By contrast, nineteenth-century improvements tended to focus more on rebuilding, but both approaches often led to

¹¹⁵ Duncan Warrand, *Hertfordshire Families* (London, 1907), p. 3; Nigel Agar, ‘Agriculture in the Nineteenth Century’, in: Short, *Historical Atlas*, pp. 122-3.

¹¹⁶ Lawrence Stone & Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, ‘Country Houses and their Owners in Hertfordshire, 1540-1879’, in: William O. Aydelotte, Allan G. Bogue & Robert William Fogel (eds.), *The Dimensions of Quantitative Research in History* (London, 1972), pp. 58-9, see also Lawrence Stone & Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540-1880* (Oxford, 1984).

¹¹⁷ Kate Harwood, ‘Some Hertfordshire Nabobs’, in: Rowe, Anne (ed.), *Hertfordshire Garden History: A Miscellany* (Hatfield, 2007), p. 71.

¹¹⁸ Stone & Stone, ‘Country Houses’, p. 123.

¹¹⁹ Andrew Macnair, Anne Rowe & Tom Williamson, *Dury and Andrews’ Map of Hertfordshire: Society and Landscape in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 145-8.

¹²⁰ Hugh Prince, *Parks in Hertfordshire since 1500* (Hatfield, 2008), pp. 57-66.

bankruptcy and a rapid turnover of ownership, with the capital providing a ‘perpetual fountain of wealth for new building’ in Hertfordshire.¹²¹ In terms of acreage alone, the most notable family to settle during this period were the Smiths of Woodhall Park. Owning in excess of 10,000 acres by 1873, this banking family had become second only to the Marquess of Salisbury in terms of Hertfordshire land ownership.¹²²

1.1.2. Parishes & dioceses

During the 1760s to 1860s one hundred and thirty-six parishes were wholly or partly in Hertfordshire, the majority of which had parish churches (see Appendix 2). The remaining parishes, that is Bayford, Markyate and Totteridge, were ancient chapelries of Essendon, Flamstead and Hatfield respectively, while both Bovingdon and Flaunden were chapelries of Hemel Hempstead. In most respects these functioned as parish churches, and are therefore treated as such in the present study.

Rather than being under the jurisdiction of a single diocese, until 1845 parishes in west Hertfordshire were in the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon, Lincoln diocese. Parishes in east Hertfordshire were in the diocese of London, either in the Archdeaconry of Middlesex or Peculiars, while those in the south-west and other scattered parishes were in the Archdeaconry of St Albans.¹²³ To complicate things further, in 1845 the Archdeaconry of St Albans was reconstituted to include the whole of Hertfordshire and transferred to the diocese of Rochester. The new St Albans diocese did not come into being until 1877 when the Abbey Church was elevated to the status of Cathedral and Abbey Church of St Alban. In 1553 the Abbey Church of the recently-dissolved monastery had been purchased by the town for use as the parish church of their small newly-created parish. Although the mayor and corporation held the

¹²¹ Stone & Stone, ‘Country Houses’, p. 123; Prince, *Parks*, p. 142.

¹²² PP 1874 [C.1097] *Return for each County in England and Wales of Name and Address of every Owner of Acre and upwards [...]*.

¹²³ Jonathan Hunn, ‘County, Hundred and Ecclesiastical Boundary Changes’, in: Short, *Historical Atlas*, pp. 12-3; Sue Flood, ‘Probate Divisions’, in: Short, *Historical Atlas*, pp. 14-5.

advowson until 1835, there was very little in the way of music-making until the installation of an organ in 1820.

The values of Hertfordshire livings were diverse. Yielding an annual income of £2318 in 1835, by far the most valuable was Hatfield, with the Marquess of Salisbury as patron. The Bishops of London and Lincoln held several advowsons, including the second and third most valuable livings. These were Much Hadham with Little Hadham (£1654) and Wheathampstead with Harpenden (£1404) where John Randolph and George Pretymen appointed their sons rector. These figures were in marked contrast to poor livings such as Kings Walden which yielded £57, and Little Wymondley, only £20. The Ecclesiastical Revenues Commission of 1835 found that the typical gross income of an English incumbent was £275,¹²⁴ but in Hertfordshire the mean, excluding Hatfield, was approximately £375, as summarized in Figure 1.

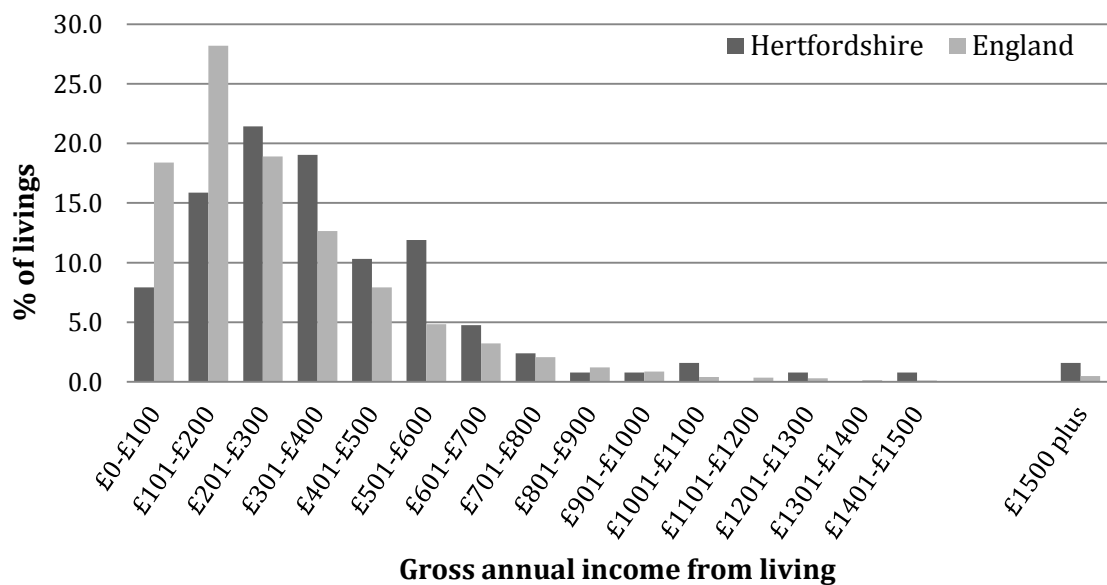


Figure 1. Value of Hertfordshire livings in 1835.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ Peter Virgin, *The Church in an Age of Negligence: Ecclesiastical Structure and Problems of Church Reform 1700-1840* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 90.

¹²⁵ PP 1835 [67] *Royal Com. to inquire into Ecclesiastical Revenues and Patronage of England and Wales Report*, pp. 510-613, 634-81 & 1053-56.

1.1.3. Clergy

In addition to sons of bishops, many Hertfordshire clergy were part of the close-knit county hierarchy, related by birth or marriage to patrons, landowners and other clergy. James Carpenter Gape, rector of Redbourn and St Michael's, St Albans from the 1770s to 1820s, was cousin to James, 3rd Viscount Grimston who owned the Gorhambury estate. The connections of the poet William Cowper also illustrate the inter-relatedness of elite and clergy families. Son of the rector of Berkhamsted, his first cousins included William Cowper MP and Martin Madan (see pp. 43 & 102), while George, 3rd Earl Cowper was a second cousin,¹²⁶ with a seat at Cole Green Park near Hertford. The family group shown in Figure 2 depicts the Earl with his future wife's family, and conveys their shared taste, politeness and exquisite refinement since it includes a newly-invented square piano.



Figure 2. Johan Joseph Zoffany, *The Gore family with George, 3rd Earl Cowper* (c.1775).¹²⁷

¹²⁶ John D. Baird, 'Cowper, William (1731-1800)', *ODNB*.

¹²⁷ Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B1977.14.87, accessed at <http://britishart.yale.edu/collections>.

Close familial ties and shared cultural values such as these suggest many Hertfordshire clergy would have not only enjoyed listening to music, but also been willing and able to participate on suitable occasions, and may therefore have taken an interest in church music-making. This pattern continued, and even as late as the 1860s it was the Hon. & Rev. Hertfordshire clergy who formed the bulwark of the latest initiative to improve congregational singing (see Section 5.4.2).

Yet the apparent indifference of many eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century incumbents to their cures is well-rehearsed. Owing to the erratic survival of sources, no conclusive correlation can be demonstrated between the absence of clerical interest and the scarcity or otherwise of music-making. Nonetheless, examples of a variety of neglect on the part of Hertfordshire clergy during this period set the surviving evidence for music-making in context.

Many Hertfordshire clergy were pluralists, the most celebrated being the Hon. & Rev. Frederick de Vere Beauclerk, vicar of both Redbourn and St Michaels, St Albans from 1827 to 1850, but also a professional cricketer.¹²⁸ Some held livings in neighbouring counties or the capital, but others were much further afield, including William Skynner, vicar of Rushden but also rector of Bradley (Derbys.) and Cuxwold (Lincs.) in the early 1800s.¹²⁹ Those with London livings spent the Season there, and so were only partially resident. These included Edmund Gibson, son of the late Bishop of London, who was rector of St Bene't & St Peter, precentor of St Paul's Cathedral and in Hertfordshire vicar of Bishops Stortford 1766-98.¹³⁰ In 1790 many incumbents were found to be non-resident, including the vicar of Sandridge, who resided at Eton where he was headmaster,¹³¹ and the vicar of Newnham, who lived at his patron's seat at Erddig, North Wales.¹³²

¹²⁸ Eric Midwinter, 'Beauclerk, Lord Frederick de Vere (1773-1850)', *ODNB*.

¹²⁹ CCEd, Person 19817.

¹³⁰ LPL, FP/Porteus, Visitation returns (1790), 24/20-65.

¹³¹ LPL, FP/Porteus 30/8-95.

¹³² LPL, FP/Porteus 29/4-71.

The church had no responsibility for the provision or upkeep of the parsonage, and some clergy were unwilling or unable to maintain one, using this as a reason for their absence. In 1810 William Cross, vicar of Great Amwell explained:

the vicarage of Amwell is a small cottage, not fit for the residence of a clergyman and has not been inhabited by one within the memory of the oldest parishioners.¹³³

The well-connected William Cowper (see above) wrote for the *Connoisseur* under the nom-de-plume 'Mr Village', and in 1756 drew attention to the precedence given by many clergymen to parsonage rather than church repairs:

[...] it is no uncommon thing to see the parsonage-house well thatched, and in exceeding good repair, while the church perhaps has scarce any other roof than the ivy that grows over it. The noise of owls, bats, and magpies, make the principal part of the church-music in many of these ancient edifices.¹³⁴

Even if the incumbent was resident in his parsonage house this usually meant his other benefices were served by a curate. It seems probable that in many instances they undertook their duties conscientiously, but this was not always so. In 1772 the Bovingdon churchwardens reported to the archdeacon 'we have no curate resident in our Parish and when he appears for the performance of his duty is often disguis'd in liquor'.¹³⁵ The rector of St Andrew's, Hertford and Hertingfordbury from 1755 until his death in 1804 was the Hon. & Rev. Robert Cholmondeley, often resident at the family seat, Cholmondeley Castle (Cheshire).¹³⁶ Non-resident in either of his Hertfordshire parishes, he too had failed to appoint a suitable curate, since in May 1780 the vestry resolved to write to his son:

[...] to know whether his father Robert Cholmondeley Esq will appoint a proper person to act as curate to the Parish of St Andrews Hertford [...] If this is not complyd with in a small space of time the Parish will apply directly to the Bishop of the Diocese of Lincoln for redress.¹³⁷

¹³³ LPL, FP/Randolph 9 Visitation returns (1810).

¹³⁴ 'CXXXIV. Letter from Mr. Village, giving an Account of the present State of Country Churches, their Clergy, and their Congregations', *Connoisseur* (19 Aug. 1756).

¹³⁵ HALS, AH/10/1 Churchwarden's presentment (1772).

¹³⁶ CCEd, Person 48097.

¹³⁷ HALS, DP49/8/2-5 Vestry minutes (1779-1867).

Furthermore, once instituted, it was almost impossible to remove a clergyman from his benefice, because rather than an appointment it was treated as his property. Consequently instead of retiring, many elderly or infirm clergy unable to undertake their duties remained in office until their death. In 1810 Thomas Jaunard, vicar of Codicote explained his predecessor 'was a very infirm and aged person, and for several years preceding his death was incapable of performing any duty and seldom or never was able to venture out of doors'.¹³⁸

1.1.4. Nonconformity

The inhabitants of the southern part of the diocese of Lincoln (i.e. Hertfordshire) were described by Bishop Laud in 1637 as being 'very giddy in matters of religion'.¹³⁹ With so many small towns, notoriously hospitable to nonconformists, this was still the case following the Restoration, and a strong and enduring nonconformist presence was found among gentry and commoners alike, particularly in St Albans, Hemel Hempstead and Hertford. By 1851 Baptists had few congregations in east Hertfordshire, but 45% of the total attendance on census Sunday in the western areas bordering Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire, a lasting result of preaching visits made by John Bunyan.¹⁴⁰ The Independents were strongest in the areas with less Baptist influence, that is areas bordering Essex and Middlesex.

Methodism appeared in Hertfordshire during the 1770s at Watford, Barnet, Stevenage, Hatfield and Hinxworth, and St Albans in 1790, and meetings spread to their hinterlands.¹⁴¹ But Burg attributes the county's apparently strong Anglican attendance

¹³⁸ LPL, FP/Randolph 9.

¹³⁹ William Urwick, *Nonconformity in Herts. Being Lectures upon the Nonconforming Worthies of St. Albans, and Memorials of Puritanism and Nonconformity in all the Parishes of the County of Hertford* (London, 1884), p. 90.

¹⁴⁰ Audrey Deacon, 'John Bunyan in Hertfordshire', *Hertfordshire's Past*, Vol. 22 (Spring 1987), pp. 5-8.

¹⁴¹ J. George Greaves, *Wesleyan Methodism in the City of the Proto-Martyr and the St Albans Circuit* (St Albans, 1907); Alan Ruston, 'Protestant Nonconformity', in: Short, *Historical Atlas*, p. 134.

on census Sunday to the relatively low proportion of Methodists, with only 11% of the total attendance, compared to the national average of 25%.¹⁴²

1.2. Post-Restoration music-making in the English parish church

Before commencing on a study of music-making in the mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth-century parish church it is necessary to assess its role in divine worship at the beginning of this period. At this time, although the entire congregation was expected to join in singing psalmody, the music in perhaps the majority of English parish churches was either erratic or conspicuous by its absence. This was for two reasons. Firstly, congregations had become alienated from church music-making during the interregnum, and secondly the congregation was unwilling to sing. Although a parliamentary ordinance of May 1644 ordered ‘all Organs [...] in all Churches and Chapels aforesaid, shall be taken away and utterly defaced’,¹⁴³ few parish churches had an organ at this date and were therefore not directly affected. Perhaps of more enduring consequence was the disbanding of choral foundations, because following the Restoration there were few ex-choristers who could become musically-literate clergymen or parish clerks.

Although the *Book of Common Prayer* had also been banned in 1645, parochial psalmody theoretically carried on much as before, because the Commonwealth Parliament decreed the ‘singing of psalms is of all other the most proper ordinance for expressing of joy and of thanksgiving’.¹⁴⁴ The congregation was expected to sing from Sternhold and Hopkins’ English metrical translation of the psalms, later known as the

¹⁴² Judith Burg, ‘Religious Worship in 1851’, in: Short, *Historical Atlas*, pp. 140-1.

¹⁴³ *Journal of the House of Lords*, Vol. 6 (1643), pp. 545-7, accessed at www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=37515.

¹⁴⁴ Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 78.

'Old Version'.¹⁴⁵ After the Restoration a new metrical translation by Tate and Brady was finally approved in 1696, and became known as the 'New Version'.¹⁴⁶

Tate and Brady recommended that metrical psalms in common metre could be sung to 'the most usual Tunes', namely *York, Windsor, St David's, Litchfield, Canterbury, Martyrs, St Mary's 'alias Hackney', St Anne ' &c'*, and those in long metre 'if of praise or cheerfulness' to the *Old 125th* or *Old 100th*. Psalms written in other metres should be sung to the *Old 25th, Old 113th, Old 148th* or *Old 104th* [*Hanover*]. But by 1709 a parish clerk found such a shortage of fellow clerks 'that the most Common tunes in use amongst us neither are, nor can be but seldom, sung in our Parish-Churches'.¹⁴⁷

Generally it is only since the publication of nineteenth-century hymn-books that words have become associated with specific tunes, and prior to this metrical psalms and hymns could be sung to any tune of the same metre. Although tune supplements were available and sometimes included in the revised prayer book, New Version psalms were written in the same metres as the Old Version so that familiar tunes could continue to be used. The number was limited because they were usually learnt by ear and musical notation was indecipherable to the untutored. Since few in the congregation could read, the parish clerk led the singing by 'lining out' the psalm, that is, reading each line out loud before it was sung, but with no instrumental support the singing became slower and slower over time, and this became known as the 'old way of singing'.¹⁴⁸

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) was founded in 1698, and through correspondence with clergymen encouraged the spread of religious societies and teaching of simple harmonized psalm-tunes to groups of young men.¹⁴⁹ The intention was that they would reform the old way of singing by sitting among and

¹⁴⁵ T. Sternhold, J. Hopkins and others, *The Whole Book of Psalms* (London, 1562).

¹⁴⁶ N. Tate & N. Brady, *A New Version of the Psalms of David, fitted to the Tunes used in Churches* (London, 1696).

¹⁴⁷ B. P[ayne], Parish-Clerk, *The Parish-Clerk's Guide* (London, 1709), p. 5.

¹⁴⁸ Temperley, *Parish Church*, pp. 92-3.

¹⁴⁹ Drage, 'Reappraisal', p. 173.

leading the congregation. In a related development, by the late eighteenth century many market-towns had acquired a church organ in at least one parish, where it was used to support singing by choirs of charity children. The desire for reform also saw the publication of new psalters and introduction of hymns in both town and country parishes.

1.3. Charity Schools

1.3.1. Population

Jacob has argued that the establishment of charity schools in the early eighteenth century reflected a modest increase in the national birth rate: 'there were more children around, and a more obvious need to educate them'.¹⁵⁰ Spaeth found that in the Salisbury diocese between 1670 and 1730 there was a progression in clerical support for training choirs of youths, putting up galleries, founding charity schools, and locating children in galleries to lead congregational singing.¹⁵¹ Yet following a sharp increase in the death rate during 1720s the emphasis shifted from saving souls to saving bodies in order to maintain a workforce (see Section 1.4.2).¹⁵² This dissertation presents evidence which indicates a development of Jacob's argument. The 1760s onwards saw rapid population growth, with children forming an increasing proportion of the population, and therefore an obvious need to educate children was seen in both the early and late eighteenth century (see Figure 3). As will be seen in Chapters 2-5, the repeated attention paid to children's education from the 1760s to 1860s had a significant influence on church music-making and put a huge strain on church accommodation.

¹⁵⁰ Jacob, *Lay People*, p. 179.

¹⁵¹ Spaeth, *Danger*, pp. 232-6.

¹⁵² Jacob, *Lay People*, p. 179.

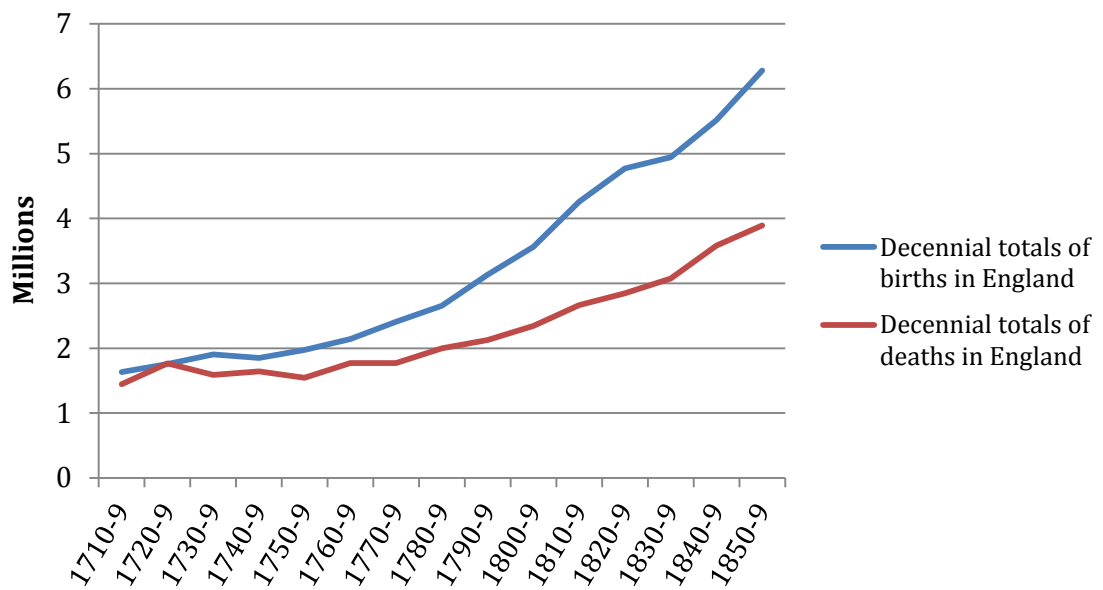


Figure 3. Decennial totals of births and deaths in England 1710s-1850s.¹⁵³

1.3.2. *Children's singing*

The Anglican parish church has made use of children's voices right from its earliest beginnings, when late-sixteenth-century grammar school children were taught metrical psalms in order to lead the singing during divine service.¹⁵⁴ This was encouraged by the church in order to familiarize congregations with the tunes associated with the Old Version. The same approach was taken a century later in an attempt to reintroduce these tunes and improve parochial singing after the interregnum, although Temperley described this as 'a new concept'.¹⁵⁵

In addition to supporting the training of singing youths, the SPCK also encouraged the founding of numerous charity schools to educate poor children in preparation for a lifetime of obedience and work. A 1715 report revealed that almost 5000 children in and near London had been taught reading, writing, the catechism and

¹⁵³ Based on E.A. Wrigley & R.S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541-1871: A Reconstruction*, Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time (Cambridge, 1981), p. 494.

¹⁵⁴ Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 63.

¹⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 125.

psalmody in charity schools.¹⁵⁶ In Hertfordshire there were at least twenty-four such schools, while in Great Britain as a whole some 1193 had been founded, teaching more than 24,000 poor children of both sexes.¹⁵⁷ It was compulsory for charity schoolchildren to attend church, and rules circulated with the report demanded that masters and mistresses:

bring the children to Church twice every Lord's Day and Holy Day [...] and to join in the publick service, and to take care the children bring their bibles and Common-Prayer-Books with them.¹⁵⁸

Although singing was not mentioned specifically, the evidence suggests psalmody was taught as a matter of course in many schools both in London and the provinces, since among the school books listed by the SPCK in 1713 were 'a common prayer book with singing psalms', 'some book of psalmody' and *Hymns for the Charity Schools*.¹⁵⁹ In 1704 the stewards of the Cambridge charity schools reported that they had:

printed an extract of the psalms of David, taken out of the version by Dr Brady and Mr Tate; with the approbation of the bishop of the diocese, for the use of the charity children, and the several parishes in Cambridge [...]¹⁶⁰

As with the plan for singing youths to be dispersed among the congregation, it was not the intention of the SPCK that children should form a separate choir, leaving the congregation to listen in silence, but rather that they would lead the singing. Yet in 1724 Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, cautioned masters and mistresses of London charity schools against providing poor children with a 'polite' education, in case they got ideas above their station:

¹⁵⁶ *Methods used for erecting Charity Schools, with the Rules and Orders by which they are governed* (London, 1715), pp. 16 & 20.

¹⁵⁷ *ibid.*; *An Account of Charity Schools in Great Britain and Ireland [...]* (London, 1713).

¹⁵⁸ *Methods used for erecting Charity Schools*, p. 8.

¹⁵⁹ Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 104.

¹⁶⁰ Richard Willis, *A sermon preach'd in the parish-church of St. Andrew's Holborn, June 8, 1704 [...]* (London, 1704), p. 18.

if the Boys should be taught fine writing, and the girls fine working, and both of them singing [...] the masters and mistresses would hardly refrain from teaching the children to value themselves upon these attainments; all this, I own, would have a natural tendency to set them above the meaner and more laborious stations and offices of life. And therefore all these things should be carefully kept out of our charity-schools.¹⁶¹

Jones argued that Gibson therefore opposed the teaching of singing *per se* since it had no place in such schools.¹⁶² But Gibson was trying to avoid the teaching of an obscure or exclusive repertoire by restricting their singing to the common tunes, thus preventing psalmody from becoming the preserve of the elite, whether adult or child:

many wise and considerate men have condemn'd the custom in some charity-schools, of teaching the children to sing anthems, and such psalm-tunes as are uncommon and out of the way, and have wish'd that they were absolutely restrain'd to the learning five or six of the tunes most usually sung in churches; and that not only some few of the children, but all of them in general, might be equally bound to learn and sing them to the best of their capacities, in order to be able to join with the congregation, wherever their lot shall fall.¹⁶³

In addition to addressing charity school masters and mistresses, Gibson also devoted a Charge to his clergy to the subject of psalmody, arguing that as with other new skills, it was generally easier to learn while young.¹⁶⁴ Reinforcing the objectives of the SPCK he expressed a wish that 'the People of every Parish, and especially the Youth, were trained up and accustomed to an orderly way of singing some of the Psalm-Tunes which are most plain and easy, and of most common use', so the 'whole Congregation, men and Women, Old and Young' would sing.¹⁶⁵ Again, he called for care to be taken to ensure that psalms were selected and sung 'in a decent manner' cautioning against itinerant singing teachers and complicated tunes because 'the greatest part of the Congregation being unaccustom'd to them, are silenc'd, and do not join in this exercise

¹⁶¹ Edmund Gibson, *Directions given by Edmund Lord Bishop of London to the Masters and Mistresses of the Charity-schools* (London, 1724), p. 5.

¹⁶² M.G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement: A Study of Eighteenth Century Puritanism in Action* (Cambridge, 1938), p. 81.

¹⁶³ Gibson, *Masters and Mistresses*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁶⁴ Edmund Gibson, *Directions given to the Clergy of the Diocese of London, in the year 1724* (London, 1727), pp. 13-4.

¹⁶⁵ *ibid.*

at all'.¹⁶⁶ In an attempt to achieve this, a course of singing-psalms was circulated with his Charge, listing three or four verses of specific psalms to be sung each Sunday.

Gibson's recommendation of 'plain and easy tunes' led Temperley to suggest that in towns, 'one of the reasons for introducing an organ and charity children was to suppress the old way of singing [...] the school children were firmly taught to sing the tunes unadorned'.¹⁶⁷ Moreover, as Gibson argued, easy tunes were also to be recommended for the ease with which they could be learnt and recalled. Significantly, he claimed being able to sing would also 'incline' the children to acquire the habit of attending church, and this argument was also put forward by Rev. Samuel Wesley (father of John and Charles Wesley) when he advocated the use of children to lead the singing. Clearly influenced by the example set in London, in c.1726 Wesley advised the curate of his Epworth (Lincs.) church to improve congregational psalmody by teaching singing on weekday evenings: 'you will find it will have a very good effect on your congregation, especially if you could get the scholars to sing, as they do in London'.¹⁶⁸

Charity school rules gradually evolved to codify existing or desired practices, and by 1733 the common psalm-tunes are said to have been taught in all charity schools,¹⁶⁹ with school masters and mistresses required to:

bring the children to Church, so often as Divine Service is there performed [...] and to join in the Publick Service with [...] an humble and low voice, and in the most devout manner, in all Places where the people are so directed, in such manner as not to disturb the rest of the congregation, and particularly in singing of psalms.¹⁷⁰

Consequently, although the children of the gentry may have sat in the family pew at church, poor children rarely sat with their families owing to the obligation for schoolchildren to attend church as a group.

¹⁶⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 133.

¹⁶⁸ Thomas Jackson, *The Life of the Rev. Charles Wesley* (2 vols., London, 1841), 2, p. 509.

¹⁶⁹ A. Bedford, *The Excellency of Divine Music* (London, 1733), p. 31, cited by Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 104.

¹⁷⁰ Joseph Downing, *An Account of the Origin and Designs of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (London, 1733), p. 28.

1.4. The Influence of London

1.4.1. *The London Season*

Following the Restoration, Westminster was a highly desirable area for MPs wishing to acquire or rent property within easy reach of Parliament, and this was especially true for those with country houses in nearby Hertfordshire. Parcels of land began to be sold off for development and several took the form of squares, the first of which was St James' Square in the 1660s, followed in the early 1700s by Hanover and Grosvenor Squares.¹⁷¹ Here, many properties were only occupied by their owners or tenants during the Season, which coincided with the Parliamentary session, approximately January to June. Newly-built places of worship accommodated the influx of worshippers, including the three Westminster churches St James', Piccadilly (St James' Square), St George's (Hanover Square) and the Grosvenor chapel (Audley Street) all with organs installed in their west galleries shortly after completion.

With wealthy albeit seasonal congregations, pew rents were high, but with first-rate organists and charity schoolchildren singing from the organ galleries these churches were both popular and at the forefront in the 'improvement' of town psalmody whereby the congregation paid to have God's praises sung on their behalf by poor schoolchildren.¹⁷² This approach may have been adopted as early as 1678 in Hertfordshire. Christ's Hospital, or the Bluecoat School, had rural branches in Hertford and Ware used both for girls and as a preparatory school for boys before being sent to the school's main site in London.¹⁷³ In 1678 the 'Mayor, steward, chiefe burgesses and comonalty of the Burrough of Hertford, minister and churchwardens' purchased an organ for All Saints, one of the earliest post-Restoration church organs in the country.¹⁷⁴ Although the organ was originally located above the mayoral seat, in 1684 a

¹⁷¹ Todd Longstaffe-Gowan, *The London Square* (London, 2012), pp. 30 & 43.

¹⁷² Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 116.

¹⁷³ *VCH Herts*, 3, pp. 490-501; F.M. Page, *Christ's Hospital Hertford* (London, 1953).

¹⁷⁴ LRO, FAC 1/26 Faculty (1678).

gallery was built at the west end 'for the use of the Blew Coat Boys',¹⁷⁵ and the organ relocated behind them,¹⁷⁶ ideally placed to support their singing. Ware parish church also had a children's gallery and acquired an organ in 1683, so it is reasonable to suppose that this too was used to support the charity schoolchildren's singing.¹⁷⁷

Temperley found that many London churches which installed organs during the eighteenth century also had charity schools, and that this combination was more common in churches with select vestries, rather than general vestries which any parishioner could attend.¹⁷⁸ He argued that in this way the decision to install an organ could be approved easily, perhaps riding roughshod over the wishes of any local singers, but this was not the case at St Peter's, St Albans. Following its replacement by a superior instrument in 1723, the Ralph Dallam organ of St Martin-in-the-Fields was installed at St Peter's at the expense of Dr Christopher Packe, of whom little is known.

The *general* vestry ordered that:

a gallery now erecting in ye said church, by voluntary subscriptions, be completed and finish'd; to stand at ye west end of ye church, upon eight pillars, with a pair of stairs at each end' [and that the organ be] 'fix'd upon ye said gallery, built for that purpose [...]'¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁵ J.F.B. Sharpe, 'Christ's Hospital at Ware and Hertford', *Transactions*, East Herts Archaeological Society, Vol. III part III (Hertford, 1908), p. 305.

¹⁷⁶ Gillian Sheldrick, *Three Centuries of Music at All Saints Church Hertford* (Hertford, 1987), p. 39.

¹⁷⁷ *Universal British Directory* (5 vols., London, 1790-8), 4, p. 876; *VCH Herts*, 3, pp. 380-97.

¹⁷⁸ Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 116.

¹⁷⁹ W. Carey Morgan, 'St Peter's Church, St Albans', *Transactions 1895 & 1896*, St Albans Architectural and Archaeological Society, New Series, Vol. I part I (St Albans, 1898), pp. 135-73.



Figure 4. Organs in the west galleries of St James', Piccadilly (left), and St Peter's, St Albans (right).¹⁸⁰

The arrangement of organ and gallery at St Peter's bore a marked similarity to the Westminster organs, as seen in Figure 4. Although there is no record of the subscribers' names, this entry does imply there was popular rather than select support for the introduction of the organ. Indeed, since the Dallam organ had originally been built for St George's Chapel, Windsor, it was probably seen as a great honour to install it in the church, where it remained the only St Albans organ until the 1820s when the Abbey Church was itself able to secure a second-hand metropolitan church organ.

1.4.2. Hospitals

Mortality rates were very high in London 1730-50, particularly among under-5s,¹⁸¹ and its population was only maintained by migration from rural areas. Jacob has noted that the decline in establishment of charity schools during the 1730s

¹⁸⁰ F.H.W. Sheppard (ed.), 'Plate 157: Westminster: Parish Church of St James, Piccadilly, Interior', *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London, Vol. 2: West London* (1925), p. 157, accessed at www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/london/vol2/plate-157; Carey Morgan, 'St Peter's Church'.

¹⁸¹ Donna T. Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police. London Charity in the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton, 1989), p. 54.

corresponded with the establishment of hospitals for the sick poor (see Section 1.3.1),¹⁸² and with the threat of war there was real concern the country would have neither firm war footing nor sufficient workforce. This influenced the establishment of the Foundling Hospital ‘for the Maintenance and Education of Exposed and Deserted Young Children’ in 1739, the year in which Britain declared war on Spain.¹⁸³ Other London hospitals concerned with promoting a healthy workforce followed in quick succession, including the Lock Hospital, the Asylum for Female Orphans and the Magdalen Hospital.

Like charity schools before them, hospitals relied on income from bequests, subscriptions and charity sermons but, in an innovation, these four establishments all had chapels in which music was used to attract support. Although some questioned the legality of using hymns in parochial worship, chapels such as these were outside episcopal jurisdiction and chaplains were able to introduce them without opposition. In October 1803 William Jones, vicar of Broxbourne, recorded in his Journal:

The last Sunday evening I spent in Town I went to the Magdalen Chapel and was very much affected with the whole service, particularly the singing [...] What a heavenly charity! Blessed for ever be the men who instituted it! Blessed be all those who now patronize and support it.¹⁸⁴

In 1750 Handel presented a Justinian Morse organ to the newly-built Foundling Hospital chapel.¹⁸⁵ It was opened with a performance of *Messiah* under the direction of Handel ‘who played a voluntary upon the organ’,¹⁸⁶ an event attended by many governors and directors, almost certainly including many of those with Hertfordshire connections shown in Table 1.

¹⁸² Jacob, *Lay People*, p. 179.

¹⁸³ *An Account of the Hospital for the Maintenance and Education of Exposed and Deserted Young Children* (London, 1749), p. 4; Ruth K. McClure, *Coram's Children: The London Foundling Hospital in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, 1981).

¹⁸⁴ HALS, DE/Hd/F3 Journal of William Jones (1802-05).

¹⁸⁵ James Boeringer, *Organa Britannica. Organs in Great Britain 1660-1860* (3 vols., London, 1983-9), 2, p. 263.

¹⁸⁶ *London Magazine* (Apr. 1751), p. 187.

Name & occupation	Foundling Hospital Subscription ¹⁸⁷	Hertfordshire seat	Westminster address ¹⁸⁸
Charles Bouchier Governor of Madras	1799	Marshalls Wick	Cavendish Square
John Calvert MP for Hertford	1767-99	Albury Hall	
William Capell 3 rd Earl of Essex	1740	Cassiobury Park	Grosvenor Square
James Cecil 6 th Earl Salisbury	1740-67	Hatfield House	Grosvenor Street & Soho Square
James Cecil Marquess of Salisbury	1799	Hatfield House	Arlington Street
William Cowper MP for Hertford	1767	Hertingfordbury Park	
Abraham Hume MP	1740	Wormley Bury	
Matthew Lamb MP	1740	Brocket Hall	Sackville Street
Thomas Osborne 4 th Duke of Leeds	1767-81	Aldbury & North Mymms Park	St James Square
Francis Osborne MP 5 th Duke of Leeds Foreign secretary	1781	North Mymms Park	St James Square & Grosvenor Square
Thomas Plumer Byde MP for Hertfordshire	1767-81	Ware Park	Palace Yard
John Spencer Earl Spencer	1767-81	Holywell House	Park Place, St James & Grosvenor Street
George Townshend Marquess Townshend	1767-99	Balls Park	Weymouth Street
Philip Yorke 1 st Earl of Hardwicke Lord Chancellor	1740	Wimpole Hall (Cambs.)	Grosvenor Square
Philip Yorke 2 nd Earl of Hardwicke	1767-81	Tyttenhanger	St James Square

Table 1. Examples of governors and directors of the Foundling Hospital with Hertfordshire connections.

¹⁸⁷ *A list of the governors and guardians, of the Hospital for the Maintenance and Education of Exposed and Deserted Young Children* (London, 1740-99); *The History of Parliament*, accessed at www.historyofparliamentonline.org/.

¹⁸⁸ F.H.W. Sheppard (ed.), *Survey of London*, Vols. 29, 30 & 40, accessed at www.british-history.ac.uk/search/series/survey-london.

The Foundling Hospital chapel maintained a mixed children's choir, and in c.1760 published a collection of its music.¹⁸⁹ The Asylum for Female Orphans and Magdalen Hospital both had girls' choirs, and although they did not publish collections themselves, commercial publishers produced numerous editions, some of which were used in Hertfordshire churches, for example in 1784 Essendon owned a 'half-dozen Magadalen Hymn Books'.¹⁹⁰

In addition to being able to use the same tunes as those used in metropolitan hospital chapels, the elite's shared experience of culture, and the ability to exchange ideas with neighbouring Hertfordshire landowners during the Season, profoundly affected their lifestyle on returning to the county. Moreover, since all Hertfordshire towns lay within one day's journey of the capital, it was relatively easy to engage fashionable London musicians in order to provide music-making in line with polite expectations.

1.5. Barrel-organs

Although most of the musical instruments used in parish churches during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are familiar, reference to the widespread use of church barrel-organs is often met with astonishment by those unfamiliar with music-making of the period. In 1879 the educationalist John Spencer Curwen wrote that some thirty years earlier 'there would have been found in the Church of England, all the country over, a considerable majority of barrel-organs over those played by the hands and feet'.¹⁹¹ As will be seen in Chapter 2, until the early 1800s, although Hertfordshire gentry owned barrel-organs, only one is known to have been installed in a parish church, yet by the mid nineteenth century church barrel-organs had become almost ubiquitous, particularly in rural parishes, confirming Curwen's observation. The

¹⁸⁹ Nicholas Temperley, 'The Hymn Books of the Foundling and Magdalen Hospital Chapels', in: David Hunter (ed.), *Music Publishing and Collecting: Essays in Honor of Donald W. Krummel* (Urbana, 1994), p. 5.

¹⁹⁰ H.R. Wilton Hall, 'Essendon Church', *Transactions*, East Herts Archaeological Society, Vol. III part III (Hertford, 1907), p. 255.

¹⁹¹ John Spencer Curwen, 'The Organ in Divine Service', *Congregationalist*, Vol. 8 (1879), p. 116.

reasons for their increasing use in the early nineteenth century and subsequent disuse are discussed in Chapters 3 to 5. Barrel-organs were neither reed organs nor the barrel-pianos with which they are often confused in England (see Figure 5). According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* this is ‘evidently due to mere association of ideas’ at the time the latter came into use.¹⁹²

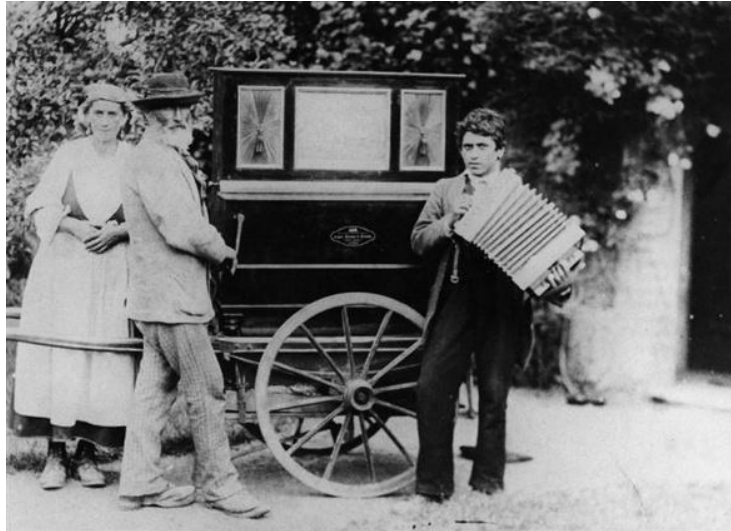


Figure 5. Rose Monement, *Weybourne* [Norfolk], *itinerant musicians* (c.1890).¹⁹³

A barrel-organ has metal and or wooden pipes operated by one or more cylindrical wooden barrels pinned around their circumference with flat metal staple-like bridges of varying lengths. The organ is blown by bellows, and when the barrel is turned by a crank handle (Figure 6, foreground) the bridges open valves in the windchest to sound the notes, the length of each bridge determining the length of the note. Most barrels were pinned with between six and twelve tunes, which could be changed by shifting the barrel horizontally and locking in place by locating a bolt in a toothed bar (see Figure 6).

¹⁹² ‘barrel organ, n.’, *Oxford English Dictionary*.

¹⁹³ Norfolk County Council, *Picture Norfolk*, 30129028187566 accessed at www.norfolk.gov.uk/libraries-local-history-and-archives/photo-collections/picture-norfolk.



Figure 6. T.C. Bates & Son barrel-organ (1840s) at St Andrew's, Letheringsett (Norfolk).

This ensured the same tune could be repeated as many times as required until the barrel was released and moved. Most barrels used in church played metrical psalm-tunes, but some were pinned with hymns and or Anglican chants. Longer pieces such as voluntaries or anthems were occasionally obtained by pinning the tune spirally, and in May 1844 Rev. Randolph of Much Hadham purchased: 'An improved barrel-organ with 3 barrels one partly spiral for anthem £78-15-0'.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴ CRL, Gray & Davison accounts, Vol. 2 (1838-45), p. 166.

Church barrel-organs were usually placed at the front of a west gallery and operated from the rear, as per an advertisement of 1841: 'For SALE, an excellent BARREL ORGAN for a church [...] plays behind as usual'.¹⁹⁵ Figure 7 shows the Bryceson barrel-organ located at the front of the west gallery of St Mary's, Westmill.



Figure 7. J.C. Buckler, 'Westmill Church' (1841), detail.¹⁹⁶

Two different types were used in churches, namely barrel-and-finger organs and barrel-organs proper. The first were the most versatile, since they were ordinary 'finger organs' with a manual (keyboard), but with the addition of one or more barrels for use when no organist was available (see Figure 8).

¹⁹⁵ *The Times* (3 Dec. 1841), p. 8.

¹⁹⁶ HALS, DE/Bg John Chessell Buckler, *Views of Hertfordshire* (4 vols., 1830-41), 2, p. 179.



Figure 8. Front and back of barrel-and-finger organ in west gallery of St Mary's, Stanstead St Margaret.

By contrast, barrel-organs had no manual and were also known as hand, cylinder, box, winch, psalmodic or, disparagingly, as grinding organs. These were more common since they were usually smaller, lacked the full chromatic range and were therefore cheaper (see Figure 9).



Figure 9. T.C. Bates & Son barrel-organ used at St Mary's, Stocking Pelham until 1917.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁷ Hertford Museum, HETFM.3399, given by Rev. Leigh in 1939.

In some instruments the crank-handle operated the barrel and pumped the bellows, but in others these were separate operations, sometimes requiring the help of an additional person. Rarely, barrel-organs were driven by clockwork, and these were also known as machine or self-playing organs.

A barrel attachment or 'dumb organist' was sometimes purchased with a new finger organ for use in the absence of the organist. A prototype was commissioned in 1804 but with limited success,¹⁹⁸ and it was not until 1846 that the dumb organist was advertised commercially.¹⁹⁹ It was positioned above the manual with the 'trackers' (wooden fingers) placed over the keys. Although it seldom extended for the whole compass of the manual, the section covered was, unlike the barrel-organ, fully chromatic, so the harmonies pinned on the barrel could be nearer to those found in printed music. Although no Hertfordshire church dumb organists are known to survive, others still survive in the south-east, for example at Fersfield, Norfolk (see Figure 10).

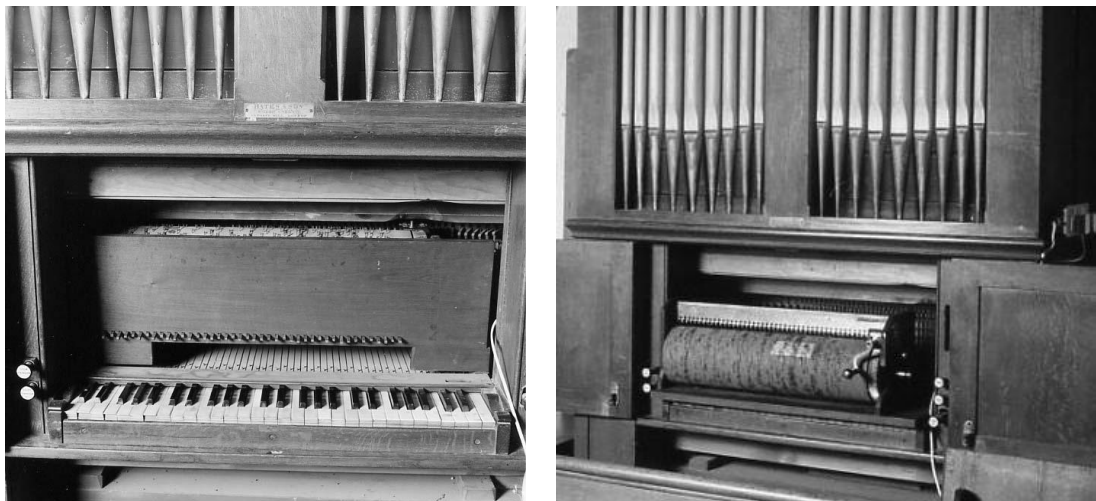


Figure 10. T.C. Bates & Son dumb organist at St Andrew's, Fersfield (Norfolk). Left: not in use, and right: tipped forwards into playing position.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁸ *Morning Post* (18 Feb. 1804).

¹⁹⁹ *The Times* (21 Dec. 1846), p. 11.

²⁰⁰ Photos: Marcel Glover.

Based on the figures found for Hertfordshire organists, with the exception of Aldenham an annual salary of eight guineas seems to have been the watershed between salaries for finger or barrel-organists prior to the church rate disputes discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. It is reasonable to conclude that small payments made variously for 'the Organist', 'playing the Organ', 'turning the Organ', 'attending the Organ', 'grinding the Organ' and 'care of the organ' all refer to operating a barrel-organ rather than exercising any trained musicianship. This conclusion is supported by the occupations of these 'organists' stated in census returns (see Table 2). Likewise, although no salary was stated, in May 1852 the Wormley vestry stipulated:

The Salary of the person employed for cleaning the church & churchyard & performing the other duties connected with his office was fixed at eight Pounds a year including all expense for tools, soap &c and his remuneration as organist.²⁰¹

²⁰¹ HALS, DP126/8/2 Vestry minutes (1852-61).

Parish	Date	Annual salary	Name	Occupation
Broxbourne ²⁰²	1805-57	c.£2-4	George Faint	Bricklayer
Berkhamsted ²⁰³	1820-45	3-4 guineas	George Margrave	Cordwainer
North Mymms ²⁰⁴	1821-53	£5	James Hutson	Beer-shop keeper
Hoddesdon ²⁰⁵	1823-51	4-6 guineas	George Faint	Bricklayer
East Barnet ²⁰⁶	1824-60	3-4 guineas	Edward Pratchett	Blacksmith
Great Amwell ²⁰⁷	1826-38	£4	Unnamed	
Chipping Barnet ²⁰⁸	1826-50	£5	Charles Thompson	Labourer
Hunsdon ²⁰⁹	1827-79	£1	George Griffin	Gardener
Much Hadham ²¹⁰	1827-46	2 guineas	Thomas Hobson	Schoolmaster
Westmill ²¹¹	1830-52	£3	James Meredith	Millwright
Aldenham ²¹²	1836-55	£10	William Boff	Sawyer
Northchurch ²¹³	1836-47	£3	William Norris	Shoemaker
St Michael's, St Albans ²¹⁴	1839-58	£3	John Monk	Parish clerk
Ickleford ²¹⁵	1849-59	£2	James Day	Carpenter

Table 2. Barrel-organists' salaries, ordered by date.

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²⁰² HALS, DP24/5/2-14 Churchwardens' vouchers & accounts (1804-58); 1851 Census HO107/1705/f.89/p.26.

²⁰³ HALS, DP19/5/1-2 Churchwardens' accounts & vestry minutes (1810-45); 1841 Census HO107/440/f.5/p.5.

²⁰⁴ HALS, DP69/5/1 Churchwardens' accounts (1784-1853); 1851 Census HO107/1712/f.75/p.16.

²⁰⁵ HALS, DP24A/5/1-3 (1823-51); 1851 Census HO107/1705/f.89/p.26.

²⁰⁶ HALS, DP16/5/2 Churchwardens' accounts (1824-60); 1851 Census HO107/1701/f.274/p.10.

²⁰⁷ HALS, DP4/5/1-8 Bills & vouchers (1825-38).

²⁰⁸ HALS, DP15/5/2 Churchwardens' accounts (1797-1840); DP15/12/5 Churchwardens' accounts (1840-50); 1841 Census HO107/438/f.34/p.24.

²⁰⁹ HALS, DP57/5/2 Churchwardens' accounts (1827-79); 1851 Census HO107/1705/f.205/p.12.

²¹⁰ HALS, DP44/5/1 Churchwardens' accounts (1813-59); 1841 Census HO107/443/f.30/p.26.

²¹¹ HALS, DP120/5/1 Accounts (1830-52); 1841 Census HO107/443/f.16/p.1.

²¹² HALS, DP3/5/1-2 Churchwardens' accounts (1826-55); 1841 Census HO107/438/f.7/p.8.

²¹³ HALS, DP74/8/1-3 Vestry minutes (1775-1847); 1841 Census HO107/440/f.17/p.4.

²¹⁴ St Michael's, St Albans, Churchwardens' papers (1831-50); 1841 Census HO107/447/f.4/p.1.

²¹⁵ HALS, DP58/5/1 Churchwardens' accounts (1849-59); 1851 Census HO107/1710/f.283/p.25.

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Parish	Date	Annual salary	Name	Occupation
Great Gaddesden ²¹⁶	1850-62	c.£5-6	George Young	Wheelwright
Essendon ²¹⁷	1852-73	c.1 guinea	John Bamford John Kersey	Blacksmith & parish clerk Gardener
Great Hormead ²¹⁸	1855-59	£1	George Drage	Shoemaker
Ippollitts ²¹⁹	1856-61	10s.	William Harris	Shoemaker
Willian ²²⁰	1857-60	£2	William Ellis	Blacksmith
Offley ²²¹	1861-66	10s.	John Church	Schoolmaster

In Hertfordshire, only one working barrel-organ survives in the church where it was originally used, namely at Stanstead St Margaret (see Figure 8). Yet the present study has found evidence for the use of barrel, barrel-and-finger organs or dumb organists in seventy-one of the one hundred and thirty-six historic Hertfordshire parishes, that is, 52% (see Appendix 3). This compares with other studies which found 3% in Cornwall, 6% in Lincolnshire, 12% in Rutland, 13% in Sussex, and 21% in Northamptonshire.²²² Although this might suggest Hertfordshire had an unusually high percentage, a more likely explanation is that the other studies either concentrated on choir-band instruments or recorded the use of an organ without specifying its type.

²¹⁶ HALS, DP39/5/2 Churchwardens' accounts (1820-62); 1851 Census HO107/1715/f.453/p.18.

²¹⁷ HALS, DP37/5/4 Churchwardens' accounts (1835-73); 1851 Census HO107/444/f.26/p.3; HO107/1712/f.5/p.3.

²¹⁸ HALS, DP55/5/1 Churchwardens' accounts (1855-59); 1851 Census HO107/1707/f.13/p.18.

²¹⁹ HALS, DP59/5/2 Churchwardens' accounts (1844-66); 1861 Census RG9/820/f.28/p.5.

²²⁰ HALS, DP125/5/1 Churchwardens' accounts (1857-64; 1851 Census HO107/1709/f.135/p.4.

²²¹ HALS, DP76/5/1 Churchwardens' accounts (1818-66); 1861 Census RG9/821/f.24/p.14.

²²² Woodhouse, *Face the Music*; Pacey, *Lincolnshire*; MacDermott, *Sussex*; Weston, *Instrumentation*; Davidson, *Choirs*.

The use of church barrel-organs appears to have been very quickly forgotten after their demise. Apart from contemporary newspaper reports and organ-builders' accounts, often the only evidence for their use comes from parish records itemizing small payments for their maintenance or operation, or from memoirs. Many were part-exchanged or broken up for parts, for example at Westmill where the organ pipes were melted down by boys for use as catapult pellets.²²³ Others were sold or given away when they fell out of fashion, often to antiquarian clergymen such as Galpin and Boston.

²²³ Guy Ewing, *Westmill. The Story of a Hertfordshire Parish* (Tunbridge Wells, 1928), p. 96.

2. 1760s to 1800s: Elite and Military Influence

2.1. Introduction

This chapter addresses attempts made to overcome the lack of congregational singing in parish churches during the mid eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries. In 1791 the Doncaster organist and composer Edward Miller commented on the lack of participation among the gentry, who during psalm-singing would be ‘Irreverently sitting – talking to each other – taking snuff – winding up their watches, or adjusting their apparel’.²²⁴ He did not attribute this non-participation to inability, feelings of exclusion, or indifference as proposed by Gammon.²²⁵ Instead, Miller suggested feelings of superiority, since the gentry were acquainted with metropolitan music-making: ‘Perhaps the excellent musicians we hear at the opera, have in some measure contributed to render the present performance of Parochial Psalmody so intolerable to our ears’, and unwillingness: ‘does it not generally proceed from pride, and the fear of appearing vulgar?’. Furthermore Temperley has argued that non-participating gentry reinforced an unwillingness to sing among the poor who were reluctant to sing in their presence.²²⁶ Nevertheless, as this chapter demonstrates, local elites exercised a significant influence on music-making in their parish churches.

Sections 2.2 and 2.3 will show that few Hertfordshire churches, urban or rural, had organs during this period, and that their introduction was usually influenced by the prevailing metropolitan trend for seating choirs of charity children in the organ gallery. In a new development, many prominent churchmen and local elites supported the introduction of barrel-organs which had become fashionable in a domestic setting, and some were directly involved in the selection of tunes. But the issue of church music-making became closely allied to the issue of the education of the poor, and an unintended consequence was a continuing reluctance to sing by those of ‘superior

²²⁴ Edward Miller, *Thoughts on the Present Performance of Psalmody in the Established Church of England* (London, 1791), pp. 4-6.

²²⁵ Gammon, “Babylonian Performances”, pp. 66-7.

²²⁶ Temperley, ‘John Wesley’, p. 5.

condition' because it was considered 'unpolite' to be associated with charity children. A further problem was encountered when poorly-trained 'squalling' children sang tunes pitched too high to enable congregational participation, and concerns were raised that the 'unisonous mass of infant voices' would be the only music heard in church.²²⁷

Section 2.4 assesses efforts made by the bishops of London and Lincoln to improve congregational singing, considered important not only because it was a duty, but also as a means of retaining or increasing the number of worshippers. Teaching charity school children to sing was seen to be an important means of achieving this, since they would lead congregational singing, attract worshippers, and themselves grow into adult singing members of the congregation. It will be shown that many elite school patrons shared this aim in Hertfordshire, and that this too was influenced by metropolitan fashion.

The involvement of the elite was very visible during the establishment of militia and Volunteer bands of music during the French Revolutionary Wars. The increasing use of musical instruments in choir-bands coincided with this period, and evidence for possible links between them is presented in Section 2.5.

Section 2.6 discusses the increasing need to accommodate charity children and organs or choir-bands, and how this began to have repercussions for church architecture. According to Temperley, the reason why singing children were located in the organ gallery 'no doubt, was to place them directly under the organist's control'.²²⁸ While this may have been true in wealthy churches with ample seating, Hertfordshire evidence suggests this arrangement was partly attributable to both a lack of space elsewhere in the church, and the desire to display the children in a prominent position to advertise the patrons' benevolence.

²²⁷ [Review] 'Essays, historical and critical, on English church music by William Mason (1795)', *Monthly Review* (Aug. 1796), pp. 402-3.

²²⁸ Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 118.

2.2. Organs

Handel's music dominated English music-making during the mid eighteenth century, and the English organ concerto 'essentially Handel's own personal creation' became 'a staple ingredient in the musical diet of the nation'.²²⁹ This coincided with an elite-led consumer boom in luxury goods, which saw the commercialization and advertising of fashionable products reach fever pitch.²³⁰ By mid-century the vogue for acquiring a chamber organ had therefore become firmly established among the elite, and Holman comments on the 'fanatical circle of aristocratic admirers' competing with each other in their collections of Handel's music.²³¹ When the effects of Edward Smith of St Stephen's, St Albans were auctioned in 1779 they included 'a large fine-toned Organ, a Harpsichord and a Guittar',²³² all considered *à la mode* in polite society. The fashionable nature of the appetite for chamber organs in Hertfordshire polite society is further illustrated by a 1792 sale notice from *World* offering 'All the elegant household furniture' including 'a chamber organ, and a great variety of curious and valuable effects, the property of A MAN of FASHION, gone abroad; brought from his seat in Hertfordshire'.²³³

As part of this trend, many elite commissioned new or remodelled houses, and with the increasing popularity of musical parties a music room was incorporated almost as a matter of course. Indeed, Wilson observed the correlation between the sudden popularity of the English chamber organ during the 1750s and the explosion in country house building.²³⁴ Although a chamber organ could be located in any suitable room, he argued it was 'unthinkable' for any music room to be without one from the mid to late eighteenth century, and in Hertfordshire eight chamber organs were among

²²⁹ Rosamond McGuinness & H. Diack Johnstone, 'Concert Life in England I', in: Johnstone & Fiske, *Eighteenth Century*, p. 65.

²³⁰ Neil McKendrick, John Brewer & J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society. The Commercialization of Eighteenth-century England* (London, 1982), pp. 9-11.

²³¹ Peter Holman, 'Eighteenth-Century', p. 7.

²³² *St James's Chronicle* (14 Aug. 1779).

²³³ *World and Fashionable Advertiser* (18 Oct. 1792).

²³⁴ Michael I. Wilson, *The Chamber Organ in Britain, 1600-1830* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 54-5.

the many instruments tuned and repaired by the organist Thomas Green 1743-86.²³⁵ Consequently a house by an architect such as Robert Adam often included a bespoke organ case even if no member of the household could play the organ. When Francis Osborne succeeded his father as Fifth Duke of Leeds in 1789 he inherited 21 St James Square, Westminster and North Mymms Park.²³⁶ Both became the subject of extensive works commissioned from Sir John Soane in 1795, including the installation of an organ in the Westminster music room.²³⁷ In a more modest updating then perhaps a Thomas Chippendale off-the-peg design could be chosen, and the inclusion of organ case designs in his *Director* confirms that their purchase had become commonplace among wealthy households.²³⁸

During the latter part of the eighteenth century an increasing number of metropolitan churches installed organs, and in 1761 the psalmist John Arnold of Great Warley (Essex) found this was beginning to lead to the installation of a growing number of church organs in 'many of our Market-Towns throughout this Nation'.²³⁹ Again, this was partially driven by the desire for display. Temperley has argued that 'the richness of the gilded organ case and pipes, like that of the rest of the church', showed both the generosity and wealth of the donors,²⁴⁰ and Thistlethwaite suggested the organ's visual impact was as important as its musical quality in terms of drawing attention to the wealth and beneficence of those who had provided it.²⁴¹ But in a development of this argument, the giving of a church organ could also be seen as reflecting the donor's social ascendancy since this action indicated both fashion-consciousness and exclusivity. Moreover, the festivities associated with the opening of

²³⁵ Gillian Sheldrick (ed.), *The Accounts of Thomas Green, Music teacher and tuner of musical instruments 1742-1790*, Hertfordshire Record Society, Vol. VIII (Hertford, 1992).

²³⁶ *Gentleman's Magazine* (Feb. 1799), p. 55; David Wilkinson, 'Osborne, Francis, fifth duke of Leeds (1751-1799)', *ODNB*.

²³⁷ Sheppard, *Survey*.

²³⁸ Thomas Chippendale, 'Plate CIV: Chamber Organs', *The gentleman and cabinet-maker's director* (London, 1762).

²³⁹ John Arnold, *The Compleat Psalmist*, 5th edn. (London, 1761), p. iii.

²⁴⁰ Temperley, *Parish Church*, pp. 101-2.

²⁴¹ Thistlethwaite, *Victorian Organ*, p. 67.

the organ also drew favourable attention to the taste of the donors or subscribers. In Hertfordshire, in May 1766 the Watford vestry voted unanimously that an organ ‘for which several of the inhabitants & others have subscribed’ should be erected in a gallery at the west end of the church.²⁴² The principal subscriber appears to have been the church’s patron, William, Fourth Earl of Essex, of Cassiobury Park. Indeed, when the Thomas Parker organ was opened in August 1766 the *Public Advertiser* reported that the Earl was the sole contributor.²⁴³ The opening was merely the prelude to a lavish musical entertainment held the following day, with a midday concert of vocal and instrumental music at the White Hart Inn given by ‘a select Band from London’, followed by an evening Ball. The Earl’s reputation as an arbiter of musical taste must have been secured when the newspapers were able to report ‘The Indian Chiefs were present, and sung several of their warlike Songs’.²⁴⁴

But this was a rare event. Although it was by no means unusual to find an organ in fashionable late eighteenth-century Hertfordshire households, the same could not be said of its parish churches. Thistlethwaite has argued that by 1800 most larger market towns in the south of England with a single parish church had an organ.²⁴⁵ In Hertfordshire only eight churches had organs during the 1780s-90s, all market town parishes or those with a strong gentry interest (see Table 3). Yet there were none in several market towns with a population exceeding 2000 persons in 1801, including Hatfield, Hemel Hempstead, Rickmansworth, Royston and Tring (see Appendix 1).

²⁴² HALS, DP117/8/1-3 Vestry minutes (1766-1862); Edward Wedlake Brayley, *The Beauties of England and Wales* (18 vols., London, 1801-15), 7, part 1, p. 303.

²⁴³ *Public Advertiser* (8 & 21 Aug. 1766).

²⁴⁴ The Indian Chiefs had recently arrived in London in order to settle the limits of their hunting grounds, ‘which they complain are encroached upon by the settlers from New York’, *Gentleman’s Magazine* (2 Aug. 1766).

²⁴⁵ Thistlethwaite, *Victorian Organ*, p. 66.

Parish (Date organ 1 st installed)	Popn. 1801	Organist	Comments
Watford (1766) ²⁴⁶	3530	c.1766-c.1810 Felix Smith	Violinist, dancing master.
Cheshunt (1711) ²⁴⁷	3173	1711-31- Edward Keen 1738 Thomas Green 1761 Mr Ward 1780-7 John Baptiste Levesque 1787-1825 Thomas Leach	Green: instrument tuner. Levesque: Gentleman. Leach: Gentleman, singer, harpsichord player. Served in Cheshunt Volunteers.
Ware (1683) ²⁴⁸	2950	To 1812 Unknown 1812-43 Thomas William Luppino	Luppino: Proprietor of 'Fore Street Concert Room' (Hertford), sometimes known as 'Mr Luppino's Theatre'. Brother 'professor of music'; daughter 'teacher of music'. Other family members dancers, puppet-masters and harlequins.
Bishops Stortford (1729) ²⁴⁹	2305	1729-61 William Popely 1762-82 Charles Perry 1782-1808 Robert Perry	Popely: Member of Royal Society of Musicians 1739. Perrys: Charles & Robert = father and son. Robert: Gentleman, served in Bishops Stortford Volunteers.

Table 3. Eighteenth-century Hertfordshire organs and organists,
ordered by population of parish.

Continued on next page .../

²⁴⁶ *Public Advertiser* (8 Aug. 1766); HALS, DP117/8/1-3; HFHS, *Militia: Watford* (Hertford, 1999), p. 146; Joseph Doane, *A musical directory for the year 1794* (London, 1794), p. 61.

²⁴⁷ HALS, DP29/8/48-52 Vestry minutes (1711-1825); HFHS, *Militia: Cheshunt 1792* (Hertford, 1999), pp. 118-9; Doane, *Directory*, p. 39.

²⁴⁸ D.M. Palmer, *St Mary's Church Ware: A Short History and Guide* (n.d.), cited by Sheldrick, *Three Centuries*, p. 72; Derek Forbes, *The Artist and the Organist* (Ware, 2005), pp. 64, 87-8 & 124; 1851 Census H0107/1711/f.285/p.12 & H0107/447/f.6/p.5.

²⁴⁹ HALS, DP21/5/10-11 Churchwardens' bills & vouchers (1729-1830); Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain, *RSM Membership 1738-1749*, accessed 8 Apr. 2014, at www.royalsocietyofmusicians.co.uk/members-1749.html; HFHS, *Militia: Bishops Stortford 1798* (Hertford, 1999), p. 101.

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Parish (Date organ 1 st installed)	Popn. 1801	Organist	Comments
*Chipping Barnet (1731) ²⁵⁰ Organ removed 1749.	1258	Unknown	
All Saints, Hertford (1678) ²⁵¹	872	1678-1744 Mary, Affabel & Ralph Battell 1744-91 Thomas Green 1791 Anna Maria Bridgeman 1791-1872 Charles Bridgeman	Green: see Cheshunt (above). Bridgemans: Brother & sister of John, Thomas & Richard (musicians & dancing masters) and Henry (later organist of St Andrew's, Hertford). Charles & John served in Hertford Volunteers.
St Peter's, St Albans (1723) ²⁵²	840	c.1776-1815 Anna Sophia Sherman	Almost certainly sister of John Christopher (musician & dancing master) & George Ferdinand (musician, dealer & chapman).
*North Mymms (c.1784) ²⁵³ Organ removed c.1801.	838	c.1784-c.1800 Matthew Cooke	Also organist of St George's, Bloomsbury.
Ayot St Lawrence (c.1780) ²⁵⁴	115	-1782- Jonas Blewitt	Blind organist & composer, Also organist of St Katharine Coleman, Fenchurch Street. Composed for various theatres and pleasure gardens.

* indicates that these organs were only present for a short period.

²⁵⁰ Boeringer, *Organa Britannica*, 2, p. 30.²⁵¹ LRO, FAC 1/26; HFHS, *Militia: Brickendon* (Hertford, 1999), pp. 6 & 16; Sheldrick, *Three Centuries*, p. 76.²⁵² HALS, DP93/5/3-5 Churchwardens' accounts (1774-1840); Peter Williams (ed.), *The Leffler Manuscript: facsimile edition* (Reigate, 2010), p. 129.²⁵³ HALS, DP69/5/1; Doane, *Directory*, p. 14.²⁵⁴ HFHS, *Militia: Ayot St Lawrence* (Hertford, 1999), p. 1; Doane, *Directory*, p. 8; David Burchell, 'Blewitt, Jonas (1757-1805)', *ODNB*.

In addition to the possibility that the incidence of market town church organs has been overstated, there are other potential explanations. Perhaps parishioners and clergy were happy with the existing state of affairs, or were called upon to contribute towards more pressing causes. Even if an organ was offered to a church, parishioners may have opposed its installation. On occasion this may have been because of resistance to change, perhaps led by existing singers. The evidence suggests that groups of singers may have been both well-established and well-received in certain Hertfordshire towns, in all likelihood more so than in rural parishes since the pool of talent from which to draw musicians was larger. But Thistlethwaite has contended that in most instances the opposition was due to financial considerations, and evidence from Hertfordshire supports this argument.²⁵⁵ On the one hand the more lucrative incomes available in nearby London may have made it more challenging to attract organists to Hertfordshire, and on the other, patrons and churchwardens may have been unwilling to make any provision for the running costs associated with an organ and organist. As will be seen in the following chapters, these factors became influential in the widespread introduction of church barrel-organs.

2.2.1. Organists

Although few Hertfordshire churches had an organ, many elite households employed a private organist and music master to perform, teach household members and lead psalm-singing during family prayers. Where none could be found by personal recommendation it was not unusual to advertise, as seen in a 1790 notice:

WANTED. ORGANIST. In a Gentleman's family. A person capable of conducting Psalmody in a private chapel; likewise qualified for giving instructions on the harpsichord or piano forte [...]²⁵⁶

Yet not all sought to employ an organist, since organ-playing became an accepted activity for both gentlemen and ladies. As with so many other trends, this was influenced by Court fashion. Shortly after George III's accession to the throne the *St*

²⁵⁵ Thistlethwaite, *Victorian Organ*, p. 66.

²⁵⁶ *World and Fashionable Advertiser* (10 Feb. 1790).

James Chronicle reported: 'A curious Organ is put up in one of the Apartments at St James's, upon which we are told, his Majesty performs generally about an Hour every Evening'.²⁵⁷ Metropolitan organists were therefore quick to seek additional income by offering tuition to the gentry, and an advertisement of 1763 offered home tuition, again suggesting chamber organs were by no means uncommon:

JOHN SCOTT, ORGANIST [...] continues teaching the ORGAN and HARPSICORD, not only the Practical but Theoretical part; the want of which knowledge makes so many Ladies and Gentlemen often give it up [...] Attendance for Gentlemen are Mondays and Thursdays; and for Ladies, Tuesdays and Fridays. Likewise Ladies and Gentlemen taught at their own Houses.²⁵⁸

In Hertfordshire, the fashion evidently lasted at least until the early nineteenth century, since on a visit to Gorhambury in 1819 a guest noted that Charlotte, Countess Grimston 'played on the organ' after dinner.²⁵⁹

Rohr argued that their association with religion enhanced church organists' status, respectability and eligibility for private patronage as teachers.²⁶⁰ This seems to have been the case in Hertfordshire, where during the 1780s-90s several church organists were described in militia lists as 'gentlemen' (see Table 3). This indicates their involvement was considered respectable, and would appear to support Rohr's argument.

Dawe found no women church organists in the City of London prior to the appointment of Mary Worgan in 1753, and claimed that before this date all organ posts were filled by men, since 'no woman had dared to challenge their authority'.²⁶¹ Yet in Hertfordshire the first named organist, male or female, was Mary Battell (d.1699), organist of All Saints, Hertford.²⁶² Although no evidence is known to have been found for any other women church organists in England earlier than 1753, Southey has

²⁵⁷ *St James's Chronicle* (20 Aug. 1761).

²⁵⁸ *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser* (14 Sept. 1763).

²⁵⁹ Norah King, *The Grimstons of Gorhambury* (Chichester, 1983), p. 103.

²⁶⁰ Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians 1750-1810* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 93.

²⁶¹ Donovan Dawe, *Organists of the City of London 1666-1850. A Record of one Thousand Organists with an Annotated Index* (Purley, 1983), p. 3.

²⁶² Sheldrick, *Three Centuries*, pp. 9-10; David Baldwin, 'Battell, Ralph (1649-1713)', *ODNB*.

suggested the lack of press attention given to such appointments in the north-east during the eighteenth century indicates they were not remarkable, adding ‘women organists were possibly more frequent than is immediately apparent from surviving evidence’.²⁶³ Doane’s 1794 *Musical Directory*, largely centred on London, named one hundred and forty organists of whom only eight were women, but like other directories of the time would probably only have included information volunteered by those listed, and made no claim to be comprehensive.²⁶⁴ Only four of the late-eighteenth-century organists known to have played in Hertfordshire churches were included, all of whom were men. Although Anna Sophia Sherman, organist of St Peter’s, St Albans was not listed, this cannot be regarded as a deliberate gender-related slight since neither were Robert Perry nor the renowned Charles Bridgeman. Again, Shuker found no evidence that women were paid less than men, and suggested they were accepted on the same terms, ‘probably one of the uncelebrated triumphs of the Georgian Anglican parish church’.²⁶⁵ Since they were often appointed by public election, he argued it was ‘perfectly acceptable for a woman to hold such a position in late Georgian England, both in London and provincial towns’.²⁶⁶

Dawe and Shuker found that many women organists were daughters of organists, or otherwise connected with musical families,²⁶⁷ and similar patterns have now been found in Hertfordshire town parishes to support their findings. Mary Battell came from a particularly distinguished family of musicians. Her elder brother Ralph was sub-dean of the Chapel Royal, and another brother succeeded her as organist following her untimely death in 1699 at the age of twenty-seven.²⁶⁸ ‘Miss Sherman’ was organist of St Peter’s, St Albans in 1776,²⁶⁹ and received regular payments until her

²⁶³ Southey, *Music-making*, p. 112.

²⁶⁴ Doane, *Directory*.

²⁶⁵ Shuker, ‘Pitfalls’, p. 111.

²⁶⁶ Shuker, ‘distinguished ornaments’?, p. 10.

²⁶⁷ Dawe, *Organists*, p. 4; Shuker, ‘distinguished ornaments’?, p. 8.

²⁶⁸ Baldwin, ‘Battell’.

²⁶⁹ Williams, *Leffler*, p. 129.

death aged sixty-nine in January 1815.²⁷⁰ A one-off final payment to George Sherman suggests that George and John Sherman of St Peter's Street were her brothers (see Table 3).²⁷¹ Hillsman argued it was not until the late nineteenth century that it became more acceptable for women to participate in music-making,²⁷² but Hertfordshire sources support the growing evidence that it was neither unusual nor unacceptable for town churches to have a professional woman organist during the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century.

At All Saints', Hertford funding was in place to cover the organist's salary,²⁷³ and in 1810 Raymond Rogers, vicar of Bishops Stortford, stated his church had 'considerable benefactions', one of which was used for paying the organist and beautifying the church '£150 of this money being paid in the last year towards a compleat repair of the organ'.²⁷⁴ Similar bequests were made across the country, for example in East Budleigh (Devon) monies from a 1657 bequest for 'beautifying and ornamenting' the parish church were expended in c.1810 on a new barrel for the organ and music for the singers.²⁷⁵ Yet in Watford, as became all too common in Hertfordshire, provision was made for neither the upkeep of the organ nor the organist's salary, and by October 1785 an ever-increasing sum was owed to the organist Felix Smith.²⁷⁶ The vestry decreed that the 'Accountant Churchwarden' should make up the deficiency, and that in future Smith should not be paid out of the church rents without further order, implying this had hitherto been the usual practice.

Rohr stated 'London cathedrals and the royal chapels were exceptional in that they tended to hire organists and composers who had achieved prominence in the

²⁷⁰ HALS, DP93/5/3-5; DP93/1/28 Register of burials (1815).

²⁷¹ HALS, LSGB/2 Gaol Book (1798); William Le Hardy, *Notes & Extracts from The Sessions Records*, Hertfordshire County Records, Vol. IV (Hertford, 1923), pp. 132-3.

²⁷² Hillsman, 'Women', p. 446.

²⁷³ Sheldrick, *Three Centuries*, p. 10.

²⁷⁴ LPL, FP/Randolph 12/11-105 Visitation returns (1810).

²⁷⁵ PP 1821 (159) *Coms. of Inquiry into Charities in England and Wales: Fifth Report*, Appendix, pp. 177-8 & 638.

²⁷⁶ HALS, DP117/8/1-3.

more cosmopolitan and secular London musical world',²⁷⁷ but rather than overcoming any qualms over status this may have had more to do with the proximity of church and theatre organs in the capital and the ability of the organist to get from one to the other quickly. This was not possible in Hertfordshire since church organs were few and far between. Yet as summarized in Table 3, until the early nineteenth century many Hertfordshire church organists had strong links with theatre and dance, which perhaps provided their main income. Further evidence of these dual church-theatre engagements comes from the fact that some organists made their accompaniments so complicated that the congregation could not always make out the tune, and therefore could not sing with the organ. Williams attributed this to the fact that organists were not full-time employees of the church and had to earn their money in other venues playing secular tunes which influenced their style,²⁷⁸ and Hertfordshire evidence supports his observation.

The inter-related nature of church and theatrical performances is also indicated by the public performance of new church organs in builders' manufactories before being dismantled and re-erected in their intended home. The blind organist and prolific theatrical composer Jonas Blewitt had been employed by Lionel Lyde to play at Ayot St Lawrence church (see Table 3), but this was not his only connection with Hertfordshire. When a new instrument was ordered for Cheshunt in 1791 the organ-builders Longman & Broderip announced a public performance, Mr Jonas Blewitt 'having very obligingly offered his assistance on the occasion'.²⁷⁹ But it could be argued that the Hertfordshire organist with the most prominent theatrical connections was Thomas William Luppino of Hertford. Luppino's grandfather had been a renowned London theatrical scene painter, employed in fitting up Westminster Abbey for the first

²⁷⁷ Rohr, *British Musicians*, p. 90.

²⁷⁸ Williams, *English Organ Music*, p. 110.

²⁷⁹ *World and Fashionable Advertiser* (12 Oct. 1791).

two Handel commemorations before retiring to live with his grandson.²⁸⁰ By 1832 Luppino had established his 'Fore Street Concert Room', sometimes known as 'Mr Luppino's Theatre', with scenery painted by his grandfather.²⁸¹

It was by no means unsurprising that organists supplemented their income in this manner since their salaries were usually insufficient to live on, and Shuker has commented that obtaining an organist's post provided 'an *entrée* into the more lucrative world of teaching and music selling'.²⁸² When as late as 1816 Helston (Cornwall) parish church advertised for an organist they added 'a music master is much wanted in the Town and neighbourhood'.²⁸³ Many organists taught a number of musical instruments, and among the household goods auctioned on the death of William Popely, organist of Bishops Stortford, were 'two fine-toned harpsichords, three Spinnets, a Base Viol, a bassoon, two Violins, and several German and common Flutes'.²⁸⁴

With so few church organs outside London, some metropolitan organists tried to secure employment by offering to provide one themselves, on condition that they would in return be paid a good salary and some sort of job security. This suggests a development of Shuker's argument, namely that providing a church organ where there was none gave him or her a head start over rivals, since a market town with no organ was less likely to have an established music teacher. Although not specifically naming Hertfordshire, an advertisement of 1776 placed in the *Morning Post* targeted counties adjacent to the capital:

AN ORGANIST being desirous of residing in the country, within forty and not less than ten miles from London, will undertake, at his own expence, to furnish any parish church in or near a market town within the above circle, with a compleat Organ, upon his being appointed the Organist to and receiving from such parish a proper salary.²⁸⁵

²⁸⁰ *Court Magazine and Monthly Critic* (1 June 1845); Forbes, *Artist*, p. 9.

²⁸¹ Forbes, *Artist*, pp. 87-8.

²⁸² Shuker, 'distinguished ornaments?', p. 10.

²⁸³ McGrady, *Cornwall*, p. 111.

²⁸⁴ *General Evening Post* (26 Nov. 1761).

²⁸⁵ *Morning Post* (7 Aug. 1776).

Matthew Cooke was organist of St George's, Bloomsbury and North Mymms, both under the patronage of the Duke of Leeds. St George's congregation comprised elite resident during the Season, and the church was designed with equally prestigious galleries for the landowners, the Dukes of Bedford and Montagu.²⁸⁶ In 1788 Cooke supplied the church with an organ valued at the enormous sum of 'not less than £450',²⁸⁷ indicating he expected a considerable return on this investment in terms of wages, entirely dependent on the generosity of the parishioners' subscriptions, and only feasible in a wealthy parish such as this. Cooke undertook to:

[...] procure a faculty or licence from the Ecclesiastical Court for erecting the same and would play such organ and keep the same in good repair and defray every expence whatever that could accrue on account of such organ and with regard to salary would trust entirely to the generosity of the congregation for their voluntary subscription [...] upon condition that he should be appointed organist for his life and that after his decease he might leave it by will to one more.²⁸⁸

North Mymms is situated a short distance to the north of London, and in the late eighteenth century had a concentration of wealthy parishioners very high even by Hertfordshire standards, with the church itself situated within the Duke of Leeds' park. The extent of the Duke's interest and involvement in fashionable music-making may be judged from the fact that he was a Director of the London concerts of 'Antient Music'.²⁸⁹ Between 1786 and 1801 the churchwardens recorded payments in excess of £396 'defraying the expences of the church and organ &c'.²⁹⁰ Part of this sum was raised by a church rate, but an additional £53 was subscribed by five local landowners whose seats are shown in Figure 11.

²⁸⁶ *St George's Bloomsbury*, accessed 27 Mar. 2013, at www.stgeorgesbloomsbury.org.uk/tour.htm.

²⁸⁷ Camden Local Studies and Archives Centre, P/GB/M/1/1 Vestry minutes (1788).
I am indebted to Ian Cutts for drawing my attention to this reference.

²⁸⁸ *ibid.*

²⁸⁹ *Concerts of Antient Music* (London, 1791), p. v.

²⁹⁰ HALS, DP69/5/1.



Figure 11. Detail from Dury and Andrews *Topographical Map of Hartfordshire* (1766) showing the seats of subscribers towards music-making at St Mary's, North Mymms.²⁹¹

²⁹¹ HALS, CM/26 Dury and Andrews, *A Topographical Map of Hartfordshire*, reprint (2004).

With the exception of Michie, all were members of parliament.²⁹² It is unclear exactly how much was expended on the organ itself, which may have been supplied by Cooke, as in Bloomsbury. In 1790 he composed a set of psalm-tunes for use at North Mymms, which he dedicated to the subscribers, suggesting they wished to hear and display metropolitan-style music of a high standard in their parish church.²⁹³

2.2.2. Barrel-organs

Some elite households with no resident keyboard player began to seek alternative means of providing music when no musicians were available. Although evidence is sparse, mechanical music appears to have been used intermittently since Roman times, but renewed interest developed when an early-eighteenth-century fascination with automata and clocks became integrated with the taste for organ music.²⁹⁴ Some even sought the means to display an impressive domestic musical performance of which no living organist was capable, and one such was Sarah, Dowager Duchess of Marlborough, who in 1737 set her heart on buying a chamber organ fitted with a barrel to play music. At this date it was clearly still an exotic and highly sought-after piece of machinery, and she wrote:

I am now in pursuit of getting the finest piece of music that ever was heard; it is a thing that will play eight tunes. Handel and all the great musicians say that it is beyond any thing they can do; and this may be performed by the most ignorant person; and when you are weary of those eight tunes, you may have them changed for any other that you like. This I think much better than going to an Italian opera, or an assembly. This performance has been lately put into a lottery, and all the Royal Family chose to have a great many tickets, rather than to buy it, the price being I think £1000, infinitely a less sum than some Bishopricks have been sold for. And a gentleman won it who I am in hopes will sell it, and if he will, I will buy it, for I cannot live to have another made, and I will carry it into the country with me.²⁹⁵

²⁹² *The History of Parliament* accessed 22 Aug. 2016 at www.historyofparliamentonline.org/.

²⁹³ Matthew Cooke, *Twelve Psalm Tunes (in Four Parts) Composed for the Use of the Church at North Mims [...]* (London, ?1790).

²⁹⁴ Arthur W.J.G. Ord-Hume, *Barrel Organ: the Story of the Mechanical Organ and its Repair* (London, 1978), pp. 25-6.

²⁹⁵ David Dalrymple (ed.), *The opinions of Sarah Duchess-Dowager of Marlborough (1660-1744). Published from original Mss.* (1788), p. 63.

One of the wealthiest women in the country, the Duchess had spent a high-profile life in Court and political circles, but had strong links with Hertfordshire. She spent lengthy periods at Holywell House, St Albans which had been her childhood home, and may have been the 'country' property to which she referred.²⁹⁶

In addition to being used to accompany dancing or dining, barrel-organs could be used to support psalm-singing at family prayers, and therefore some barrels pinned with sacred and others with secular tunes were sometimes used in the same organ. The most extreme example in the country was the barrel-and-finger organ commissioned in c.1767 by John Stuart, Third Earl of Bute, after his resignation from George III's Government.²⁹⁷ Having purchased Luton Hoo (Beds.) in 1762, he engaged Adam to redesign the mansion.²⁹⁸ The celebrated clockmaker and mechanic Christopher Pinchbeck is thought to have advised on the construction of the organ which had an astonishing fifty-eight barrels, including thirty-six devoted to arrangements of Handel oratorios.²⁹⁹ This was such a large undertaking that a plan of the mansion's great entrance hall showed a 'Recess for organ' on one side, and a 'Recess for Organ Barrills' on the other.³⁰⁰ Although most of the barrels were removed for use with a second organ at Bute's Hampshire residence during the 1780s, this instrument must have had a significant influence on local landowners.³⁰¹ In 1795 John Higgins of Turvey Abbey (Beds.), just to the north of Luton Hoo, wrote:

I do not know but I shall be so extravagant as to buy an organ for to make a noise with myself sometimes and for the amusement of some friends I sometimes have here – if you hear of one about seven feet high [...] very good and complete with barrels in front [...] let me hear of it.³⁰²

Luton Hoo adjoins Hertfordshire on three sides (see Appendix 1), and Hertfordshire gentry were also influenced by Bute's machine. In 1784 an auction of the

²⁹⁶ James Falkner, 'Churchill, Sarah, duchess of Marlborough (1660-1744)', *ODNB*.

²⁹⁷ Karl Wolfgang Schweizer, 'Stuart, John, third earl of Bute (1713-1792)', *ODNB*.

²⁹⁸ Ord-Hume, *Barrel Organ*, p. 88.

²⁹⁹ *ibid.*; William Malloch, 'The Earl of Bute's Machine Organ: A Touchstone of Taste', *Early Music*, Vol. 11 no. 2 (Apr 1983), pp. 172-83.

³⁰⁰ Ord-Hume, *Barrel Organ*, pp. 89-92.

³⁰¹ *ibid.*

³⁰² BARS, HG12/3/6 John Higgins to Sar. Higgins (29 June 1795).

effects of Frederick Young, son of the rector of Welwyn, included: 'every requisite Convenience for a genteel Family [including] a fine-toned Organ with four barrels'.³⁰³ Similarly, in May 1774 Peter Delmé of Hitchin Priory purchased a Charles Green chamber organ fitted with two barrels for £168.³⁰⁴ Delmé's London address was Grosvenor Square, yet it seems probable his purchase was influenced not only by encountering similar organs in the capital, but also by the organ at Luton Hoo, eight miles distant as the crow flies. His subsequent hiring of 'a Band of Horns & Clarionets and Bassoon' from London indicates the barrel-organ was intended as a substitute rather than permanent replacement for live musicians.³⁰⁵ Delmé clearly considered band and barrel-organ alike to be both suitable and fashionable for polite music-making. But as the vogue for mechanical music grew, some began to see the potential for supplanting rather than deputizing for live musicians, and this had long-lasting repercussions for church music-making, as discussed below.

2.3. Charity Schools

From 1704 onwards, uniformed children from all the London charity schools processed through the streets to a joint annual Anniversary Meeting. By holding a joint meeting they were able to combine forces, attract a very eminent preacher, and produce a much larger volume of sound. Children in many charity schools were provided with specific clothing. In 1760 the seventeenth-century Hertford Bluecoat school was supplemented by a Greencoat school,³⁰⁶ elsewhere 'Redcoat', 'Greycoat' or 'Browncoat' uniforms were adopted. According to Temperley, uniforms marked the children's subservience,³⁰⁷ but just as the installation of an organ and the associated festivities drew attention to the munificence of patrons, contemporary evidence suggests a display of 'clothed' objects of charity could have the same desirable

³⁰³ *St James's Chronicle* (3 Jan. 1784); James E. May, 'Young, Edward (bap. 1683, d.1765)', *ODNB*.

³⁰⁴ HALS, DE/R/F220 Bills & receipts (1773-4).

³⁰⁵ *ibid.*

³⁰⁶ *VCH Herts*, 2, pp. 96-7.

³⁰⁷ Temperley, *Parish Church*, pp. 101-2.

consequence. An 1816 guide to Bicester (Oxon.) proudly noted that the boys of the charity school: 'are provided annually with a cap, blue coat, and leather breeches new. Their general appearance reflects great honour on the liberality of the parish'.³⁰⁸ At the Anniversary Meeting, the benevolence of each parish to its poor was there for all to see, both in the procession and prominently displayed during the service. It could be argued that this spectacle helped to maintain funding, since few parishes would have wanted to send poorly turned-out children to the meeting, especially when they could so easily be identified and compared with those of neighbouring parishes.

From 1782 onwards the Anniversary Meetings were held at St Paul's Cathedral, where hundreds of children in groups of 'red & blue & green'³⁰⁹ filled tall specially-erected galleries centred around the organ (see Figure 12).³¹⁰ Elite 'Patrons of the Anniversary of the Charity Schools' were guaranteed seats at this very popular event, a highlight of the Season.³¹¹ In 1787 William Vincent, Dean of Westminster, argued that the sheer number of children encouraged 'reflections upon the probable advantages accruing to so many human creatures rescued from total ignorance' and resulted in 'one of the most heart-moving spectacles ever exhibited in this or any other country'.³¹²

³⁰⁸ John Dunkin, *The History and Antiquities of Bicester* (London, 1816), p. 113.

³⁰⁹ William Blake, 'Holy Thursday', *Songs of Innocence and Experience* (London, 1794).

³¹⁰ Derek Keene, R. Arthur Burns & Andrew Saint (eds.), *St Paul's: the Cathedral Church of London, 604-2004* (London, 2004), pp. 348-50.

³¹¹ *List of the Patrons of the Anniversary of the Charity-Schools* (London, 1790), pp. 5-6.

³¹² William Vincent, *Considerations on parochial music* (London, 1787), p. 9.



Figure 12. Robert Havell junior, *The Anniversary Meeting of the Charity Children in the Cathedral Church of St Paul* (1826).³¹³

³¹³ Museum of London, *Collections Online*, A15590 accessed at collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/.

The Evangelical educationist Sarah Trimmer attended the 1788 Meeting, which she estimated was attended by 10,000 children. Overcoming her initial reservations that the display of so many children could be regarded as ostentatious, she too was in favour of the meeting since it attracted funding from both existing and new subscribers.³¹⁴

The contrast between the children's youthful voices and those of professional singers heard in London music rooms, opera houses and even many churches must have been striking to the congregation, and Haydn was overwhelmed by their singing while visiting London in the 1790s.³¹⁵ The preacher at the first St Paul's Anniversary Meeting in 1782 was Beilby Porteus, Bishop of Chester, who was also deeply impressed and commented: 'the effect of so large a number of children [...] uniting with one voice in the responses and in the psalm singing, was wonderfully pleasing and affecting'.³¹⁶

It seems very likely that the success and popularity of the Anniversary Meetings encouraged the elite to promote similar schemes when they returned to the country, whereby church music-making would be undertaken by children. By the end of the eighteenth century, charity schools were to be found throughout the country, particularly in market towns. Figure 13 shows 'clothed' charity children entering St Wilfrid's, Kirkby-in-Ashfield (Notts.), a small market town with a population of around 1000 in 1801.³¹⁷ Executed in 1786, this work is one of a series commissioned from Grimm by the rector, Sir Richard Kaye. Two years later the artist was attracted to the same subject matter in Bath (Somerset), where he depicted the Abbey nave filled with charity children. Because the children were not seated in galleries, most of the adults were confined to the aisles and the back of the nave.

³¹⁴ Sarah Trimmer, *Family Magazine*, Vol. 1 (June 1788), p. 427.

³¹⁵ Ian Spink, 'Haydn at St Paul's: 1791 or 1792?', *Early Music*, Vol. 33 no. 2 (May 2005), pp. 273-80.

³¹⁶ Beilby Porteus, 'Sermon XII', *Sermons on Several Subjects*, Vol. II (London, 1794), p. 267.

³¹⁷ Brett Dolman, '“Everything Curious”: Samuel Hieronymus Grimm and Sir Richard Kaye', *Electronic British Library Journal* (2003), pp. 4-6, accessed at www.bl.uk/ebli/2003articles/article2.html.

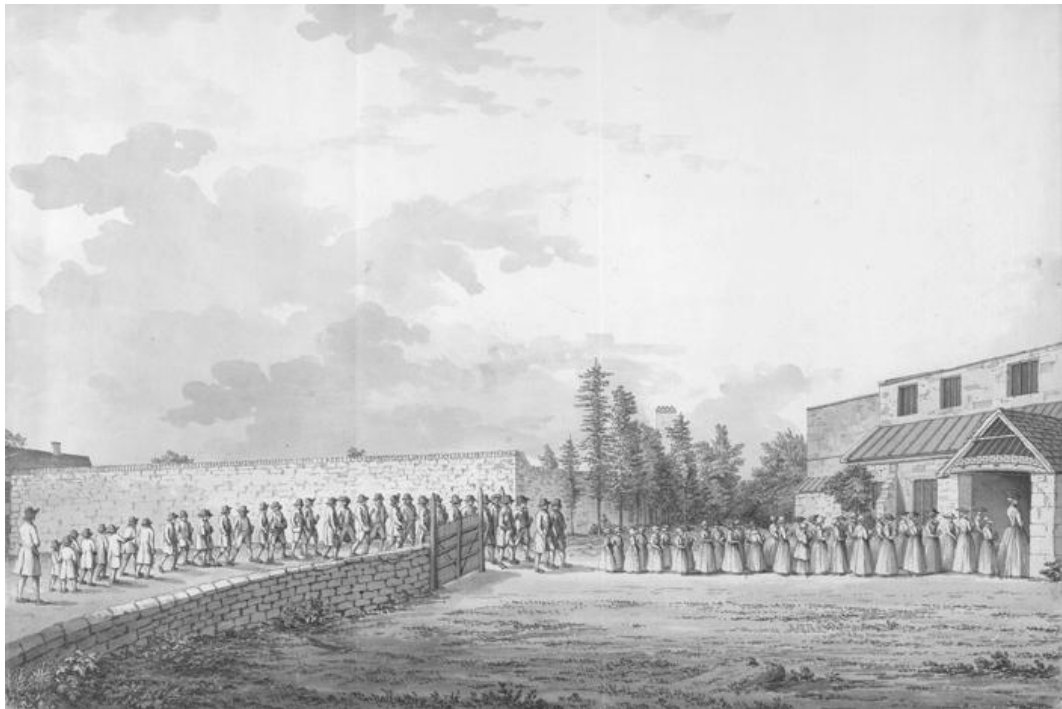


Figure 13. Samuel Hieronymus Grimm: above: *Kirkby-in-Ashfield Church, Procession of the school children* (1786); below: *A Service at Bath Abbey* (1788).³¹⁸

³¹⁸ BL, *Online Gallery*, Topographical drawings 85400 & 85667, accessed at www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/topdrawings/.

The practice of parading children to church persisted well into the nineteenth century, probably owing a great deal to the popularity of the Anniversary Meetings. They continued at St Paul's until 1870 when it was deemed unacceptable to close for a week to erect and dismantle the temporary galleries.³¹⁹ While the Anniversary Meetings are usually discussed by scholars in terms of being a grand spectacle, they overlook the fact that their impact on parochial music-making was of enduring significance. An early manifestation of this was the establishment of Sunday schools, discussed below in Section 2.4.1.1.

2.3.1. Polite children

In Hertfordshire, William Hatfield, rector of Lilley, subscribed to William Riley's *Parochial Music Corrected*. On the title-page Riley described himself as 'Principal Teacher of Psalmody to the Charity-Schools in London, Westminster, and Parts adjacent', and it is therefore possible he taught in Hertfordshire. Despite praising his subscribers for their support of charity children he berated them for the misdirected education of their own privately-educated children, and referred to Bishop Gibson (see Section 1.3.2):

It is plain that his Lordship thought it as necessary for these poor Children to be taught to sing the Praises of their bountiful creator, as those who are blest with a higher Birth, Education and Fortune.³²⁰

Like Gibson, Riley argued that if children were to be taught singing then this would lead to an improvement in congregational psalmody. Poor children should be taught to sing psalmody, but in addition 'polite' children in receipt of a musical education should put their talents to good use. Although children of 'superior condition' were very often taught the harpsichord, Riley found they were:

seldom, if ever, permitted either to play or sing a psalm-tune, because that cannot so well shew the abilities of their children, as in playing or singing a song. Thus a contempt for psalmody is commonly very early contracted.³²¹

³¹⁹ Bernarr Rainbow, 'Singing for Their Supper', *Musical Times* (Apr. 1984), p. 229.

³²⁰ William Riley, *Parochial music corrected* (London, 1762), pp. 24-5.

³²¹ *ibid.*

He added that many 'superior' children shared the somewhat cavalier attitude of the Page in Otway's *Tragedy of the Orphan*, who opined 'Boys that go to school sing psalms, but Pages, that are better bred, sing lampoons'. He claimed:

their parents giving themselves no manner of concern about it, thinking it a matter of little or no importance, or a qualification too mean and unpolite [*sic*] for children of superior condition.³²²

Observing that young ladies did not sing in church, Riley much regretted they: 'should be so bashful and ashamed of doing their duty to God; when asked to sing at home, it would be looked upon as a breach of good manners to refuse'.³²³ Those familiar with the novels of Jane Austen will be only too aware of the obligation for young ladies to display their singing and keyboard prowess for the entertainment of their social equals, with varying degrees of enthusiasm and aplomb. The Hertfordshire organist Thomas Green tuned harpsichords, spinets and, from the late 1760s onwards, the fortepiano for over 300 clients,³²⁴ and in *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) Austen placed the fictional Netherfield, Longbourn and Meryton in this county.

Many contemporary writers found Riley's a compelling argument, including Arnold (see p. 57), who published part of it *verbatim* in the preface to his own *Church Music Reformed* some three years later.³²⁵ But other 'polite' children received no musical education at all, leading Riley to suggest:

between those who are not taught, and those who think it mean to employ their talents this way, this exercise is almost totally neglected; and were it not for charity-children being taught psalmody, the performance would be very indecent indeed [...]³²⁶

Riley's plea appears to have had little response, and as late as 1827 the Congregationalist minister and composer David Everard Ford wrote:

³²² *ibid.*

³²³ *ibid.*

³²⁴ Sheldrick, *Green*.

³²⁵ John Arnold, *Church Music Reformed* (London, 1765).

³²⁶ Riley, *Parochial music*, pp. 24-5.

There are many Christian parents who devote large sums of money to the musical education of their children, and expect them in return, to gratify their visitors, by playing and singing for hours together; yet who would think themselves insulted, if any one were to hint, that such talents and attainments might be serviceable in public worship [...] Perhaps the excuse may be, that some of the persons with whom, in that case, they would be expected now and then to associate, are a few degrees beneath themselves in the scale of society.³²⁷

These comments reveal one of the unforeseen results of associating church music-making with charitable objectives. According to Temperley ‘the gentry would not so far demean themselves as to sing in church’, but were prepared ‘with Christian charity to endow a school for poor children who, in return, would be trained to provide a more elegant song of praise’.³²⁸ In a further refinement of this argument, it could be suggested that rather than it being merely considered ‘unpolite’ to sing in church, elite families would have risked being tainted by association with the objects of their charity had they done so.

2.4. Episcopal and clerical influence

2.4.1. *Visitations and charges*

In 1787 Bishop Porteus, who had preached at the first St Paul’s Anniversary Meeting, was translated to the diocese of London. Although a High Churchman, he was a warm supporter of many Evangelical initiatives, and had encouraged the founding of Sunday schools in every parish in his Chester diocese.³²⁹ Wishing to build on his earlier success, his primary visitation articles of 1790 asked: ‘Have you any public or other school [...] in your parish?’. The returns for the forty-nine Hertfordshire parishes under his jurisdiction give an indication of the task before him – only five had Sunday schools, and twenty-seven had no school whatsoever.³³⁰ To many of the Hertfordshire clergy this seemed to be of no personal concern. At Little Horne the return was completed by the curate, who reported that the pluralist rector Dr Drake ‘resides personally at his

³²⁷ David Everard Ford, *Observations on psalmody, by a composer* (London, 1827), pp. 115-8; John Brown, ‘Ford, David Everard (1797-1875)’, rev. Ian Sellers, *ODNB*.

³²⁸ Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 101.

³²⁹ Andrew Robinson, ‘Porteus, Beilby (1731-1809)’, *ODNB*.

³³⁰ LPL, FP/Porteus 24/3-30/121.

living of Hadleigh in Suffolk'.³³¹ Seemingly untroubled, he added: 'There is no school in the parish and the parents of children cannot read so that the children of the few poor families are not able to say their catechism'. Similarly, at Stocking Pelham the rector Nicholson Calvert reported: 'No catechizing in the church, out of the few residing in the parish but two can read'.³³²

Porteus used the material given in the visitation returns to inform a 1790 Charge to his clergy devoted to the improvement of parochial psalmody.³³³ Although he had made no specific enquiry into psalmody, he perhaps considered this unnecessary since contemporary evidence suggests congregational participation and clerical involvement were both sporadic at this time (see Section 1.1.3). Although Porteus reiterated much of Gibson's 1724 Charge, there was one major difference. Whereas Gibson had urged that all children should participate, Porteus now suggested only those with the best voices should do so. This was not in the spirit of elitism, but rather to give the congregation a greater incentive to sing – in some London churches there was now perhaps an excess of children's singing, coupled with insensitive organ-playing. Indeed, in 1787 Vincent had cautioned that much of the Anniversary Meeting's success could be attributed to the unusual circumstance of the children having been rehearsed. Conversely, in their own churches he observed 'fifty or an hundred trebles, strained to their highest pitch, united to the roar of the full organ', which could:

never raise admiration of the performers, or a sense of devotion in the hearers; the disgust is general, and the complaint of the congregation, universal [...] the effect is just the reverse in the general assembly of charity children at St Paul's.³³⁴

³³¹ LPL, FP/Porteus 27/2-40.

³³² LPL, FP/Porteus 29/34.

³³³ Beilby Porteus, *A charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of London* (London, 1790).

³³⁴ Vincent, *Considerations*, p. 8.

Perhaps influenced by Vincent, Porteus said:

it would be extremely useful to select a few of the charity-children, who have the best voices, and the best ear for music, from the rest, and have them taught to sing well and in their natural tone. And directions should be given to the organist not to drown and overpower the singers by the unremitted loudness and violent intonations of the full organ [...] This would render the psalm-singing so pleasing and melodious that the greater part of the congregation would soon be tempted and [...] enabled to join in.³³⁵

‘Unremitted loudness’ from the organ would not have been a widespread problem in Hertfordshire where only six town and two country parishes had organs during the 1780s-90s (see Table 3). However Vincent’s direction that children should be taught to sing ‘in their natural tone’ rather than ‘strained to their highest pitch’ gives the first indication that in some cases it might have been difficult for adults to join children singing at an uncomfortably high pitch.

Like Gibson, Porteus placed an emphasis on plain tunes, but rather than trying to do away with singers *per se*, he suggested persuading them to use ‘portions of the Psalms from the New Version, which should be adapted to some of the plainest, simplest and easiest of our most ancient and popular melodies’, with the observation:

This will be greatly aided by training up some of the most promising children of the parish in the constant practice of plain psalmody, till by degrees a large part of the congregation have been thus instructed from their youth, and a select band will be no longer necessary.³³⁶

Porteus further argued this had:

been already done in several parishes with great success, especially in those where Sunday schools have been established [...] By these means a considerable choir of well taught young people may in a few years be formed in every church, who will serve as guides and instructors to the rest of the congregation.³³⁷

Porteus was not alone in seeing the potential benefits to be derived from using children to improve the psalmody in rural parish churches. Shortly after touring Hertfordshire in 1788, and presumably based on experience, the diarist John Byng wrote that were he ‘Squire of a country Village’ he would offer ‘Premiums and

³³⁵ Porteus, *1790 Charge*, pp. 18-9.

³³⁶ *ibid.*

³³⁷ *ibid.*

Encouragements' to found 'a little Chorus of Children; than which nothing is more Elevating and Grateful and Sublime, hearing Innocence exert their little Voices in praise of their Creator'.³³⁸ Like Porteus, Byng alluded to the potential of using youthful singing to attract larger parochial congregations: 'Nothing should be more encouraged, as drawing both Young and Old to Church, than Church Melody'.³³⁹

Leading by example, Porteus began to install clergymen sympathetic to his cause in those Hertfordshire livings of which he held the patronage. One such was Rickmansworth, where he installed his nephew Edward Hodgson as rector in 1805. Prior to the introduction of a barrel-organ in 1826 'the school children vocalized Tate and Brady to the accompaniment of the frolicsome fiddle, the melancholy flute, and the rumbling bass-viol'.³⁴⁰

Later Bishops of London continued to encourage congregational psalmody. Gibson's 1724 directions for singing psalms were still considered essential reading as late as 1807 when John Randolph, Bishop of Bangor, included them in a select collection of tracts entitled *The Clergyman's Instructor*.³⁴¹ By highlighting Gibson's directions, he clearly attached importance to promoting psalmody, and in his 1808 Charge addressed the problem of the rival attractions of Methodist meetings, in which he asked:

whether an attention to the Psalmody of the Church would not be a likely means of keeping your congregations regular in their attendance, and earnest in their worship. Our adversaries, as is well known, and they are much to be commended in this particular, render their meetings attractive by a careful attention to this custom, and by the skilful practice of it.³⁴²

In 1809 Randolph was translated to London where, like his predecessor Porteus, he was a strong supporter of poor children's education. His primary visitation

³³⁸ John Byng Torrington, C. Bruyn Andrews (ed.), *The Torrington Diaries: A Selection from the Tours of the Hon John Byng* (London, 1954), p. 160.

³³⁹ *ibid.*

³⁴⁰ John Edwin Cussans, *History of Hertfordshire* (3 vols., London, 1870-81), III, pp. 149-150.

³⁴¹ John Randolph (ed.), *The Clergyman's Instructor* (Oxford, 1807).

³⁴² John Randolph, *A charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Bangor* (Bangor, 1808), pp. 23-7.

of 1810 revealed that only ten Hertfordshire parishes in his diocese were now without schools, and that nineteen had Sunday schools attached to the established church.³⁴³ Notwithstanding these promising reports, the rival attraction of Methodism was clearly becoming a significant problem, and improvements to psalmody needed to be sustained. This development is discussed in the next chapter.

About half the Hertfordshire parishes came under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Lincoln, where George Pretyman was bishop 1787-1820. Had he not been in favour of Sunday schools then differences according to diocese in the distribution of the founding of Hertfordshire schools could be expected, but this is not the case. When Pretyman held his primary visitation at Baldock in 1788, Sir Adam Gordon, rector of Hinxworth preached a supportive sermon. Arguing strongly in favour of the founding of Sunday schools, Gordon appealed to those 'whose superior stations render their authority propitious to the benefit of their fellow-creatures' to play their part in checking the progress of 'universal ignorance and licentiousness among the offspring of the lower class of people'.³⁴⁴ By 1789 Gordon had himself established a Sunday school, urging parents to support the endeavour. Moreover, he took the call to improve psalmody one step further, and made his own selection of psalms suitable for parish use, set to tunes edited by Samuel Arnold in 1791.³⁴⁵ It seems most probable that this was also prompted by the strong Methodist presence in his parish (see Section 3.3.1).

In 1794 the Marquess of Salisbury and the rector of his Hatfield parish church subscribed to Tattersall's *Improved Psalmody*.³⁴⁶ Tattersall attributed the poor state of psalmody to a want of encouragement by both gentry and clergy, unlike Gordon whom he praised for his 'assiduous endeavours to serve the Church'.³⁴⁷

³⁴³ LPL, FP/Randolph 9-12.

³⁴⁴ Adam Gordon, *Sermons on several subjects and occasions* (2 vols., London, 1790), 1, p. 304.

³⁴⁵ Samuel Arnold, *The Psalms of David [...] The words selected by the Revd. Sir Adam Gordon Bart.* (London, 1791).

³⁴⁶ William Dechair Tattersall, *Improved psalmody [...]* (London, 1794).

³⁴⁷ William Dechair Tattersall, *A version of the Psalms [...]* (London, 1797), p. iii; Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 228.

2.4.1.1 Sunday Schools

The founding of the Sunday School Society in 1785 was a direct result of the St Paul's Anniversary Meetings. Impressed by the contrast between the 'present comfortable situation' of the charity children and the 'vicious ignorance' in which they must otherwise have been left, the Society was founded 'for the support and encouragement of Sunday-Schools in the different counties of England'.³⁴⁸ The main objective was to establish them in manufacturing towns and rural villages, where charity day schools were rare in the absence of wealthy local patrons. Unlike other charity schools there were no paid teachers, and therefore no requirement for an endowment to maintain the school. A further advantage was that children would not be kept from paid employment during the remainder of the week. Sunday schools of various denominations were promoted, and the twenty-four-strong committee comprised equal numbers of members of the Church of England and dissenters.³⁴⁹

In the established church, in addition to keeping unruly children under control, the main aims of Sunday schools were to teach Sunday scholars the catechism, to read the bible for themselves and to observe the sabbath.³⁵⁰ As with charity schools, early Sunday school rules usually required compulsory attendance at church, where it was hoped proper behaviour would train up children as God-fearing citizens with the habit of attending church regularly as adults. They were particularly promoted by those sympathetic to the Evangelical cause, including Hannah More and her circle, many of whom saw psalmody as an important part of both worship and education. In Somerset the various Sunday schools founded by More came together in 'Mendip feasts' reminiscent of the Anniversary Meetings, albeit in the open air rather than the lofty surroundings of St Paul's. In 1791 the feast was attended by 517 children and 300

³⁴⁸ Sunday School Society, *Plan of a Society established in London, AD 1785, for the support and encouragement of Sunday-Schools in the different counties of England* (London, 1788), pp. 5-8.

³⁴⁹ *ibid.*; W. Reginald Ward, *Religion and Society in England 1790-1850* (London, 1972), p. 13.

³⁵⁰ D.W. Sylvester, *Educational Documents 800-1816* (London, 1970), pp. 254-5.

adults, 'each school headed by their master and mistress, singing psalms and hallelujahs'.³⁵¹

Addressing the lack of congregational singing, in 1787 Vincent suggested that if Sunday school children were taught to sing: 'here may be opened the means of rendering the whole body of the lower people capable of feeling and joining in this service'.³⁵² Porteus particularly encouraged the establishment of Sunday schools in rural parishes, arguing that here 'there are in general neither charity-children nor organs', and predicted 'it may be more difficult perhaps to restore the psalmody to its primitive state and banish the corruptions of it introduced by the select village choir'.³⁵³

The late eighteenth century saw the foundation of Sunday schools in many Hertfordshire parishes, of which more below. The evidence suggests this was a direct response to both episcopal influence and the rise of Evangelicalism, and was achieved with the encouragement and support of both clergy and laity wishing to fulfil their social duty.

2.4.1.2 The involvement of the elite

The improvement of congregational psalmody was highly desirable to Evangelicals and High Churchmen alike. For example in 1787 the High-Church William Jones, perpetual curate of Nayland (Suffolk), led a subscription to place an organ in the church, formed a choir of Sunday school children, and taught them to sing psalm-tunes, insisting their role was to lead rather than replace congregational singing.³⁵⁴ But to these two groups Temperley added a third, namely the genteel with their desire for 'improved' psalmody.³⁵⁵ Unlike Evangelicals and High Churchmen, he argued that their aim was 'to silence the congregation completely', and instead listen to a choir 'trained

³⁵¹ Arthur Roberts (ed.), *Mendip Annals, or, a Narrative of the Charitable Labours of Hannah and Martha More in their Neighbourhood* (London, 1859), p. 37.

³⁵² Vincent, *Considerations*, pp. 28-9.

³⁵³ Porteus, *1790 Charge*, pp. 18-9.

³⁵⁴ Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 227.

³⁵⁵ *ibid.*

and accompanied by a professional organist'.³⁵⁶ Although their objectives differed, all three groups supported schools for poor children where they could be taught to sing. According to Temperley, the 'genteel' intended the children to be 'trained to provide a more elegant song of praise' and sing on their behalf,³⁵⁷ but Hertfordshire evidence suggests this argument may be modified to include significant overlap between the three reforming groups, since some at least of the elite showed a desire to improve the congregation's psalmody, rather than wishing to silence it.

In 1785 the first President of the Sunday School Society was James, Marquess of Salisbury (Hatfield House), and in nearby St Albans, Viscount Grimston (Gorhambury) chaired a meeting 'to consider the expediency of establishing Sunday schools in the town'.³⁵⁸ Both these families subscribed to the London concerts of 'Antient Music' (see p. 67), indicating an interest and desire to support music-making.³⁵⁹ The St Albans meeting resolved: 'the establishment of such schools, supported by voluntary contributions, in the several parishes of this town, distinct and independent from each other', would be 'highly proper', and might 'serve to promote an early habit, among the lower class of inhabitants, of attending church', give them 'additional opportunities of learning the duties of religion', and tend to the suppression of 'idleness, ignorance, and immorality'.³⁶⁰ Temperley found a correlation between the incidence of church organs, the size of the population of the parish and, in London, the presence of charity schools.³⁶¹ Hertfordshire evidence summarized in Tables 3 and 4 also indicates that the desire to promote psalm-singing by Sunday and other charity schoolchildren was often the key factor which led to the installation of a church organ.

³⁵⁶ *ibid.*

³⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p. 101.

³⁵⁸ James Walter Grimston (3rd Earl of Verulam), *Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Verulam, preserved at Gorhambury*, Historic Manuscripts Commission, no. 64 (London, 1906), p. 132.

³⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p. 218; *Concerts of Antient Music*, pp. xi.

³⁶⁰ Grimston, *Manuscripts*, p. 132.

³⁶¹ Temperley, 'Organs', pp. 83-100.

Sunday school established by	Parish	Population (1801) ³⁶²	Finger organ?
1786	Watford	3530	Yes
1789	Cheshunt	3173	Yes
1790	Ware	2950	Yes
1788	Hemel Hempstead	2722	No
1794	Hatfield	2442	No
1790	Bishops Stortford	2305	Yes
1788	Braughing	972	No
1786	Kings Langley	970	No
1794	Hertford (?All Saints)	872	Yes
1785	St Albans (?St Peter)	840	Yes
1788	Buntingford	799	No
1800	Hertingfordbury	625	No
1790	Barley	494	No
1792	Tewin	494	No
1788	Pirton	481	No
1790	Thundridge	437	No
1788	Ickleford	337	No
1789	Hinxworth	228	No

Table 4. Early Hertfordshire Sunday schools, ordered by size of parish.³⁶³

Note: the towns of Hertford and St Albans comprised several parishes, and were significantly larger than suggested by the figures given above for a single parish.

³⁶² PP 1852-53 [1631] *Population Tables, 1851, Part I. Numbers of the Inhabitants in 1801, 1811, 1821, 1831, 1841, & 1851*, Vol. I, pp. 38-61.

³⁶³ Sunday School Society, *Sunday-Schools*, p. 55; LPL, FP/Porteus 24/20-65, 25/5, 30/64, 30/92 & 30/95 Visitation returns (1790); HALS, DP23/3/1 Vicar's notes (1714-88); DP64/25/9-10 Sunday School minutes & accounts (1786-1827); DP29/8/48-52; *Universal British Directory*, 3, pp. 360 & 371; *Digest of the Reports made to the Commissioners of Enquiry into Charities* (London, 1841), p. 42; Grimston, *Manuscripts*, p. 132; John Carrington, W. Branch Johnson (ed.), *Memorands for ...*, *The Diary between 1798 and 1810 of John Carrington* (Chichester, 1973), p. 25; J.S. Hurt, *Bringing Literacy to Rural England. The Hertfordshire Example* (Chichester, 1972), p. 3.

Several other high-profile members of the Hertfordshire aristocracy sympathetic to the Evangelical revival also supported church leaders in their drive to establish Sunday schools. In North Hertfordshire the foremost among these was Philip Yorke, who supplemented the parishioners' subscription towards the Braughing Sunday school begun in 1788.³⁶⁴ Although not patron of the living, Yorke was the only resident 'person of distinction' in 1790.³⁶⁵ MP for Cambridge from 1780 until elevated to the peerage as Third Earl of Hardwicke in May 1790, he was described as a 'Godly noble' by Hilton.³⁶⁶

The most significant promoter of Sunday schools in South Hertfordshire was Georgiana, Countess Spencer. The Spencers were the most influential St Albans family throughout the eighteenth century, and heavily involved in political and social activities. With a London address in Grosvenor Street, the Countess was a talented musician familiar with the London musical scene, and as a girl she had had harpsichord lessons from the organist Thomas Green (see Table 3).³⁶⁷ On the death of the Earl in 1783 she took the family's Holywell House, St Albans as her dower house (see p. 70).³⁶⁸

The Countess was a renowned philanthropist. During the 1780s she visited the Reading (Berks.) charity school hoping to establish a similar school in St Albans, and 'personally furnished herself with the knowledge she wished to obtain of the foundation, and expressed her great approbation'.³⁶⁹ Jacob has argued that the value placed on Christian charitable relief of the poor was emphasised by locating seats for both the poor and charity children in prominent positions.³⁷⁰ At Reading, the children attended church twice every Sunday, 'when they likewise bear no inconsiderable part in the Psalmody of the Church, from the gallery, in which they are placed during Divine

³⁶⁴ HALS, DP23/3/1.

³⁶⁵ LPL, FP/Porteus 25/5-16.

³⁶⁶ Boyd Hilton, *A mad, bad, and dangerous people?: England 1783-1846* (Oxford, 2008), p. 178.

³⁶⁷ Sheldrick, *Green*, p. 135.

³⁶⁸ Solomon Shaw, *History of Verulam and St Albans* (1815), p. 221.

³⁶⁹ Charles Sturges, *Mr West's Annual Charity Sermon* (Reading, 1795), pp. 10-14.

³⁷⁰ Jacob, 'congregation', p. 304.

Service',³⁷¹ so in this church too, the charity children were prominently displayed. In Norfolk, Lady Fenn established and taught a Sunday school for girls at East Dereham church in 1786,³⁷² and when in 1788 Countess Spencer spent six weeks in Norfolk with her brother Charles Poyntz, rector of North Creake she too established a Sunday school, and attended the children every week, 'from eight o'clock in the morning till night, to teach them to read and sing psalms'.³⁷³ Although strongly opposed by the local farmers (see p. 95) the school continued to flourish after her departure, and in 1824 the landowner Thomas Herod directed that on the decease of his beneficiary 'every thing should be sold, except the organ, which he desired might be given to the school, as a means to teach the poor children to sing psalms'.³⁷⁴

In St Albans the Countess not only funded the clothing and education of girls at a school of industry, but also started the Bluecoat school and taught numerous children of the Sunday School both in the Lady Chapel of the Abbey Church and at her own home.³⁷⁵ It seems very likely they would have been taught psalmody, as at North Creake, and taken their part in leading the Abbey Church congregation. Her actions suggest not only an interest in teaching children psalmody but also that she considered this to be a necessary requirement when establishing a school.

Lady Fenn and Countess Spencer's involvement typify the growing national vogue among well-to-do ladies and gentlemen for setting up Sunday schools. This cause was encouraged in Trimmer's *The Oeconomy of Charity*, in which she urged ladies to take a personal interest in Sunday schooling. While praising all who made a financial contribution, Trimmer advised such ladies to teach charity school girls 'to sing psalms in a proper manner':

³⁷¹ *ibid.*

³⁷² Philip B. Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement in England 1780-1980* (Redhill, c.1986), p. 46.

³⁷³ Sunday School Society, *Sunday-Schools*, p. 78.

³⁷⁴ PP 1835 (216) *Coms. of Inquiry into Charities in England and Wales: Twenty-ninth Report*, p. 502.

³⁷⁵ *Universal British Directory*, Appendix, p. 178; William Urwick, 'Day School Education in St Albans', *Bible Truths and Church Errors* (London, 1888), p. 211; Shaw, *History*, pp. 203-4 & 212.

Not that I would by any means recommend the teaching [of] Charity Children to sing in a superior stile, so as prevent the congregation from joining with them, for this would entirely defeat the purpose of their being taught.³⁷⁶

This significant statement indicates that contrary to Temperley's assertion that the 'genteel' encouraged singing by charity schoolchildren so that they would sing on their behalf,³⁷⁷ many did so in an attempt to improve congregational psalmody. Since the Countess had consulted Trimmer, it is highly likely her methods informed the teaching and objectives in St Albans.³⁷⁸ Again suggesting this was a charitable cause particularly favoured by ladies, in 1788 Trimmer noted that at the Anniversary Meeting 'there appeared at least six ladies to one gentleman',³⁷⁹ and Robert Raikes, Sunday schools pioneer, neatly observed: 'At Windsor Ladies of fashion pass their Sundays in teaching the poorest children'.³⁸⁰

Another of Trimmer's concerns about children being taught to sing 'in a superior stile' was that it might result in them singing with: 'sets of *anthem singers*, who, it is to be feared, have but little thought of devotion'.³⁸¹ In 1793 Peter Hellendaal dedicated a collection of psalm-tunes 'to the worthy patrons of charity and Sunday schools of Great Britain'.³⁸² Hellendaal's *Collection* attracted subscriptions not only from the clergy and elite such as Hardwicke, but also from Hertfordshire 'Societies of Singers' including those of Hitchin and Royston. This may have been because they were attracted by the simple arrangements, or perhaps because they had been advised to sing a less complicated repertoire alongside children, as envisaged by Porteus. Similarly, in 1773 John Ivery of Northaw explained in the preamble to his *Hertfordshire*

³⁷⁶ Sarah Trimmer, *The Oeconomy of Charity, or, An address to ladies concerning Sunday-schools* (2 vols., London, 1801), 1, pp. 107-8.

³⁷⁷ Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 101.

³⁷⁸ Barbara Brandon Schnorrenberg, 'Trimmer, Sarah (1741-1810)', *ODNB*.

³⁷⁹ Trimmer, *Family Magazine*, p. 427.

³⁸⁰ John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (9 vols., London, 1815), IX, p. 543.

³⁸¹ Trimmer, *Oeconomy*, p. 108.

³⁸² Peter Hellendaal, *A Collection of Psalms for the use of Parish Churches* (Cambridge, 1794).

Melody: 'The psalm-tunes [...] are set in three and four parts, so as to be sung either in the choir or in the school'.³⁸³

Although Porteus' 1790 Charge is widely cited by musicologists, none appear to have investigated Porteus' subsequent guidance. In 1794, the publication year of Hellendaal's *Collection*, Porteus assessed recent progress, and was pleased to report that during the intervening period many of his wishes had been fulfilled:

Several Sunday Schools have been set on foot, in different parts, where none existed before. Their good effects, wherever they have been established, are apparent and considerable. The Clergy begin to be convinced of their importance and utility; and they are gradually increasing and diffusing themselves over the whole diocese. It is, indeed most devoutly to be wished, that they should become universal throughout the kingdom.³⁸⁴

Furthermore, Porteus added new enquiries to his visitation articles of 1798 relating to the parish clerk: 'hath he competent Skill in the singing of Psalms?', and schoolmaster: 'Doth he cause [his scholars] orderly to repair to their Church or Chapel, and see that they behave themselves there quietly and reverently, during the Time of Divine Service, and Sermon?'.³⁸⁵ Unfortunately no returns survive, but the questions indicate Porteus' continuing concerns regarding psalmody and schooling. The significance of his 1803 Charge is discussed below in Section 2.4.3.

2.4.2. Learning to sing

According to Shaw's *Parish Law*, the parish clerk needed to be a competent singer since his duties included 'setting the psalms'.³⁸⁶ However the 1715 Charity School report found that some country parishes also appointed parish clerks 'on condition they would teach a certain number of children'.³⁸⁷ In Hertfordshire, this was the case at Furneux Pelham, where as early as the 1720s the duties of the parish clerk Mr Beard included schooling in addition to psalmody and 'setting ye psalms at

³⁸³ John Ivery, *The Hertfordshire Melody; or, Psalm-Singers Recreation* (London, 1773), Preface.

³⁸⁴ Beilby Porteus, *A charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of London* (London, 1794), pp. 5-6.

³⁸⁵ HALS, ASA/13/1 Visitation article (1798).

³⁸⁶ Joseph Shaw, *Parish Law* (London, 1733), p. 43.

³⁸⁷ *Charity Schools*, p. 5.

church'.³⁸⁸ During the nineteenth century a number of Hertfordshire parish clerks were estate employees, including the gardeners Chapman Phypers of Barkway and George Norman of Ashwell.³⁸⁹ This suggests that their employers may have been both supportive of church music-making and desirous of keeping it under their controlling influence.

Singers may have provided instruction in those churches with a less musical parish clerk, and this is discussed in Chapter 3. In addition, children were sometimes taught to sing by a school patron, as seen above, but in churches with an organ it was usually the organist who taught children to sing. Shaw described the organist 'as a master of musick, so does he often teach some of the younger parishioners musick',³⁹⁰ and in Hertfordshire, most of the identifiable childrens' singing teachers were organists (see Appendix 4). It is therefore unsurprising to find payments for schoolchildren's singing lessons following the acquisition of an organ.

In 1774 the churchwardens of St Peter's, St Albans purchased six copies of 'Wilkins's Psalm Books', which included 'easy instructions for young beginners'.³⁹¹ Presumably these were purchased on the recommendation of Miss Sherman, appointed organist at around this date, probably with the obligation of teaching the charity children to sing. The daunting chart of the Gamut or scales shown in Figure 14 illustrates why teaching children psalmody with the aid of a barrel-organ later came to be seen as an easier option in so many churches.

³⁸⁸ HALS, DP78/3/3 Vicars' account book (1725-47).

³⁸⁹ 1851 Census H0107/1707/f.302/p.4; 1861 Census RG9/812/f.43/p.3; RG9/812/f.34/p.25.

³⁹⁰ Shaw, *Parish Law*, p. 45.

³⁹¹ Matthew Wilkins, *An Introduction to Psalmody* [...] (London, 1750), *A Second Book of Psalmody* (London, 1750); HALS, DP93/5/3-5.

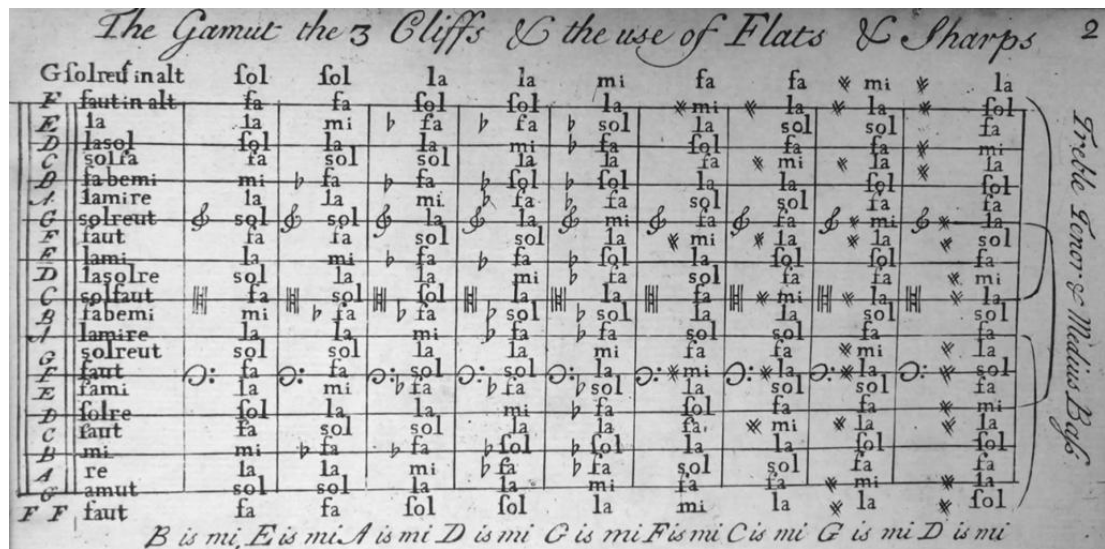


Figure 14. ‘The Gamut’ from Matthew Wilkins’ *A Second Book of Psalmody* (London, 1750).³⁹²

Porteus' advice concerning psalmody was sometimes given *verbatim* in the preface to the abridged collections of psalms with simple tunes which now began to be published. One such was Miller's *Psalms*, attracting a number of Hertfordshire subscribers including Mr Yardley, churchwarden of Bishops Stortford where a school had already been established.³⁹³ Miller emphasized the important role of organists such as himself:

It is chiefly from his exertions, that a reformation in the performance is to be hoped for. Let him not shrink from the trouble of attending once a week, for a few months, to instruct the charity or Sunday school children.³⁹⁴

This suggestion was adopted at Bishops Stortford, where during 1793-99 Yardley authorized annual payments of five guineas from the church estates to the organist 'for teaching the Children of the Sunday School to sing Psalms'.³⁹⁵

In 1787 Vincent advised one method of obtaining better instruction for children would be 'for them to come to church half an hour before the service

³⁹² Bodleian Library, Mus. 32 e.61.

³⁹³ Edward Miller, *The Psalms of David for the use of Parish Churches the words selected from the version of Tate & Brady by the Revd. George Hay Drummond* (London, 1790).

³⁹⁴ *ibid.*, pp. iv-v.

³⁹⁵ See Appendix 4.

commences; during which time they might practise or rehearse with the organ'.³⁹⁶ Miller's own church in Doncaster introduced a routine whereby the Sunday schoolmasters and mistresses would attend church for half an hour before morning and evening service 'to be instructed in properly singing the psalms to be used in this church', as recommended by Vincent.³⁹⁷ This practice was also adopted in Hertfordshire, and in 1814 Thomas Leach, organist of Cheshunt, was required to teach the charity school boys psalmody 'for half an hour before church service every Sunday morning'.³⁹⁸ In 1791 Miller spoke from personal experience when he wrote:

The establishment of Sunday schools offers a finer prospect for the improvement of parochial music, than was ever before presented to us. [...] The parish ministers are always trustees for these and all other charity schools and [...] have it in their power to be of essential service towards the improvement of congregational psalmody.³⁹⁹

Although Porteus had particularly encouraged the founding of Sunday schools in rural parishes, many of the earliest Hertfordshire Sunday schools were established in towns (see Table 4). This could be explained by the fact that greater numbers of both patrons and children were to be found in towns, but also, since most church organs were located in towns, Sunday or charity schoolchildren could be selected to sing with them in imitation of metropolitan fashion. Thus following the Earl of Clarendon's founding of the Watford Sunday school in 1786 the children from both this and other charity schools sang with the organ.⁴⁰⁰

How the congregation was expected to learn from the children is a question barely addressed by historians, but the evidence indicates the half-hour instruction sessions were not aimed solely at children. Vincent suggested: 'it is not impossible that rehearsals of this kind should attract several of the parishioners',⁴⁰¹ and Miller agreed

³⁹⁶ Vincent, *Considerations*, p. 24.

³⁹⁷ Miller, *Psalms*, p. xi.

³⁹⁸ See Appendix 4.

³⁹⁹ Miller, *Thoughts*, p. 9.

⁴⁰⁰ HALS, DP64/25/9-10.

⁴⁰¹ Vincent, *Considerations*, p. 24.

'The congregation will soon learn to join them, and the result will amply repay him for all his labour'.⁴⁰²

In charity and Sunday schools in rural parishes, and those with no wealthy patron or landowners, it was very difficult to find funding for an organ or organist, and singing instruction in these parishes was undertaken by schoolmasters and mistresses. According to Vincent, 'the school-master is usually the instructor in music, [...] always attendant on them at church, and the regulator of their behaviour there'.⁴⁰³ During the nineteenth century the roles of parish clerk and teacher were still often combined, for example by John Parker of Abbots Langley and Henry Broderick of Watford.⁴⁰⁴ At Aldbury the schoolmaster Robert Kennedy purchased Stephenson's *Church Harmony* in 1773, and may have taught both the church singers and schoolchildren.⁴⁰⁵ The importance of this duty was emphasized by Miller in 1791 who suggested the clergy should choose as Sunday school masters: 'one or two persons who know enough of music to teach, by the ear, the children of their schools, the tunes that are to be used in the church'.⁴⁰⁶

2.4.3. Continuing concerns

Controversies surrounding Sunday schools put their use for improving church music-making into jeopardy. Despite the limited education which they provided, any education of the poor remained a contentious issue, particularly during the period of the French Revolution, when Pitt's Government considered introducing legislation against Sunday schools.⁴⁰⁷ This was partly because of concerns that the educated poor would be able to read subversive political tracts such as Tom Paine's *Rights of Man*. In

⁴⁰² Miller, *Psalms*, pp. iv-v.

⁴⁰³ Vincent, *Considerations*, p. 22.

⁴⁰⁴ 1841 Census HO107/438/f.23/p.15; 1851 Census HO107/1714/f.260/p.11; *Kelly's Post Office Directory of Hertfordshire* (1851), pp. 207-8.

⁴⁰⁵ HALS, DP2/29/9 Churchwardens' bills (1773); Jean Davis, *Aldbury, The Open Village. A Portrait of Country Life* (Aldbury, 1987), p. 43.

⁴⁰⁶ Miller, *Thoughts*, p. 9.

⁴⁰⁷ Betsy Rodgers, *Cloak of Charity. Studies in Eighteenth-Century Philanthropy* (London, 1949), p. 109; Ward, *Religion*, p. 40.

addition, Gibson's 1724 argument against teaching complex psalmody to the children of the poor continued to be used, particularly with regard to girls. But in an account of her Brentford Sunday schools established in 1787, Trimmer mounted a spirited defence of both girls' education and the involvement of all ranks of society:

Those children who have voices are exceedingly fond of singing psalms, and others have great pleasure in hearing them. Some people object to girls being indulged in this particular, from an idea that it will give their thoughts an improper turn: but surely this is an illiberal as well as mistaken notion; for why should we suppose that directing the application of their talent to its noblest use will lead to the perversion of it? And why in this age, when a taste for sacred music prevails among the higher ranks of people, should we wish to debar the lower ones from the recreation which psalmody gives to their minds; unless it could be proved that it actually takes them off from any religious or moral duty? Our great Creator has not confined the relish for music to any rank of his creatures; and I do not think that any can claim an exclusive privilege to the moderate enjoyment of its delights.⁴⁰⁸

Examples of the successful results of children's singing continued to be sent to the Sunday School Society from around the country, and in 1793 it was reported that at Latton (Oxon.) the children were encouraged 'to join in the responses and alternate verses of the Psalms with the congregation'.⁴⁰⁹ This particular correspondent argued that in addition to any benefit derived by the scholars and their local community, the chief advantage of a Sunday school education was national, and that: 'nothing so much strengthens a nation's hands, as to have its people trained up to a regard for order, a love of industry and a principle of virtue'. But not all were in favour of education, even if restricted to one day a week. In 1792 the North Creak farmers refused to support the local Sunday school (see p. 88), and the inspector reported that they 'have embraced it as a maxim, that the more ignorant the peasants are kept, the better they can get their labour done by them'.⁴¹⁰

Yet in 1794 Pretymann emphasized that the founding of Sunday schools was in the interest of both the scholars and the nation as a whole at a time when the country

⁴⁰⁸ Sarah Trimmer, 'Appendix', *The Oeconomy of Charity, or, An address to ladies concerning Sunday-schools* (London, 1787), pp. 151-2.

⁴⁰⁹ Sunday School Society, *Sunday-Schools*, pp. 80-4.

⁴¹⁰ *ibid.*

considered itself to be under threat from civil disturbance and invasion by Napoleonic forces:

let us gratefully acknowledge the Providence of God in the seasonable institution of Sunday-schools, which seem mercifully designed as an antidote against the prevailing temper of the times. This excellent mode of instruction claims [...] your especial protection and encouragement at the present moment, as the means best calculated for diffusing a general knowledge of the Scriptures among the inferior classes of society, and for instilling into their minds just notions of their religious duty.⁴¹¹

Echoing the report made by Latton Sunday school he stated: 'This is the most effectual method of preventing turbulence and discontent, and of securing a due obedience to the civil magistrate'.⁴¹² In 1800 Pretymann reiterated:

I cannot help repeating my most earnest wish for your general attention to this mode of instruction, which I consider as growing every day more important to the country at large.⁴¹³

In 1803 Porteus delivered a Charge during the period when hostilities were thought to be over. In this Charge, largely overlooked by scholars, he was encouraged to have received from various parts of his diocese:

most favourable accounts of the effects produced by the Sunday schools lately established there. [...] Churches, which before were almost deserted, are now crowded with hearers and with communicants.⁴¹⁴

He then directly addressed the 'problem' of educating the poor, setting out a forceful case against those who equated the education of the poor with training up a rebellious populace. Porteus argued that if education rested solely in the hands of the church the results could only be to the good, with children 'accustomed to attend divine service in their parish churches constantly every Sunday, both morning and afternoon'. He explained that the advantage of Sunday schools over charity schools was that they:

educate the largest number at the smallest expense, and thus become most useful appendages and auxiliaries to our charity schools, which are too expensive to be very generally and very extensively useful.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹¹ George Pretymann, *A charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Lincoln* [...] (London, 1794), p. 19.

⁴¹² *ibid.*

⁴¹³ George Pretymann, *A charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Lincoln* [...] (London, 1800), p. 21.

⁴¹⁴ Beilby Porteus, *A charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of London, in the year 1803* (London, 1804), p. 21.

⁴¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 24.

Furthermore, he argued any sort of education was better than none, including Sunday schools, charity schools, day schools, schools of industry, 'or whatever species of school you think fit'.⁴¹⁶ His 1803 masterstroke was to contend that there had been no revolution in England because so many children had received some sort of education. This meant a significant proportion of the populace had been able to read the counter-revolutionary discourses, sermons and tracts distributed just as widely as the feared subversive literature. Particularly significant among these were the 'very numerous and exceedingly popular' writings of Hannah More, praised by Porteus in 1799,⁴¹⁷ and supported by Pretyman in 1800.⁴¹⁸ Porteus emphasized that ignorance was 'the mother of superstition, of bigotry, of fanaticism, of disaffection, of cruelty and of rebellion'.⁴¹⁹ In order to further his aims, and in the absence of any state provision for education, Porteus urged his clergy to give every possible encouragement to cherishing the benevolence of individuals willing to support the education of the poor.⁴²⁰

A few months later England was again at war with France. It could be argued that the resumption of hostilities so soon after Porteus' powerful Charge was a significant factor in the increasingly widespread formation of Sunday schools. Patrons may have seen their schools as both a means of supporting church leaders and countering any latent subversive tendencies among the poor, but perhaps also to proclaim to France the superiority of England's attitude towards the education of the poor.

The successful defence of Sunday schools made it possible for them to form the basis of a refining initiative in church music-making.

⁴¹⁶ *ibid.*

⁴¹⁷ Beilby Porteus, *A charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of London, in the years 1798 and 1799* (London, 1799), p. 36.

⁴¹⁸ Anne Stott, 'Hannah More and the Blagdon Controversy, 1799-1802', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 51 no. 2 (Apr. 2000), pp. 339-40.

⁴¹⁹ Porteus, *1803 Charge*, p. 28.

⁴²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 30.

2.4.4. Church barrel-organs

The use of church barrel-organs to circumvent the lack of an organ or organist was first suggested as early as 1722 by the engraver and antiquary George Vertue after learning of a musical clock made by Pinchbeck (see p. 70):

I have often understood, that in and about all over England (except great cities) in the parish churches, the Psalms that are sung are ill sung, and out of tune, time, &c.; and when in country towns, where they have organs, the organists are poor tools and very deficient [...] if this Pinchback [*sic*] would undertake, or any other, to make organs to play those Psalm tunes in time and truth of music and could allow them at a reasonable rate, as 10*l.* or 20*l.* a-piece, I do not doubt but he might dispose of a vast number all over the nation.⁴²¹

No barrel-organs are known for certain to have been used in parish churches at this early date. The present study has traced the often-cited use of a barrel-organ in 1700 at Peak Forest (Derbys.) to an anecdotal letter quoted by Scholes in 1934.⁴²² Rather than being a parish church, this was an extra-parochial chapel leased to the Duke of Devonshire,⁴²³ and the organ's use can only be traced back to the 1860s. Similarly, references to their use during the 1720s in Hartfield (Sussex) and Fulham (Middx.) cannot be substantiated.⁴²⁴ Yet in 1731, only nine years after Vertue's observation, the inventor Justinian Morse of Chipping Barnet invented a mechanical organ: 'the music being pricked on both sides of leaves of half-inch wainscot, eight or ten psalm tunes being contained on a board about the size of a large sheet of paper'.⁴²⁵ Describing its purpose, the *London Evening Post* reported:

any person unskilled in musick may be instantly instructed to play psalm tunes, voluntaries, anthems, or any other musick, though never so difficult [...] Designed for the use of churches or chapels in such parishes as cannot afford, or are unwilling to be at the expence of the constant attendance of an organist, or for gentlemen's houses.⁴²⁶

⁴²¹ George Vertue, 'Pinchback's Musical Clock: Jottings of George Vertue, extracted from his Manuscript Notes', *Notes & Queries*, 2nd series, no. XII (1861), p. 81.

⁴²² Percy A. Scholes, 'Scenes of Old English Music: Barrel Organs', *Radio Times* (2 Mar. 1934), p. 260.

⁴²³ Daniel Lysons & Samuel Lysons, 'Parishes: Kirk-Hallam – Hault-Hucknall', in: *Magna Britannia* (6 vols., London, 1817), 5, pp. 172-92.

⁴²⁴ Boston, 'Barrel Organ' (1961), p. 201; Turner, 'Miserable Machines', p. 66.

⁴²⁵ The National Archives, SP36/22/56 Justinian Morse petitioning for a patent for his invention of an organ (1731).

⁴²⁶ *London Evening Post* (22 Apr. 1731), p. 2.

The following year Morse installed an organ in his parish church on pain of forfeit should the parish 'cease to provide an organist',⁴²⁷ but it is unclear whether this instrument was fitted with his patented mechanism, and it was removed in 1749.

In 1761 John Arnold (see p. 57) reported that he had seen advertisements for organs fitted with barrels pinned with voluntaries, and also with 'most of our ancient Psalm-Tunes'.⁴²⁸ He argued these 'are very commodious for Churches in remote Country Places, where an Organist is not easily to be had or maintained', and explained they 'may also be played by a Person (unskilled in Music) who is only to turn a Winch round which causes the barrels to play the tunes they are set to'.⁴²⁹

Arnold recommended the use of chamber organs with an added barrel mechanism, or barrel-and-finger organs, commenting that they 'also generally have, or should have, a set of keys to them, that a person might play on them at pleasure, notwithstanding the barrels'.⁴³⁰ Alluding to their fashionable use in a domestic setting, he stated:

Chamber-Organs of this Kind are now also very much in Vogue, a great many Gentlemen having them in their Houses, which generally play a Set of Concertos and other grand Pieces of Music.⁴³¹

By the 1760s many patrons and clergy had become familiar with the use of barrel-organs in a domestic setting, so it was perhaps a more natural progression to consider installing them in church.

Benjamin Flight is generally credited with making church barrel-organs available commercially from 1772 onwards, although Ord-Hume has noted their introduction some fifteen years earlier.⁴³² Benjamin and his brother William advertised 'Church Organs made to play with Barrels only, or with Barrel-and-finger, so that they

⁴²⁷ Boeringer, *Organa Britannica*, 2, p. 30.

⁴²⁸ Arnold, *Compleat Psalmist* (1761), p. iii.

⁴²⁹ *ibid.*

⁴³⁰ *ibid.*

⁴³¹ *ibid.*

⁴³² Ord-Hume, *Barrel Organ*, pp. 33 & 95.

may be played either with or without an organist'.⁴³³ An additional attraction was the suggestion that organs and other keyboard instruments could be 'bought or taken in exchange, and tuned and repaired in any part of England' with the additional option of hiring them by the month or year.⁴³⁴

In 1761 the French Royal Academy of Sciences commissioned a series of treatises entitled *Descriptions des arts et métiers* and invited Dom Bédos, a Benedictine monk and organ-builder, to describe the methods employed by organ-builders. The last of his four volumes was published in 1778, and explained the construction and use of *orgues à cylindre*, both barrel and barrel-and-finger organs.⁴³⁵ Using wording almost identical to Arnold he claimed: '*ce qui pourra être commode pour beaucoup de Paroisses ou Abbayes dans la Campagne, où il est si difficile d'avoir un Organiste qui ait quelque capacité*'.⁴³⁶ The series attracted many readers throughout Europe,⁴³⁷ with the result that the knowledge of how to pin barrels became accessible to all organ-builders, rather than being restricted to a select few.

In an advertisement of 1787 the Flight brothers again indicated that barrel-organs were intended for both domestic and church use, and highlighted the fact that purchasers could choose which music to have pinned on the barrels:

[...] we have contrived a method that the music is marked on the barrels, as played on the keys, and at the same time, so that the adagio, and any extempory performance is marked in the same stile as it is played; or Ladies and Gentlemen may hear their music set, or may have it set by their own music masters. By this method barrel music is made conformable to Church service, so as not to be distinguished from the performance of an Organist [...]⁴³⁸

This demonstrates the growing link between the appetite for mechanical music and the desire to improve church music-making, and provides further evidence

⁴³³ *Morning Post* (16 Dec. 1776).

⁴³⁴ *ibid.* (5 July 1779).

⁴³⁵ François Bédos de Celles, *L'art du facteur d'orgues* (4 vols., Paris, 1766-78), IV, pp. 563 & 574-5.

⁴³⁶ *ibid.*

⁴³⁷ James L. Wallman, 'Bédos de Celles, (Dom) François 1709-79', in: Douglas Earl Bush & Richard Kassel, *The Organ: An Encyclopedia* (London, 2006), pp. 61-2.

⁴³⁸ *World and Fashionable Advertiser* (28 May 1787).

that the installation of a church barrel-organ did not necessarily compromise musical or aesthetic improvements. Flight's trade card illustrates the fact that their barrel-organ cases were intended to be as visually appealing as their finger organ counterparts, suggesting a desire to avoid giving the impression they were in any way inferior (see Figure 15).

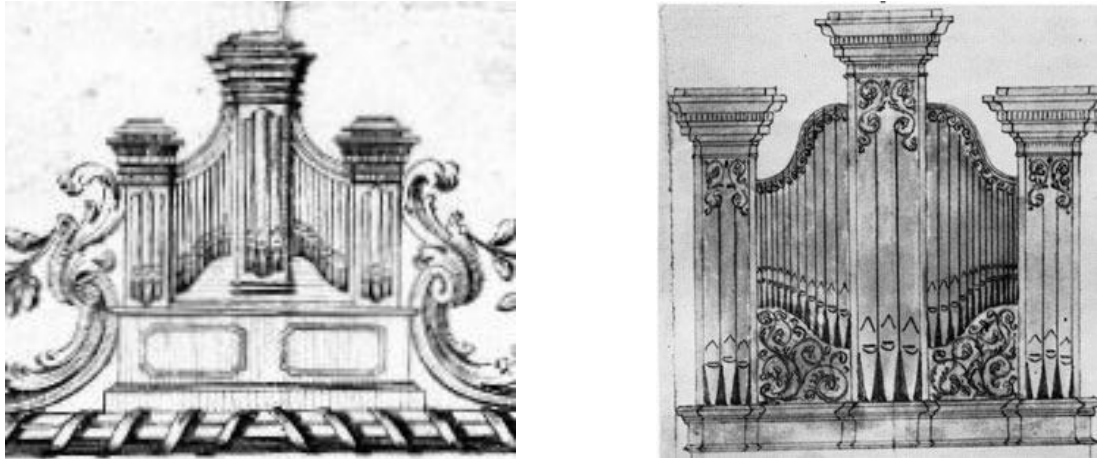


Figure 15. Left: Detail from: *Draft trade card of Messrs. Flight* (n.d.),⁴³⁹
right: Parker organ at St Mary's, Watford.⁴⁴⁰

By the 1790s barrel-organs were beginning to become more acceptable for church music-making, and no longer merely fashionable novelties. Temperley went so far as to say 'barrel organs became widespread in country churches after about 1790',⁴⁴¹ but the evidence suggests that in Hertfordshire their use did not become *widespread* until some twenty years later (see Chapter 3). He also contended 'the singers met their fate when an organ or barrel organ was installed in the church',⁴⁴² yet in 1794 Flight & Kelly begged leave 'to acquaint the Nobility and Gentry' that they sold organs to support rather than replace the singers:

⁴³⁹ British Museum, *Collection Online*, Heal, 88.29, accessed at www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx.

⁴⁴⁰ John Hanson Sperling, *Notebooks* (c.1850-94), Vol. 1, p. 169.

⁴⁴¹ Temperley, 'Music in Church', p. 387.

⁴⁴² *ibid.*

[...] to play by Barrels only, and with Barrel-and-finger – some that are adapted for Country Churches, and to lead a Choir of Singers, and play by barrels only, which come very reasonable, and save the expence of an Organist.⁴⁴³

One of the earliest known advocates of barrel-organs was Charles Simeon, Fellow of King's College and vicar of Holy Trinity, Cambridge 1782-1836.⁴⁴⁴ Simeon subscribed to Hellendaal's *Collection*, illustrative of his support for teaching charity children to sing (see Section 2.4.1.2). In 1793 he sought help from his friend Thomas Haweis, another leading figure in the eighteenth-century Evangelical revival.⁴⁴⁵ Haweis had formerly been Martin Madan's assistant at the Lock Hospital, where Madan published his *Collection of Psalms and Hymns* in 1760. Simeon was 'charmed with the singing' during a visit to Haweis' parish at Aldwinckle (Northants.) where a violin and cello supported the singers.⁴⁴⁶ Bemoaning the fact that his own 'people' were not musically inclined, those who had learned to sing at his expense went away, and he himself was not a good musician, Simeon had ordered two organs. He proposed that they should be used in a manner similar to Flight & Kelly's suggestion, since he purchased a large barrel-and-finger organ to lead the congregation at Holy Trinity, and a small one with three barrels to teach his 'people' the tunes privately beforehand. Simeon paid for them himself, some £250 for the larger organ and £40 for the smaller. He wrote to Haweis:

You may well judge that I must have something more in view than good singing — viz., the bringing the University to hear me — or else I should not put myself to so large an expense. I intend to play sixty tunes; and, for the sake of my own congregation, I shall print those tunes adapted to my own collection of Psalms and Hymns, in a small size, and at a very small price.⁴⁴⁷

Simeon also asked if Haweis would send: 'a few (not exceeding eight) of the sweetest and most select tunes you can? Of course, all the expense of transcribing I shall gladly

⁴⁴³ *Sun* (16 July 1794).

⁴⁴⁴ Leonard W. Cowie, 'Simeon, Charles (1759-1836)', *ODNB*.

⁴⁴⁵ *Musical Standard* (22 Jan. 1870), pp. 40-1.

⁴⁴⁶ Weston, *Instrumentation*, p. 172.

⁴⁴⁷ *Musical Standard* (22 Jan. 1870), pp. 40-1.

pay, with ten thousand thanks for your kindness'.⁴⁴⁸ These tunes would then have been pinned on the barrels.

Simeon clearly hoped to use music to attract 'the University' to hear his sermons, a proposal which certainly had the support of some Fellows since the barrel-and-finger organ was due to be opened by the university's Professor of Music, John Randall.⁴⁴⁹ Many of the students would have been middle- or upper-class, with the potential to influence music-making in their home parishes. Since Simeon prepared students for ordination in his rooms at King's, providing advice on preaching and voice projection, could this have been where the smaller organ was used? Although many would have disapproved, others may have adopted his methods when the time came to be appointed to their own living.

Another Evangelical who saw the merits of using barrel-organs to support psalmody was William Wilberforce. As a friend of Porteus, he would have been conscious of his desire to improve congregational psalmody, and as late as July 1827 the Sussex gentleman-composer John Marsh 'sent Mr Lincoln, the organ-builder the remainder of some psalm tunes I had, at the request of Mr Wilberforce, been arranging for a barrel organ he had'.⁴⁵⁰

A further influential promoter of barrel-organs for church use was the polymath William Mason. As discussed below (see Section 2.6.4), Mason was a poet and garden designer, but he was also a talented musician and clergyman. Precentor of York and rector of Aston (Yorks.), Mason would have been familiar with both cathedral and parochial music-making. Referring to organists' complicated arrangements of psalms, and embellishments which alienated the congregation, Mason wrote 'I should prefer the mechanical assistance of the Cylindrical or Barrel Organ to the Finger of the best parochial Organist', because there would then be no means of deviating from the

⁴⁴⁸ *ibid.*

⁴⁴⁹ *ibid.*; L. M. Middleton, 'Randall, John (1717-1799)', rev. Robert J. Bruce, *ODNB*.

⁴⁵⁰ Brian Robins (ed.), *The John Marsh Journals. The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer (1752-1828)*, *Sociology of Music*, no. 9 (2 vols., New York, 1998-2013), II, p. 386.

allotted psalm-tune.⁴⁵¹ These were not empty words, since in 1782 Mason installed a barrel-organ in his own parish.⁴⁵² When Rev. Richard Warner visited during the 1790s he observed in the west gallery:

[...] a handsome barrel-organ: on one side of which, sat six or eight little boys; and on the other, as many little girls [...] who, I understood, were the scholars of a charity-school, supported by the benevolent rector.⁴⁵³

Warner was very favourably impressed both by the simple arrangements of psalm selections made by Mason himself, and the fact that they were provided in psalm-books for the congregation: 'the boys sang the first verse; the girls the second [...] such of the congregation as could sing, accompanied the children's voices'.⁴⁵⁴ Yet a reviewer of Mason's *Essays* argued this could have repercussions for the employment of church musicians:

With regard to *Barrel-organ* accompaniment, we own that, in or out of church, we think that its mechanical and stubborn precision destroys every thing in music which depends on feeling and expression; and that few who have frequently heard the performance of good music, by human creatures, can prefer that of a *machine* to 'the finger of the best parochial organist'. This is indeed endangering the *craft*, not only by pointing out an expedient for saving the expence of a manual organ and organist, in such parishes as are unable to purchase an instrument and establish a salary, but for getting rid of all expence in the performance of sacred music, except that of a *turnspit*.⁴⁵⁵

In addition to objections voiced about the quality of the musical performance, some clergymen had reservations about the propriety of introducing barrel (or 'box') organs at all. In 1797 *The Gentleman's Magazine* published a recommendation by 'B.S.' on this subject, a pressing concern for the many clergymen and patrons among its readers, including in Hertfordshire John Haggard, rector of Benington who subscribed every month 1770-1805.⁴⁵⁶ The editor argued their use could hardly be worse than the *status quo*:

⁴⁵¹ William Mason, 'On Parochial Psalmody' (1795), in: *Essays on English Church Music* (4 vols., London, 1811), III, p. 391.

⁴⁵² Nicholas Temperley, *Jonathan Gray and Church Music in York, 1770-1840* (York, 1977), p. 12.

⁴⁵³ Richard Warner, *Literary Recollections* (2 vols., London, 1830), 1, p. 309.

⁴⁵⁴ *ibid.*

⁴⁵⁵ [Review] *Essays by William Mason*, p. 406.

⁴⁵⁶ HALS, DP18/29/7-12 Account books of the Rev. John Haggard (1770-1805).

B.S. recommends the introduction of Box-Organs, as helps to Singing, in our Village-Churches. He has mentioned it to several of the Clergy, who approved of it. The only doubt entertained was, that it might diminish the solemnity of the service. We think this cannot be done more effectually than by the 'pipe, fiddle, and flute' of those bands of musicians placed in some distant village churches.⁴⁵⁷

The first church organs of any kind known to have been installed in early nineteenth-century Hertfordshire were at Broxbourne and neighbouring Hoddesdon, both of which had barrel-organs by 1805 (see Appendix 3). These were under the patronage of Porteus, who installed the Evangelical William Jones as incumbent of both, serving the former in the morning and the latter in the afternoon.⁴⁵⁸ Jones was a friend of the Methodist Thomas Charles, prominent in establishing Sunday schools in Wales,⁴⁵⁹ and by 1810 both churches had their own Sunday school.⁴⁶⁰ It is highly probable that the barrel-organs were introduced to support singing by the Sunday scholars as a direct consequence of Porteus' 1803 charge (see Section 2.4.3). At Broxbourne, and probably Hoddesdon too, the organ was purchased by subscription. In theory this relieved the clergyman or patron of the sole burden of paying for the organ, and enabled parishioners to show their support for the new venture, but Jones was not impressed by the demeanour of Admiral William Peere Williams-Freeman and his wife 'Mrs W.', a prominent local couple, recording in his Journal in January 1804:

⁴⁵⁷ *Gentleman's Magazine* (Apr. 1797), p. 336.

⁴⁵⁸ LPL, FP/Porteus 25/5-16.

⁴⁵⁹ Robert Thomas Jenkins, 'William Jones', *Welsh Biography Online*, accessed at wbo.llgc.org.uk/en/s-JONE-WIL-1755.html.

⁴⁶⁰ LPL, FP/Randolph 9.

[...] I rather apprehend, from her (Mrs. W.'s) letter on Sunday that she wishes to withdraw her promised subscription of 5 guineas towards the organ: if that is the case, I shall not be able to do otherwise than think very meanly of her Ladyship. When I showed Mr. Longman's proposal,⁴⁶¹ she rather haughtily asked who Captain Marsh was, who had rather liberally offered five guineas and expressed a sort of insolent surprise at seeing the same sum attached to my name. On my mentioning that I trusted the prompt liberality of my parishioners would render my subscription ultimately unnecessary, she was so good as to say she 'hoped I would, by no means, think of returning my subscription into my pocket &c'. If I could at all afford it, I would, with pleasure, subscribe still more; and verily I believe I should do infinitely more lasting and essential good by it to the souls of my people, than by relieving their bodily wants with the same sum.⁴⁶²

Despite the Admiral being a grandson of Robert Clavering, Bishop of Peterborough, according to Jones he rarely attended their parish church. Jones continued:

To Mrs. W. and others who attend church irregularly, it is a matter of indifference whether there be any singing or not, and there are too many who think the whole service, the shorter, the more agreeable, but surely the 'reasonable' wishes of their Minister and of the majority of the congregation ought to be respected. I thought her remarks extremely rude and unfeeling.⁴⁶³

By the time Bishop Randolph succeeded Porteus in 1810 the Broxbourne Sunday school taught a total of seventy-five children, and Jones was keen to draw the new bishop's attention to the fact that: 'Considerable attention is paid to the religious instruction of the children in various schools, particularly the Sunday ones, by the teachers and visitors'.⁴⁶⁴ The London organ-builder R.W. Keith repaired the Broxbourne organ in 1826, removing 'bruises' (i.e. dents) from the pipes and 'setting up Pins & Regulating barrells', suggesting both organs were indeed in regular use.⁴⁶⁵

Thistlethwaite observed that by 1800 most larger market towns with a single parish church in the south of England had an organ, and argued that in many cases this was an index of prosperity.⁴⁶⁶ At this time the Hertfordshire market town of Hitchin was 'reckoned the second in the county for number of streets, houses, and

⁴⁶¹ John Longman, organ-builder.

⁴⁶² HALS, DE/Hd/F3.

⁴⁶³ *ibid.*

⁴⁶⁴ LPL, FP/Randolph 9.

⁴⁶⁵ HALS, DP24/5/2-14.

⁴⁶⁶ Thistlethwaite, *Victorian Organ*, pp. 66-7.

inhabitants',⁴⁶⁷ so the installation of an organ may have been seen as long overdue among the local gentry. Perhaps this is why in 1805 Emilius Delmé Radcliffe offered his late father's Hitchin Priory barrel-and-finger organ 'for the use of the church' (see p. 71).⁴⁶⁸ Although he may simply have wished to dispose of it, this was also the year he was appointed High Sheriff of Hertfordshire, suggesting that in addition to wishing to support church music-making he may have wanted to make a grand gesture.⁴⁶⁹ Yet rather than accepting the organ 'as seen', the vestry resolved to 'send for a proper person from London to inspect the organ and to give an opinion whether it will be proper for the church'.⁴⁷⁰ The organ-builder John King's estimate of £159 to alter and relocate the organ was accepted, and the money raised by subscription among the parishioners. No mention was made of removing the barrel mechanism, presumably left *in situ*. This is unlikely to have been considered a drawback by the incumbent, Joshua Ruddock. Trinity College, Cambridge was patron of the living, and as a Trinity graduate Ruddock would probably have been familiar with the teachings of Simeon who promoted the use of barrel-organs to encourage congregational singing (see p. 102). Although the intention may have been for the organ to support the Society of Singers which had subscribed to Hellendaal's *Collection*, it is more probable that it was intended to bolster the efforts of the Sunday school, which by 1816 taught 100 boys and 160 girls.⁴⁷¹

In order to spare the bishop from making two journeys, visitations and confirmations were often held on the same day, an occasion when psalmody seems to have been appreciated, or at least expected. This would both be in accordance with episcopal guidance and, as with the display of clothed charity children, provide an opportunity to showcase the church's music-making. Between 1828 and 1835 the

⁴⁶⁷ *Universal British Directory*, 3, p. 376.

⁴⁶⁸ HALS, DP53/8/2 Vestry minutes (1805).

⁴⁶⁹ *The High Sheriff of Hertfordshire*, accessed 1 Sept. 2015, at www.highsheriffhertfordshire.org.uk/2013/history.php.

⁴⁷⁰ HALS, DP53/8/2.

⁴⁷¹ National Society, *Fifth Annual Report* (London, 1816), pp. 39-118.

Baldock singers were paid for singing at the Bishop of Lincoln's visitations,⁴⁷² and similar payments had been made in 1822 on the occasion of the Bishop of London's visitation held at the Abbey Church, St Albans.⁴⁷³ Weston found payments to singers at Northamptonshire visitations made by the Bishop of Peterborough between 1786 and 1832,⁴⁷⁴ suggesting that although previously unremarked, this practice was not unique to Hertfordshire. But in Hertfordshire similar payments continued to be made following the introduction of church barrel-organs, for example at Rickmansworth for visitations made by Bishop Blomfield 1840-55,⁴⁷⁵ and at Bishop Tait's 1857 confirmation day at Broxbourne.⁴⁷⁶ This suggests their use must certainly have received episcopal approval. In addition, evidence that barrel-organs were used in Hertfordshire churches to teach children to sing from the early 1800s onwards suggests they were seen as a desirable and practical means of following episcopal guidance regarding attempts to improve congregational psalmody.

But the prospect of establishing ubiquitous massed choirs of children and the use of barrel-organs were viewed with alarm in some quarters. In addition to the London Anniversary meetings, charity children also sang at state occasions, including a service held at St Paul's in April 1789 to give thanks for the recovery of George III. Adam Gordon (see p. 82) chose to provide his parishioners at Hinxworth with a lasting reminder of the event, indicating both its great importance and his desire to associate his parishioners with the occasion (see Figure 16).

⁴⁷² *ibid.*

⁴⁷³ HALS, DP90/5/1 Churchwardens' accounts (1811-49).

⁴⁷⁴ Weston, *Instrumentation*, pp. 341-3 & 171.

⁴⁷⁵ HALS, DP85/5/1 Churchwardens' accounts (1828-55).

⁴⁷⁶ HALS, DP24/5/2-14.

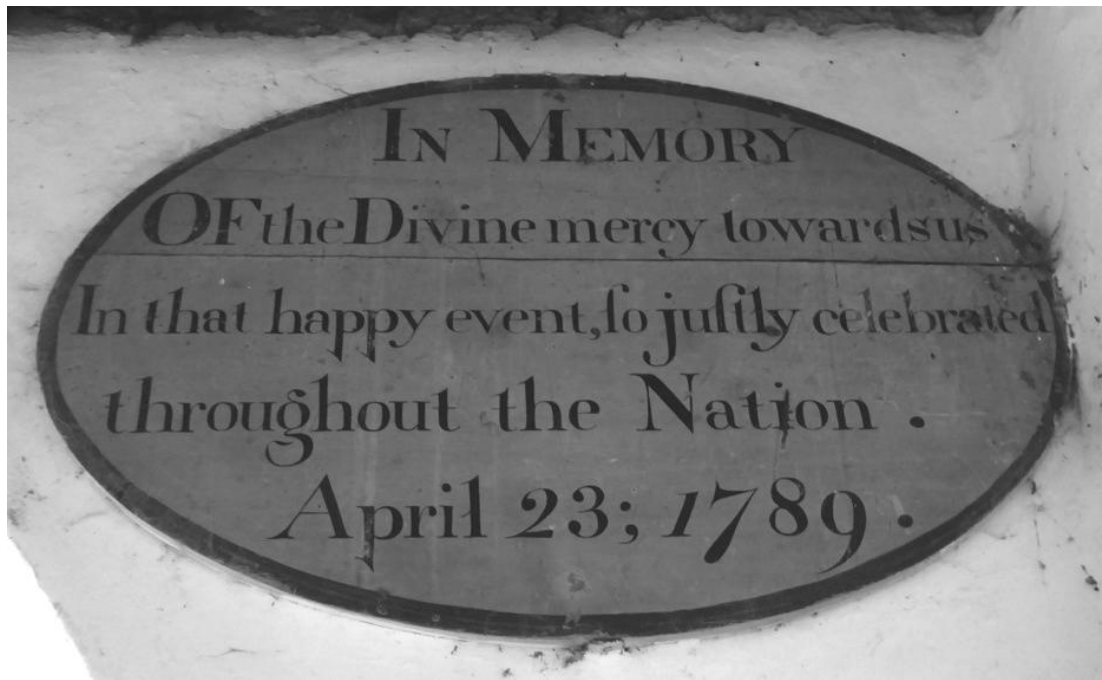


Figure 16. Commemorative plaques at St Nicholas', Hinxworth (1789).

Not all shared Gordon's enthusiasm, and an anonymous reviewer of Mason's

Essays cautioned against the increasing dominance of children's singing in churches:

We agree entirely with Mr M. that the effects of simplicity and power of unisons were never better applied and illustrated, than at St Paul's on the King's recovery: but, because the united voices of six thousand children [...] had all the impressive energy so well described by the Bishop of London, are oratorios, anthems, services, and psalmody in different parts to be laid aside, and no music to be heard in our churches but in a similar unisonous mass of infant voices?⁴⁷⁷

Furthermore in 1791 Horace Walpole wrote of the unpleasantness of going to church:

to hear the dullest of all things, a sermon, and croaking and squalling of psalms to a hand-organ by journeymen brewers and charity children. As I am to go soon to church for ever, I do not think it my duty to try on my death before hand.⁴⁷⁸

'Squalling' suggests the screaming high-pitched voices of children, and 'croaking' the inability of male adults to sing with them, problems that recurred throughout the following decades despite repeated attempts to encourage children's singing.

Despite opponents such as these, episcopal and clerical guidance that school children should be taught to sing, and the use of barrel-organs to promote this aim, had a profound influence on the development of music-making during this period.

2.5. Military influence

Mid-eighteenth-century disputes on the continent led to fears in England of civil unrest, and later of invasion by Napoleonic forces. The start of this period saw militia revived by Act of Parliament in 1757, to be raised by ballot from men aged between eighteen and fifty.⁴⁷⁹ Although supervised by the War Office, the militia were organized by each county's Lord-Lieutenant, and a strict hierarchy determined the appointment of local landowners as officers, actively involved in both recruiting and commanding. Each company received government funding via its commanding officer,

⁴⁷⁷ [Review] *Essays by William Mason*, pp. 402-3.

⁴⁷⁸ Horace Walpole, 4th earl of Orford, Peter Cunningham (ed.), *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford* (9 vols., London, 1857-9), 9, p. 335; Paul Langford, 'Walpole, Horatio, 4th Earl of Orford (1717-1797)', *ODNB*.

⁴⁷⁹ 30 Geo.II c.25 Militia Act (1757).

and it was his responsibility to arrange the purchase of items such as clothing and weapons, and payment of wages and allowances.⁴⁸⁰

Militia acts provided for two drummers per company until 1786, when the number was reduced to one, yet many colonels considered a band of music to be desirable, often financed by judicious spending of the government funding, since it was accepted that any 'profit' could be used as the officers thought fit.⁴⁸¹ Militia Acts of 1786 and 1794 formalized this arrangement, decreeing 'Officers may keep extra Drummers as Musicians if they defray the Expence'.⁴⁸² Lomas has argued that commanding officers may have taken advantage of this ruling to create their own private bands relatively cheaply,⁴⁸³ and evidence from Marsh's journal supports this argument. The Duke of Richmond was Lord-Lieutenant of Sussex and Colonel of the militia, and when Marsh walked to Goodwood in July 1787 he heard the militia band in the Duke's music room:

This band was then intirely kept by the Duke [...] The maintenance of these people was not however entirely out of his own pocket as they were most of them serjeants or corporals in the Regiment whose wages therefore as such went in part of their pay as musicians, the remainder being made up by his Grace who when the Militia was not embodied kept them at Goodwood where they had a room to practice in [...] ⁴⁸⁴

The speed with which the 1786 militia act was satirized in *The Times* indicates this was by no means an isolated incident:

Advice to the Lord Lieutenants of Counties. It is absolutely necessary to the dignity of yourself and your corps, that you should have a band of music. You will contrive to raise it by conscription among your Captains; but when it is raised you will consider it entirely as your own, and not let them have a tune without your express leave. The raising and instruction of the musicians will occasion a considerable expence, and though not to yourself only, yet it is proper you should have the whole advantage of it [...] ⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸⁰ J.R. Western, *The English Militia in the Eighteenth Century. The Story of a Political Issue 1660-1802* (London, 1965), p. 130.

⁴⁸¹ *ibid.*, p. 370.

⁴⁸² 34 Geo.III c.81 Militia Act (1794).

⁴⁸³ Lomas, 'Militia', p. 163.

⁴⁸⁴ Robins, *Marsh*, I, pp. 404-5.

⁴⁸⁵ *The Times* (9 May 1786), p. 1.

Despite this overt criticism, adverts appeared almost immediately from makers and dealers such as Longman & Broderip offering to supply 'a great variety of military musical instruments'.⁴⁸⁶ By 1790 they boasted:

[...] instruments sent out, conveyed, and tuned in town and country on the shortest notice, and if purchased and paid for within eight months, the hire will be abated. [...] Regiments supplied with complete sets, or any parts of such.⁴⁸⁷

2.5.1. Reasons for establishing a band

Although drummers were used for signalling and maintaining a steady marching pace on parade, it is unlikely the elite invested in militia bands solely for this purpose. Lomas argued that the band would have helped to maintain order and exact deference, in addition to serving as signs of patriotism and prosperity, and may therefore have been a source of competition between different units.⁴⁸⁸ Herbert and Barlow have drawn attention to the patron's pride in having a renowned band, particularly if loaned to another landowner, as was Lord Rivers' 'superexcellent' Dorset militia band.⁴⁸⁹

This rivalry became evident when militia from across the nation convened in military camps established near the East and South coasts to enable quick deployment to the continent or repel French invaders. One of the most important was in Coxheath (Kent), where the Hertfordshire and other militia were stationed in 1778 including: 'his Grace the Duke of Grafton, at the head of his battalion of Suffolk militia, with their band of music',⁴⁹⁰ and the Derbyshire militia led by the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire, 'with a good band of music'.⁴⁹¹ The following year the Hertfordshire militia were

⁴⁸⁶ *ibid.* (25 May 1786), p. 1.

⁴⁸⁷ *ibid.* (2 Nov. 1790), p. 2.

⁴⁸⁸ Lomas, 'Militia', p. 162; 'Wiltshire', p. 95.

⁴⁸⁹ Donald Burrows & Rosemary Dunhill, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World: The Family Papers of James Harris, 1732-1780* (Oxford, 2002), p. 1044; Herbert & Barlow, *Music and the British Military*, p. 46.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ipswich Journal* (13 June 1778), p. 2.

⁴⁹¹ *Stamford Mercury* (25 June 1778), p. 3.

stationed at another important camp, in John Arnold's Essex parish of Great Warley.⁴⁹² In June 1778 the *Ipswich Journal* reported: 'Warley Common begins now to have a very fine appearance, and vast crowds of people are continually repairing thither to see the camp'.⁴⁹³ Visits to these camps fuelled the fashion for all things military, as satirized in a 1779 print entitled *The Three Graces of Cox-Heath* (see Figure 17). The three figures are the Duchesses of Gordon, Grafton and, on the right, Countess Spencer's daughter (see p. 87), her Grace the Duchess of Devonshire, who organized a short-lived women's auxiliary corps, complete with fashionable uniform.⁴⁹⁴



Figure 17. Matthew Darly, *The Three Graces of Cox-Heath* (1779).⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹² *London Magazine, Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, Vol. 51 (July 1779), p. 332.

⁴⁹³ *Ipswich Journal* (13 June 1778), p. 2.

⁴⁹⁴ Matthew McCormack, 'Turning Out for Twenty-Days Amusement': The Militia in Georgian Satirical Prints', in: Erica Charters, Eve Rosenhaft & Hannah Smith (eds.), *Civilians and War in Europe, 1618-1815* (Liverpool, 2014), p. 176.

⁴⁹⁵ British Museum, *Collection Online*, J.2.58., accessed at www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx.

Over winter invasion was considered less likely, and troops were quartered in towns and villages. When Warley camp broke in 1779 many of the militia overwintered in Hertfordshire – the West Suffolk at Hitchin, Stevenage and Baldock, and the West Kent at Royston. The following year Hardwicke's Cambridgeshire militia were quartered at Royston and Baldock.⁴⁹⁶ In 1794 the Derbyshires, under the command of the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire, overwintered at Hertford, Ware and surrounding villages.⁴⁹⁷ These regiments all had renowned bands, and their effect on Hertfordshire music-making was surely significant since they were in residence for a considerable period.

2.5.2. *The Volunteer Movement*

Under imminent threat of invasion, in March 1794 the Secretary of State for War sent a circular to all Lords-Lieutenant proposing local defence forces to augment the militia. Again, officers were permitted to supplement government funding to create bands of music, and in 1798 an Oxford dealer announced to 'Gentlemen who have taken arms in defence of their country, that he furnishes musical bands with the following instruments', listing French horns, clarionets, flutes, bassoons, serpents and other instruments.⁴⁹⁸ William Napier took advantage of the situation by sending an unsolicited circular to the commanding officers of Volunteer associations, including Lieutenant Colonel William Wilshire of Hitchin:

Having been honoured with the Appointment of Music Seller and Musician to His Majesty for the last Thirty Years, I take the Liberty of soliciting the Honour of being employed by your Regiment to furnish Military Instruments and Music.⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁶ Alfred Kingston, *Fragments of Two Centuries, Glimpses of Country Life when George III was King* (Royston, 1893), p. 94. I am indebted to Jenny Ellis for drawing my attention to this work.

⁴⁹⁷ John Breihan & Clive Caplan, 'Jane Austen and the Militia', *Journal of the Jane Austen Society of North America*, no. 14 (1992), pp. 16-26.

⁴⁹⁸ *Northampton Mercury* (12 May 1798), p. 3.

⁴⁹⁹ HALS, Acc 13/Box 3/1-5 Hitchin Volunteer infantry (1800-04).

In 1803-04 more than £56 was spent on musical instruments for the Hitchin Volunteer band.⁵⁰⁰ But Wilshire was not the only Hertfordshire commanding officer to seize this opportunity, and in June 1805 the diarist John Carrington visited Ware with 'Mr Allington Gent & his Band of Musick as Being Chosen Captn of the Ware Volunteers'.⁵⁰¹ As seen, militia bands had overwintered at both Hitchin and Ware, perhaps influencing Wilshire and Allington's desire to establish Volunteer bands.

2.5.3. Military and church bands

According to Gee, few clergymen were willing or accepted to serve in the Volunteers except as chaplains.⁵⁰² In Hertfordshire, the appointment of Thomas Shield, vicar of Royston, as Captain in July 1798⁵⁰³ was clearly a notable exception, perhaps encouraged by his anti-Revolutionary patron, Thomas Brand Hollis,⁵⁰⁴ but certainly sanctioned by the Marquess of Salisbury. It was left to Captains to timetable the drill days, but Sundays became common following legislation stipulating Volunteers would only be paid if they had drilled on the Sunday preceding pay-day.⁵⁰⁵ At Royston the vicar would:

ascend the pulpit wearing his surplice over his uniform, and having finished his sermon would descend from the pulpit, slip off his surplice, and march to the Heath at the head of his company of Volunteers for drill on a Sunday afternoon.⁵⁰⁶

Lomas has suggested choir-bands may have been important 'educators of musicians', since in Gloucestershire the Frampton-on-Severn Volunteer band enrolled the clarinettist parish clerk of Arlingham church, and the bandmaster recommended engaging a number of other local 'performers' before a rival band snapped them up.⁵⁰⁷ This is supported by evidence from Royston, because when Thomas Shield left church

⁵⁰⁰ *ibid.*

⁵⁰¹ Carrington, 'Memorandums', p. 116.

⁵⁰² Austin Gee, *The British Volunteer Movement, 1794-1814* (Oxford, 2003), p. 83.

⁵⁰³ *London Gazette* (3 July 1798), p. 616.

⁵⁰⁴ Colin Bonwick, 'Hollis, Thomas Brand (c.1719-1804)', *ODNB*.

⁵⁰⁵ *Christian Observer* (Apr. 1806), p. 257.

⁵⁰⁶ Kingston, *Fragments*, pp. 67-9.

⁵⁰⁷ Lomas, *Amateur*, pp. 63-5; 'Militia', p. 158.

for the drill ground he was accompanied by the parish clerk John Warren, both 'bass viol' player and leader of the church band.⁵⁰⁸

In addition to their official function, militia and Volunteer bands contributed extensively to provincial music-making in a number of ways. The first of these was by enhancing social life. In Hertfordshire Grimston hired the 'militia music' to play at Gorhambury in 1789,⁵⁰⁹ while in 1787 the *New Lady's Magazine* reported that Salisbury had landscaped the canal in Hatfield Park, which:

has induced the Earl and his countess to divert themselves a few evenings during the summer with regattas, in elegant barges for that purpose, that have accommodations for the band of music belonging to the Hertfordshire militia, of which his Lordship is colonel.⁵¹⁰

Moreover military music-making was not restricted to private social events. Southey found evidence of the Newcastle Volunteer band's involvement in local concerts,⁵¹¹ and in 1787 the Duke of Richmond's Sussex Volunteers provided music at the newly-built Chichester Assembly Rooms, where they used to 'play military pieces during tea time'.⁵¹²

Military bands' second contribution was towards music-making by the nobility and gentry themselves, both privately and at subscription concerts. Brewer suggested they depended on military brass and wind instrumentalists since these instruments were not considered polite,⁵¹³ and his argument is supported by Marsh who gave many instances of this dependence on military musicians, for example in December 1794:

Not being able to get either horn or clarinet at this concert (there being no regiments in town) I selected such full pieces as had flute parts instead of hautboys & w^{ch} the horn parts were not material.⁵¹⁴

⁵⁰⁸ Kingston, *Fragments*, pp. 67-9.

⁵⁰⁹ Grimston, *Manuscripts*, pp. 218-21.

⁵¹⁰ *New Lady's Magazine, or, Polite and entertaining Companion* (Dec. 1787), p. 683.

⁵¹¹ Roz Southey, 'The Volunteer Band, Newcastle upon Tyne', in: Philp, *Resisting Napoleon*, pp. 173-204.

⁵¹² Robins, *Marsh*, I, p. 414.

⁵¹³ Brewer, *Pleasures*, p. 558.

⁵¹⁴ Robins, *Marsh*, I, p. 564.

Thirdly, it seems likely that the increasing use of wind instruments in church was another result of this military influence. Less than twenty miles to the east of Hertfordshire lies Great Warley, home of John Arnold. A gentleman farmer, and for many years churchwarden of his parish church,⁵¹⁵ Arnold's *Complete Psalmodist* 'for the use of country choirs' ran through seven editions between 1740 and 1779.⁵¹⁶ Although scholars have commented on his prefaces, none appear to have noticed that the last two provide useful accounts of the development of church music-making in his neighbourhood, and almost certainly in neighbouring Hertfordshire. As noted above (see p. 99), in 1761 Arnold recommended that churches with no organ should use a barrel-organ, but in addition he observed:

The Bassoon being now in great request in many country churches, I presume therefore, it will not be improper for me here to acquaint my reader, that it makes an exceeding good addition to the harmony of a choir of singers.⁵¹⁷

Arnold seems to have noticed the growing use of this instrument which until recently would have been unfamiliar to many. For example in Cheshire, in June 1764 the Eastham vestry agreed to purchase 'an instrument called a Bassoon' for 'the use and assistance of the singers in the parish'.⁵¹⁸ Yet in his final preface of 1779 Arnold observed 'of late years several kinds of musical treble instruments have been introduced into many country churches, to accompany the voices, as violins, hautboys, clarinets, vauxhumanes, &c'.⁵¹⁹ Therefore according to Arnold, the suggested use of church barrel-organs pre-dated the widespread use of treble instruments in the late 1770s, a sequence of events the reverse of the accepted progression whereby barrel-organs were introduced to replace choir-bands. This suggests the need for a significant amendment to the orthodoxy. The militia had taken up residence at Warley Camp (see p. 113) a few months after the publication of Arnold's 1761 edition; following their stay

⁵¹⁵ Olive Baldwin & Thelma Wilson, 'A Singing Competition in 1773', *Essex Archaeology and History News*, no.159 (Winter 2009), pp. 15-6.

⁵¹⁶ Arnold, *Compleat Psalmodist*, 3rd edn. (1753).

⁵¹⁷ Arnold, *Compleat Psalmodist*, 5th edn. (1761), p. iv.

⁵¹⁸ Raymond Richards, *Old Cheshire Churches*, 2nd edn. (Manchester, 1973), p. 152.

⁵¹⁹ Arnold, *Compleat Psalmodist*, 7th edn. (1779), p. iv.

he wrote in 1779 of the marked increase in the use of clarinets and other instruments in choir-bands. Evidence of this military influence comes from Ayot St Lawrence in Hertfordshire. When the fashion-conscious Lionel Lyde rebuilt the parish church (see below, p. 137) the *Gentleman's Magazine* reported:

the neighbouring nobility and gentry, with their ladies, attended, together with many hundred persons of all denominations from different parts of the county. The procession was preceded by a band of music; upwards of twenty men and women, dressed in neat uniforms at the expense of Sir Lionel, followed the music, and after them the bishop, clergy, and the rest of the company in regular procession.⁵²⁰

Comments made by Mason in 1795 also suggest that widespread enthusiasm for the fashionable oratorio resulted in the introduction of instruments to some market town parish churches that might otherwise have been expected to have an organ, again challenging the orthodoxy that organs were introduced to supplant instruments:

Psalmody is become not only despicable to persons of a refined Musical taste, but is now hardly tolerable to our Village Practitioners [...] For these, since the rage of Oratorios has spread from the Capital to every Market Town in the Kingdom, can by no means be satisfied unless they introduce Chaunts, Services, and Anthems, into their Parish Churches, and accompany them with, what an old Author calls, scolding Fiddles, squalling Hautboys, false-stopped Violoncellos, buzzing Bassoons; all ill-tuned and worse played upon, in place of an Organ, which, if they had one, they would probably wish to improve by such instrumental assistance [...]⁵²¹

Some church bands may have been supported and funded by the elite, allowing their taste for both oratorios and military bands to influence parish music-making. Among the subscribers to Crompton's *Psalm-Singers Assistant* were three from East Dereham (Norfolk), namely John Taylor 'Musician, Master of Lord Orford's Band of Music', James Philoe 'of the Band, in Lord Orford's Company of the Norfolk Militia', and John Wilson 'of Lord Orford's Music Band'.⁵²² George Walpole, Earl of Orford, was Lord-Lieutenant and Colonel of the Norfolk militia. Could these subscribers have been members of the East Dereham choir-band? Evidence from the autobiographical novel

⁵²⁰ *Gentleman's Magazine* (28 July 1779).

⁵²¹ Mason, 'Parochial Psalmody', p. 391; Jules Smith, 'Mason, William (1725-1797)', *ODNB*.

⁵²² John Crompton, *The Psalm Singers Assistant* (London, 1778), pp. 3 & 6; Lord Orford was George Walpole, 3rd Earl Orford, of Houghton Hall.

Lavengro suggests this was indeed the case, since Philoe was the ‘dignified high-church clerk’ of Dereham described by George Borrow.⁵²³

The evidence also suggests that military band members were important educators of choir-bands. In July 1771 Marsh found that the Romsey (Hampshire) church singers:

had engaged a Mr Roe, a soldier (who had formerly belong’d to a cathedral) to attend & instruct them, in which he was of some service, tho’ he had no great depth of theoretical knowledge [...] He however taught them a few very pleasing anthems, psalms etc.⁵²⁴

The inter-related nature of music-making in church and military bands is also revealed in contemporary advertisements and bills. In Hertfordshire, in July 1809 the Barkway churchwardens paid for bassoon and clarinet reeds and a reedbox from the London instrument-maker Thomas Key, who described himself as ‘military musical instrument maker to their Majesties Prince Regent, Dukes of York, Kent, Cumberland, and army in general’.⁵²⁵ The Tring churchwardens sanctioned a payment to Goulding & Co. in December 1824: ‘for a Clarinet & carriage of it £2-13-6’.⁵²⁶ In 1800 Goulding’s catalogue had listed instruments manufactured at 76 James Street: ‘Where Gentlemen of the Army may be supplied with regular sets of instruments for a Military Band, upon the shortest notice’.⁵²⁷ Similarly, an hautboy by George Astor & Co., who had advertised complete sets of military band instruments, was used in the choir-band in Aldenham church.⁵²⁸ By the 1820s advertisements specified that instruments were suitable for both military and church bands, as in an advertisement from Stamford (Lincs.): ‘Country Choirs, and Military and other Bands, supplied with complete Sets of Instruments, in tune with each other, on the most reasonable terms’.⁵²⁹ If the local

⁵²³ George Borrow, *Lavengro: the scholar, the gypsy, the priest* (3 vols., London, 1851), 1, pp. 41-4.

⁵²⁴ Robins, *Marsh*, I, p. 90.

⁵²⁵ HALS, DP13/8/21-30 Bills & vouchers (1803-33).

⁵²⁶ HALS, DP111/8/20 Vestry minutes (1824-32).

⁵²⁷ Goulding, Phipps & d’Almaine, *Catalogue of instrumental and vocal music* (London, 1800), p. 3.

⁵²⁸ *English Church History Exhibition*, p. 187.

⁵²⁹ *Stamford Mercury* (30 Nov. 1821), p. 1.

landowner felt the need for instruments in both the military and the church band, would it not have made sense to have them serve both purposes? In Hertfordshire, the Hatfield choir-band was discontinued in 1848, but Mr Church, who died in 1928 aged 90, remembered it from his boyhood, and being told the instrumentalists had been members of the old militia band.⁵³⁰ A permanent militia camp had been established in Hatfield Park by 1861,⁵³¹ only a few yards from the parish church of the Marquess of Salisbury, Lord-Lieutenant and Colonel of the Herts militia, who must have encouraged the use of militia instruments in the church.

At Oakham (Rutland), an 1806 inventory of church goods included in addition to an organ and violoncello, two bassoons, two hautboys, two 'clarrinets' and one French horn.⁵³² Significantly, among the churchwardens' bills and vouchers Davidson found an invoice from 'Kohler and Percival, Martial Musical Instrument Makers' for a bassoon with a trumpet top.⁵³³ Between 1786 and 1793 Köhler advertised his: 'Bassoon tops &c in silver, brass and copper, manufactured in the best manner [...] having been master of the band of his majesties Royal Lancashire Volunteers &c'.⁵³⁴ As noted by Lasocki,⁵³⁵ the implication of these unusual tops may be explained by correspondence between John Pearce and Nathaniel Winchcombe, bandmaster and Captain respectively of the Frampton-on-Severn Volunteers, in which Pearce advised:

order [...] the Bassoons [to] have Trumpet Bell tops and common tops to use occasionally which will render them fit for concerts or Church Music when wanted – the Trumpet tops to correspond with the Horns &c.⁵³⁶

⁵³⁰ BL, Add MS 47775A.

⁵³¹ 1861 Census RG9/825/f.80/p.2; 1871 Census RG10/1374/f.60/p.9.

⁵³² Davidson, *Choirs*, p. 184.

⁵³³ *ibid.*

⁵³⁴ Lance Whitehead & Arnold Myers, 'The Köhler Family of Brasswind Instrument Makers', *Historic Brass Society Journal*, Vol. 16 (2004), pp. 90-1.

⁵³⁵ David Lasocki, 'New Light on Eighteenth-Century English Woodwind Makers from Newspaper Advertisements', *Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. LXIII (May 2010), p. 117.

⁵³⁶ Gloucestershire Archives, D149/X21/15 Frampton Volunteers, cited by Lasocki, 'New Light', p. 117; the instruments are now in the Gloucester Regimental Museum.

With flared metal trumpet tops the bassoons would better match military instruments such as horns and trumpets in terms of both appearance and loudness, while a standard wooden bell would give a softer appearance and volume to blend with choir-band instruments (see Figure 18).



Figure 18. Left: Goulding & D’Almaine bassoon with trumpet top; right: Cuvillier bassoon (both 1800-50).⁵³⁷

In Hertfordshire, Carrington spent the evening of 14 May 1807 at Tewin:

with Mr Otway, Schoolmaster at Wellwin, who Brought over with him the Wellwin band of Music, 4 Clarernetts [clarinets], 2 Buzzoons [bassoons], 1 french horne, Tumbrean [tambourine] & Simbolds [cymbals] &c &c [...] Mr Otway plaid the flute as Master.⁵³⁸

Again, the instrumentation of this band is suggestive of military music, and it would seem that Otway also directed the music in the parish church (see p. 196).

⁵³⁷ Bate Collection, Oxford, 310 & 309.

⁵³⁸ Carrington, ‘Memorandoms’, p. 144.

The evidence also suggests that in some cases the church's existing instruments may have been pressed into military use. Elsewhere in the Lincoln diocese, the Rippingale (Lincs.) churchwardens' accounts of 1790 include payments 'for repairing the bassoon some years standing' and 'To Mr Rouse trumpet top and repairs bassoon'.⁵³⁹ This suggests the trumpet top was purchased to adapt the church's existing bassoon for occasional use in the Volunteer band. Other churches known to have used them include Ridlington (Rutland), Oundle (Northants.) and Balsham (Cambs.).⁵⁴⁰

When militia and Volunteer companies were disbanded their instruments became redundant, and the church may have been the obvious home for some of them. One of the Welwyn 'buzzoons' was by William Milhouse of London (see Figure 19) who described himself as a 'Military Instrument Maker', and furthermore the bassoon is stamped R.E.I.V, suggesting it was acquired second-hand from the Royal East India Volunteers.



Figure 19. W. Milhouse bassoon from St Mary's, Welwyn (c.1800-20).⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁹ Peter Shaw, 'Local History', *The Greenwood Quire*, accessed 19 Sept. 2014, at www.greenwoodquire.co.uk/GreenwoodWestGalleryQuire/Local_History.html.

⁵⁴⁰ *Stamford Mercury* (9 June 1809), p. 2; Langwill & Boston, *Barrel-organs*, p. 119; Davidson, *Choirs*, pp. 13 & 186.

⁵⁴¹ St Albans Museum, 88.3187.

Perhaps Otway had joined the Welwyn band of music as a means of gaining access to instruments, as had John Fawcett, choirmaster of St George's, Kendal (Lancs.), who joined the local Volunteers, and 'acquired a knowledge of a few instruments, with the view to get into the band'.⁵⁴²

But the use of military wind instruments in church was not always a welcome development. Once again, the music trade saw a marketing opportunity, and in the early 1800s the London dealer John Watlen seized it:

It is now found of the greatest utility to have a Barrel Organ in every Church and Chapel, it not only keeps the Singers together, but saves the great and continual expence of an Organist, and also precludes the necessity of introducing military wind Instruments into the Church.⁵⁴³

The desire to disassociate church music-making from the military may have influenced the Duke of Bedford's decision to give a barrel-organ to his parish church at Woburn (Beds.).⁵⁴⁴ A bassoon had been used in the church since 1778, but in 1801 the churchwardens paid a guinea 'for a trumpet top to the bassoon', presumably so that it could be used in the local Volunteer band.⁵⁴⁵ It is surely significant that the Duke purchased a barrel-organ for the church shortly afterwards. The actual date of his gift is unknown, but it certainly pre-dates the purchase of a new barrel made in 1813.⁵⁴⁶ Yet in 1816 the choir-band member William Harland complained 'we are well aware that many prefer the Wind Instruments &c to the Organ'.⁵⁴⁷ Robert Salmon, churchwarden and the Duke of Bedford's steward, replied:

⁵⁴² Sally Drage, 'John Fawcett of Bolton: the Changing Face of Psalmody', in: Dibble & Zon, *Nineteenth-Century*, p. 60.

⁵⁴³ Royal College of Music, F.F. Hill collection, label pasted inside a church barrel-organ supplied by John Watlen. Watlen commenced business at the address given in 1807. I am indebted to Jenny Nex for drawing my attention to this collection.

⁵⁴⁴ J.D. Parry, *History and description of Woburn and its abbey* (London, 1831), p. 146.

⁵⁴⁵ BARS, P118/5/4 Churchwardens' accounts (1778-1801).

⁵⁴⁶ *ibid.*

⁵⁴⁷ BARS, R4/608/35/20-1 Harland and Salmon correspondence (1816).

With respect to my having insisted on your introducing clarinets or hautboys I must beg to correct that misrepresentation. As leader [...] I informed Tomly that your instruments were considered discordant and disapproved of by His Grace and that I thought if you used wind instruments at all in an afternoon that perhaps a Clarinet with the Base Viol would be sufficient and Less objectionable altho His Graces opinion is that the Instruments are altogether improper. Thus you must understand that my insisting on the use of any instrument is altogether as incorrect as it would be contrary to the Duke's request [...] I have not heard any of the Inhabitants express their preference of Instruments to the Organ.⁵⁴⁸

So despite the Duke's opinion that the use of wind instruments was 'altogether improper', the references to using instruments 'in an afternoon' and continuing payments for their upkeep suggest that at Woburn it may have been the practice for the barrel-organ and children's voices to lead the congregation during morning service, but instrumentalists during the afternoon. This perhaps indicates that humbler classes attended in the afternoon, but superior music-making – including the use of a barrel-organ – was expected by the elite who attended in the morning.

When church reform began to take hold in the 1830s, rather than doing away with choir-bands at a stroke, John Antes Latrobe, a Bristol curate, advised clergymen newly-inducted into country livings to replace wind with stringed instruments: 'The bassoon must be dispensed with at all hazard, and if a violoncello can be introduced into its place an important object is effected'.⁵⁴⁹ Perhaps this attitude had its origins in the association of choir-bands with military bands of music, and was one of the factors contributing to their demise.

2.5.4. *Organist-Volunteers*

In October 1778 George III reviewed the militia at Warley Camp.⁵⁵⁰ This and similarly prestigious reviews inspired festivities held in June 1800 when all the Hertfordshire militia, yeomanry and Volunteers were reviewed by George III in Hatfield

⁵⁴⁸ *ibid.*

⁵⁴⁹ John Antes Latrobe, *The Music of the Church Considered in its Various Branches* (London, 1831), p. 91.

⁵⁵⁰ Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 406349, accessed at www.royalcollection.org.uk.

Park, nearly 1600 men in total,⁵⁵¹ including the Royston Volunteers commanded by Shield and the Hitchin Volunteers by Wilshire (see p. 114).⁵⁵² This was an enormously important social occasion, enthusiastically reported in *The Gentleman's Magazine* and commemorated in a painting by Livesay (see Figure 20).⁵⁵³ The oversized royal standard prominently displayed on Hatfield House highlighted Salisbury's loyalty, and perhaps challenged other counties to match Hertfordshire's military resources. The detail shows George III acknowledging one of the corps, complete with fife and drum.

Not only would such a painting have been proudly displayed by the Lord-Lieutenant, prints were also sold to members of military associations and those keen to associate themselves with them. But artists were not alone in profiting from such occasions. The evidence indicates that local organists were actively enlisted not only to instruct bandsmen but also for added prestige, and the Bishops Stortford, Cheshunt and Hertford Volunteers were all able to boast a church organist among their members (see Table 3). There were only two other Hertfordshire parish church organists at this time, neither of whom was eligible to serve, namely Felix Smith of Watford, already aged 60 by 1800, and Sophia Sherman, a woman. Thomas Leach dedicated a piece to his Cheshunt Volunteer association, and Bridgeman composed marches for all ten Hertfordshire Volunteer associations, those with bands being scored for clarinet, bassoon, trumpet and horn in addition to fife and drum. These are thought to have been played at the Hatfield Review, and Bridgeman solicited further purchases from the various captains.⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵¹ J.D. Sainsbury, *The Hertfordshire Yeomanry – an Illustrated History 1794-1920* (Welwyn, 1994), p. 29.

⁵⁵² *A narrative of the preparations made at Hatfield* (London, 1818), p. 13.

⁵⁵³ *Gentleman's Magazine* (12 June 1800).

⁵⁵⁴ HALS, DE/Hx/F9 Draft of letter sent by Charles Bridgeman (1800).



Figure 20. Above: J. Stadler, after Richard Livesay, *The Royal Review in Hatfield Park* (1802);⁵⁵⁵ below: detail.

⁵⁵⁵ HALS, DZ/119/6/342TT Grangerised copy of Robert Clutterbuck, *History of Hertfordshire* (1800-2).

In 1800 Robert Bacon composed an *Ode on the Royal Review* set to music by Bridgeman which complemented Livesay's work and included a verse:

And see the sons of Hertford join
All emulous in martial line
Lo! Salisbury, warm'd with patriot Fire
Th'illustrious Guardian of the Shire ⁵⁵⁶

Similar works from across the country attracted purchases from the officers,⁵⁵⁷ and since a keyboard reduction was given, also provided a patriotic souvenir to be performed at home.⁵⁵⁸

Clearly it was advantageous for the Volunteers to have a composer in their association, but what were the organists' motives for joining? Richard Stevens, organist of Peterhouse (London), cited patriotism as the reason for joining the St Sepulchre Volunteers in 1803.⁵⁵⁹ Similarly, the organist William Crotch and fellow musicians served in the Oxford Loyal Volunteers, remarking 'Thus we kept away Bonaparte'.⁵⁶⁰ But for many the motives may have been more prosaic, since by volunteering men might avoid either compulsory military service or the alternative of paying for a substitute. Although militia regiments could be absent for long periods, Volunteers usually remained at or near home, and only expected to be mobilized in the event of invasion or insurrection.⁵⁶¹ But as seen, since organists were in short supply during this period much trouble and expense would have been spent finding a replacement, therefore it was in the interests of both those who wanted choirs of charity children supported by an organ and the organist himself for him to remain at home.

⁵⁵⁶ Charles Bridgeman, *Ode on the Royal Review of the Hertfordshire Volunteers in Hatfield Park June 13th 1800* (London, 1800).

⁵⁵⁷ Lomas, 'Militia', p. 163.

⁵⁵⁸ See also Herbert & Barlow, *Music and the British Military*, p. 123.

⁵⁵⁹ R.J.S. Stevens, Mark Argent (ed.), *Recollections of R.J.S. Stevens, an Organist in Georgian London* (London, 1992), pp. 130-1.

⁵⁶⁰ Susan Wollenberg, '“Thus we kept away Bonaparte”: Music in Oxford at the time of the Napoleonic Wars', in: Philp, *Resisting Napoleon*, p. 192.

⁵⁶¹ Gee, *Volunteer Movement*, p. 3.

2.6. Church buildings

2.6.1. Accommodation

Although the situation in Bath Abbey may have been exceptional (see Figure 13), Grimm's drawing highlights the difficulties encountered by parish churches from the mid eighteenth century onwards when it came to seating both singers and the increasing number of charity and Sunday school children. Many church naves throughout the country were filled with pews appropriated to particular properties or rented by the wealthy. Furthermore the elite often built private galleries in the most prestigious part of the church,⁵⁶² so that churches in market towns such as Watford were 'crowded with pews and galleries'.⁵⁶³

Expensive extensions or the building of new churches were not usually options, and in Hertfordshire the Kings Langley Sunday school committee decided in 1790 to provide the children with 'more convenient' accommodation in the church, 'at the cheapest rate'.⁵⁶⁴ As noted above (see p. 85), because of the expectation that children would lead congregational singing, whenever possible the provision of children's seating was accompanied by the installation of an organ. By the early nineteenth century there was often already insufficient seating for the poor, a problem exacerbated when additional accommodation was needed in response to the increasing population in areas such as south Hertfordshire nearest the capital.

But those in small villages fared no better. At Albury a south gallery was erected by the Brograve family, and underneath were: 'several miserable little pens, where the labourers sat, and where, being quite out of sight, they used to play pitch and toss for beer, crack nuts, and go to sleep'.⁵⁶⁵ In churches such as Wormley with no side aisles and a fully-pewed nave (see Figure 21), there was no room for the poor in the nave, let alone children and an organ. Furthermore, although the chancel was often

⁵⁶² Jacob, 'congregation', pp. 297-8.

⁵⁶³ Brayley, *Beauties*, p. 303.

⁵⁶⁴ HALS, DP64/25/9-10.

⁵⁶⁵ W.B. Gerish, 'Albury Church', *Transactions*, East Herts Archaeological Society, Vol. 2 part 3 (1904), pp. 229-37.

reserved for the rector's or patron's families, it was sometimes left empty while the rest of the church was crammed with inconvenient seating and galleries, as at Cottered. In such churches children were occasionally given permission to sit in the chancel, as at Benington in 1792 and Hoddesdon in 1809.⁵⁶⁶ But since chancels were often full of exclusive pews or bulky monuments, apart from using benches or stools, the cheapest, quickest and least intrusive way to increase church accommodation was to place those without seats in an existing or new gallery.

⁵⁶⁶ HALS, DP18/29/7-12; DP24A/8/10 Vestry minutes (1805-09).



Figure 21. J.C. Buckler, above: 'Wormley Church' (1830); below: 'View in the Chancel of Cottered Church' (1841).⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶⁷ HALS, DE/Bg Buckler, *Views*, 4, p. 82; 2, p. 146.

2.6.2. *Singing galleries*

Although choir-bands could theoretically sing in the nave or an aisle, if no space was available to accommodate them as a group a 'singing gallery' was frequently built, usually at the less prestigious west end of the church. During the 1770s-80s a number of these were built by subscription in Hertfordshire, which is suggestive of the influence of the local 'middling sort' on parish music-making. At Braughing a gallery was built in 1784 'for the use of the Psalm-singers and the music accompanying them',⁵⁶⁸ and in Northchurch forty-one men subscribed to 'a Gallery for singers' in November 1775.⁵⁶⁹ Correlation with militia lists indicates most were of middling rank, and almost half were farmers or their sons.⁵⁷⁰

In other parishes the gallery was funded from the church rate. In June 1779 the St Andrew's, Hertford vestry agreed to set a church rate of fourpence in the pound 'in order to erect a Gallery for the Singers and for other purposes relating to their said Office'.⁵⁷¹ Likewise in March 1794 the Baldock vestry agreed 'that a Gallery shall be erected at the West end of the middle aisle for the accommodation of the Singers & other Inhabitants of this parish',⁵⁷² again indicating that it was not exclusively for the use of the singers.

With town houses, country houses and churches alike altered or rebuilt to accommodate new tastes during this period, works undertaken by the elite also extended to the building of church galleries. Porteus was patron of Sawbridgeworth when in the autumn of 1787 seventy-eight men and eleven women subscribed to a new gallery.⁵⁷³ This parish had no shortage of wealthy parishioners, and subscribers included William Plumer (New Place), Jeremiah Milles, former Dean of Exeter (Pishiobury), and Conyers Jocelyn, Earl of Roden, who owned Hyde Hall, just over the

⁵⁶⁸ HALS, DP23/3/1.

⁵⁶⁹ HALS, DP74/8/1-3.

⁵⁷⁰ HFHS, *Militia: Northchurch* (Hertford, 1999).

⁵⁷¹ HALS, DP49/8/2-5.

⁵⁷² HALS, DP12/8/1 Vestry book (1794).

⁵⁷³ HALS, DP98/5/1 List of subscribers (1787).

border in Essex (see Appendix 1).⁵⁷⁴ None subscribed substantial sums, suggesting that rather than being intended for their own use it may have been built as a singers' gallery to further Porteus' desire to promote music-making, and with Hardwicke among the subscribers (see p. 87), it may also have been intended to house the children of the charity school, also supported by local landowners.⁵⁷⁵

James, Viscount Grimston was patron of St Michael's, St Albans situated on his Gorhambury estate, and in 1777 began rebuilding the house and making alterations to the church. He ordered the removal of Gorhambury chapel's gallery to the church where it was fashionably supported on Corinthian columns (see Figure 22),⁵⁷⁶ installed his brother Harbottle as vicar,⁵⁷⁷ and in 1785 recorded in his personal accounts 'Musical instruments given to St Michael's church, 8 guineas'.⁵⁷⁸ Grimston had paid in excess of £36 to rent a pew in the Grosvenor Chapel 1774-86, subscribed £63 to the opera, and purchased tickets for masquerades and concerts at the Pantheon in St James.⁵⁷⁹ The timing of these alterations and purchases suggest that the patron and his Honorable and Reverend brother had high expectations for the quality of music-making at St Michael's, perhaps hoping to emulate on a small scale the Grosvenor music-making with which they were familiar.

⁵⁷⁴ LPL, FP/Porteus 30/8-95.

⁵⁷⁵ LPL, FP/Randolph 12/11-105.

⁵⁷⁶ Brayley, *Beauties*, p. 303.

⁵⁷⁷ CCed, Person 215.

⁵⁷⁸ Grimston, *Manuscripts*, pp. 216-8.

⁵⁷⁹ *ibid.*

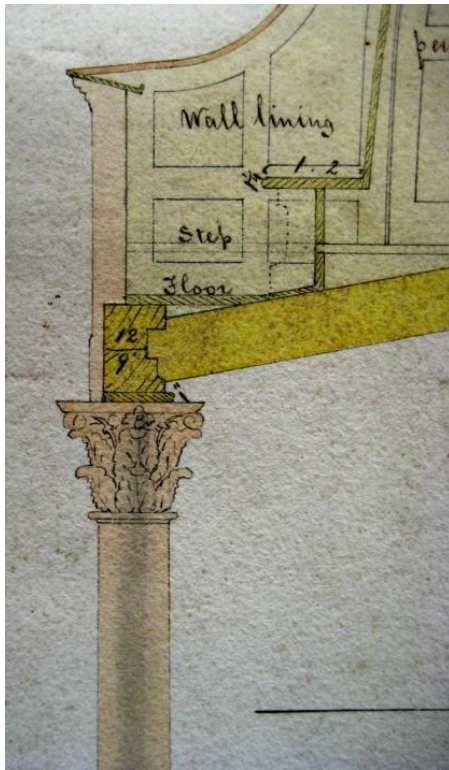


Figure 22. Detail of Corinthian column supporting west gallery at St Michael's, St Albans (1846).⁵⁸⁰

2.6.3. *Organ galleries*

As demonstrated above, in London, Westminster and prosperous Hertfordshire market towns children were taught to sing with the support of an organ.

At Cheshunt the free school master had applied to the vestry in 1756:

for leave to erect a Gallery in the church for Him and his Boys, it is ordered & Agreed that He shall have the right hand side of the organ for that purpose as far as the outside of the lowest Pillar.⁵⁸¹

The location of children in galleries supports Williams' suggestion that the narrow and deep design of English church organs has its origins in the fact that space had to be left on either side for charity children.⁵⁸² Gentry familiar with this arrangement during the Season would have expected a similar arrangement in their country parishes. Although this point has been largely overlooked by historians, Davidson asked whether children were taught psalmody 'imitating the London charity-children who were taught to lead the metrical psalms, and sat by the organs in the City

⁵⁸⁰ St Michael's, St Albans, Daniel Hollingsworth, *Plans and elevation of gallery* (1846).

⁵⁸¹ HALS, DP29/8/48-52.

⁵⁸² Williams, *English Organ Music*, p. 116.

churches?'.⁵⁸³ Evidence of the frequency with which this gallery arrangement was replicated from the late eighteenth to mid nineteenth centuries, even when the church only had a barrel-organ, suggests that this London fashion had both a significant and enduring influence.

Temperley suggested the appearance of donated church organs drew attention to the generosity and wealth of the donors, often 'commemorated on a plaque' (see p. 57),⁵⁸⁴ but the prominent display of charity children fulfilled a similar role. As early as 1787 Vincent had urged that children should be taught to sing properly so that: 'they would become not merely ornamental to the Church as an exhibition of benevolence, but an useful and essential part of the congregation'.⁵⁸⁵ Jones noted the 'display of virtue made visible' at St Paul's,⁵⁸⁶ but just as significant was the visual impact of charity children prominently displayed in provincial church galleries, and Jacob has argued their elevated position 'illustrated the fruit of the charity of parishioners'.⁵⁸⁷ At Bicester (Oxon.) the charity children were placed 'in a conspicuous part' of the church, so that 'the attention of the worshipper is naturally called to further acts of beneficence'.⁵⁸⁸ The evidence suggests the synergistic nature of these arguments, namely that the display of organ and charity children together would reinforce the impact of each on its own. When the Watford organ was installed in 1766 the vestry resolved:

the Charity Children both Boys and Girls [...] will be advantageously placed for Singing with the Organ if they are removed from their present seats [...] into the said Gallery, and that such removal of the Charity Children will also be an ornament to the Church.⁵⁸⁹

⁵⁸³ Davidson, *Choirs*, p. 68.

⁵⁸⁴ Temperley, *Parish Church*, pp. 101-2.

⁵⁸⁵ Vincent, *Considerations*, p. 24.

⁵⁸⁶ Jones, *Charity School*, p. 61.

⁵⁸⁷ Jacob, 'congregation', p. 301.

⁵⁸⁸ Dunkin, *Bicester*, p. 113.

⁵⁸⁹ HALS, DP117/8/1-3.

Rather than suggesting that the children were decorative, the term ornament indicates they were a living embodiment of a plaque or charity board, displaying the benevolence of the parish towards its poor. This proposal was considered so desirable that the vestry sanctioned the alterations to be paid out of the church rate.

2.6.4. Landscaping

The development of music-making in some churches became part of much grander schemes. During the mid eighteenth century Simon, Earl of Harcourt, landscaped his park and gardens at Nuneham Courtney (Oxon.). The gardens were planned by William Mason (see p. 103), whose finished design was said to be the most beautiful in Britain, and inspired numerous imitators.⁵⁹⁰ As part of Harcourt's works he demolished both the village and the parish church, which he then rebuilt in Greek revival style, supporting Allibone's assertion that the restoration and rebuilding of parish churches was 'part of the general matter of estate improvement'.⁵⁹¹ Now fashionably set in parkland rather than the village, the church became 'an important landmark in social and architectural history'.⁵⁹² When the Second Earl succeeded in 1777 he fitted up and furnished the church, and it is thought the barrel-organ present in 1806 was introduced at this time, of which more below.

It was by no means unusual for landowners to demolish entire villages in the name of landscaping during this period, and dominating local politics they were able to pass many enclosure acts and divert highways.⁵⁹³ Prince argued that a 'golden age of landscape gardening' in Hertfordshire started in 1753, and by the time of Dury and Andrews' 1766 *Map* there were forty-five parks enclosed by palings, with a further

⁵⁹⁰ Smith, 'Mason'.

⁵⁹¹ Jill Allibone, *The Wallpaintings of Garton-on-the-Wolds* (London, 1991), p. 5, cited by Chris Brooks, 'Building the rural church: money, power and the country parish', in: Brooks & Saint, *Victorian Church*, p. 69.

⁵⁹² 'Parishes: Nuneham Courtenay', in: William Page *et al.* (eds.), *Victoria History of the County of Oxford* (18 vols., London, 1907-2016), 5, pp. 234-49; see also Terry Friedman, *The Eighteenth-Century Church in Britain* (London, 2011), p. 527.

⁵⁹³ Prince, *Parks*, p. 93.

thirty-four unenclosed gardens and pleasure grounds larger than one hundred acres.⁵⁹⁴

In a large number of rural Hertfordshire parishes the church was situated adjacent to the manor house, frequently owned by the patron (see Figure 23).

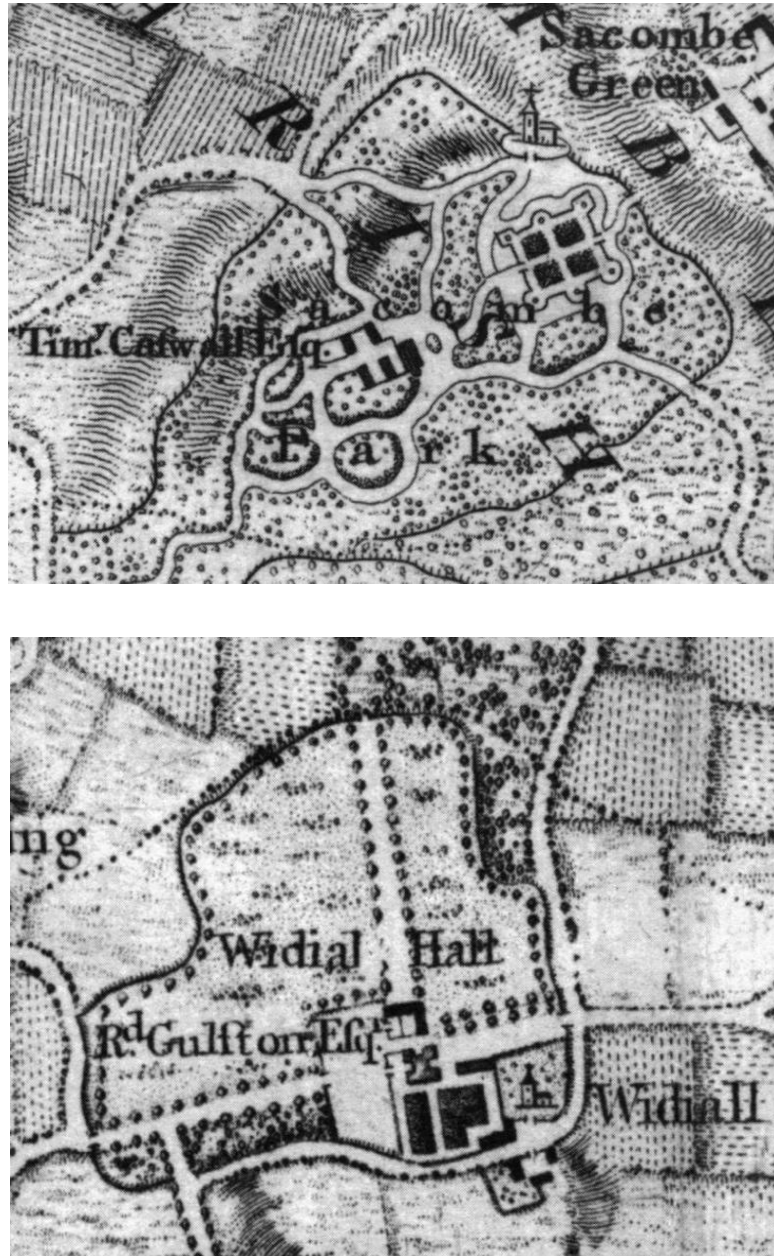


Figure 23. Emparked Hertfordshire parish churches (1766).
Above: St Catherine's, Sacombe; below: St Giles', Wyddial.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 107.

⁵⁹⁵ Details from: HALS, CM/26.

In some English parishes the manor house and church were left stranded after the village was removed, but this was rare in Hertfordshire.⁵⁹⁶ In other parishes the church itself was relocated, as at Nuneham. Although the resentment felt by parishioners towards emparkment is well documented, until now no consideration appears to have been given to the effect this had on church music-making. Physically separating the building from the majority of parishioners would have given landowners an even greater opportunity to wrest control over the style of worship. At Nuneham the music was provided by singers in the old church,⁵⁹⁷ but by a barrel-organ in the new. It seems highly probable this was by design, and cannot be solely attributed to the villagers' unwillingness to walk considerably further from the relocated village to the new church.⁵⁹⁸ According to the 1806 *Description* the church barrel-organ was set with 'Mr Mason's music for the responses to the commandments, and his Sunday hymns'.⁵⁹⁹ Mason's involvement therefore provides an unusual and intriguing example of one person providing a complete cultural package.

Perhaps influenced by the celebrated landscaping at Nuneham Courtenay, in 1779 Lionel Lyde invested money made through the tobacco trade in demolishing the Hertfordshire parish church of Ayot St Lawrence and building a new one.⁶⁰⁰ As at Nuneham, the church was relocated and rebuilt in Greek Revival style. It was designed with the altar placed at the west end so that a grand entrance portico could be built at the east, facing Lyde's Ayot House. A church patron such as Lyde clearly felt he had *carte blanche* to do as he pleased, and although he assigned the church to the rector and churchwarden, he stipulated that worshippers should enter and leave via a designated

⁵⁹⁶ Macnair, *Dury and Andrews*, p. 134.

⁵⁹⁷ James Newton, Gavin Hannah (ed.), *The Deserted Village. The Diary of an Oxfordshire Rector JAMES NEWTON of Nuneham Courtenay 1736-86* (Stroud, 1992), pp. xvi & 59.

⁵⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p. xvii.

⁵⁹⁹ *Description of Nuneham-Courtenay in the County of Oxford* (1806), p. 47.

⁶⁰⁰ *Gentleman's Magazine* (25 July 1791), p. 682; Friedman, *Eighteenth-Century Church*, pp. 551-5.

path through the park so as not to interrupt his view.⁶⁰¹ Shortly after the consecration a chamber organ with an added barrel mechanism was installed, presumably by Lyde (see Figure 24).⁶⁰² This is the earliest known example of such an organ being used in a Hertfordshire church, and one of the earliest in the country.



Figure 24. Above: J.C. Buckler, 'The Church at Ayot St Lawrence' (1832),⁶⁰³ below: Interior of Ayot St Lawrence church, looking East.

⁶⁰¹ Prince, *Parks*, pp. 149-50.

⁶⁰² Langwill & Boston, *Barrel-organs*, p. 79; Nikolaus Pevsner & Bridget Cherry, *Hertfordshire, Buildings of England*, 2nd edn. (London, 1977), p. 79; Organ still present, mechanism removed 1964.

⁶⁰³ HALS, DE/Bg Buckler, *Views*, 4, p. 143.

The church was designed with a gallery over the grand entrance, but there is no evidence to suggest the organ was ever located there. Although he had a property in Bedford Square, unlike so many other Hertfordshire elite Lyde is not known to have subscribed to any fashionable London charitable concerns, and in this very small parish with no charity school the gallery was built for the use of the patron. At both Nuneham Courtenay and Ayot St Lawrence the primary function of the barrel-organ was not to teach children to sing and lead the congregation, but rather to support the singers' or congregational psalmody, and perhaps to play a fashionable voluntary by Handel. In 1782 the organist Jonas Blewitt was resident in Ayot St Lawrence, almost certainly as an employee of Lyde (see Section 2.2.1).⁶⁰⁴ It would have been unrealistic to expect Blewitt to be able to earn a supplementary income in such a small parish, nor perhaps would he have wished to be isolated from the London music scene, and the Ayot organ may have been fitted with barrels for use in his absence.

2.7. Summary

During the late eighteenth century repeated attempts were made to improve parochial psalmody, particularly following Bishop Porteus' 1790 Charge to the clergy of his London diocese. Teaching charity and Sunday school children to sing was seen as a means of achieving this objective, and owed much to metropolitan taste and the continuing influence of the London Anniversary Meetings of charity children. Certain prominent churchmen, patrons and landowners supported efforts to teach children to sing in both market towns and rural parishes. As a result of their increasingly widespread contemporary domestic use, patrons and landowners gave organs or barrel-organs to parish churches in order to support children's singing. The evidence suggests that in many cases their ultimate aim was to improve congregational psalmody, following episcopal guidance, rather than to establish a choir of children to sing on their behalf. But an unforeseen result of singing being undertaken by charity

⁶⁰⁴ HFHS, *Militia: Ayot St Lawrence* (Hertford, 1999), p. 1.

children was a continuing reluctance to sing by polite adults and their children because it was considered unacceptable to be associated with the objects of their charity. Others remained silent because the fashion for oratorios had elevated their musical taste. Nonetheless, the notion that the children of the poor could help in the development of congregational psalmody was an important theme which continued to influence attitudes towards church music-making until the late nineteenth century, and this is explored further in the remaining chapters.

During the Napoleonic Wars the establishment of bands of music in local militia and Volunteer corps provided a new field in which the elite could engage in tasteful display, and therefore they wanted to engage competent musicians. Honour and credit were therefore attached to engaging church organists as band members, since they were usually the most prominent musicians in the local community. In those churches with no organ, the use of wind instruments in military bands may have influenced their introduction to support church-bands. In addition to establishing amateur military bands of music, the gentry were also able to support the use of instruments in church choir-bands, and their patronage became a vector for change in this aspect of church music-making. Although Volunteer bands of music were discontinued at the end of the Napoleonic Wars, church choir-bands came to prominence during this period and continued to be a significant feature of church music-making until mid-century.

The need to seat choir-bands and, more particularly, charity children began to put increasing pressure on church accommodation, which became a continuing problem. During the 1760s to 1800s this usually resulted in the building of galleries, but it later became an important consideration in the liturgical rearrangement and extension of churches, and this will be discussed in Chapters 3 to 5.

3. 1810s to 1820s: Choir-bands and National Schools

3.1. Introduction

Members of congregations continued to show a marked reluctance to sing during the 1810s to 1820s. In towns this was attributed to the use of choirs of charity children and complicated organ repertoire, while in rural parishes uninspiring music-making or music monopolized by choir-bands invited little or nothing in the way of congregational participation. Both circumstances resulted in music-making which appeared to the Church to be motivated by performance rather than worship, and this is discussed in Section 3.2.

The increasing spread of nonconformity during this period was attributed by some commentators to an increasing disillusionment with the Church. In order to withstand the rival attraction of nonconformist music-making, progress needed to be made in the Church's ability to relate to the 'lower orders', both through improvements to congregational psalmody and the provision of accommodation, and the interrelated nature of these changes is discussed in Sections 3.3 and 3.5.

Using children's voices to improve congregational psalmody continued to be a major objective. Evidence presented in Section 3.4 suggests that the incorporation of existing or new schools into the National Society and participation in singing in the local church were often linked, and led to a quickening pace of change. This was often manifested by the acquisition of a barrel-organ shortly after the establishment of a National School, continuing the trend for installing organs and establishing choirs of children first seen during the eighteenth century. Many were funded by subscription among wealthier local parishioners, indicating the continuing involvement of the gentry, but in a new development organs now began to be given by wealthy newcomers driven by a desire both to support their parish church and mark their social ascendancy.

In addition, Church leaders now began to acknowledge that accommodation in the parish church was woefully inadequate, not only for singers, organs, and charity children, but also for the poor. In an attempt to stem the perceived flow of poor parishioners to nonconformist meetings where accommodation was unlikely to be a restricting factor, in 1817 High Churchmen resolved to form a society for 'promoting public worship by obtaining additional church-room for the middle and lower classes'. The following January the Church Building Society was formed (incorporated in 1828, when it became the ICBS), with the chief aim of providing increased church accommodation through the provision of grants.⁶⁰⁵ ICBS papers and other primary sources suggest that efforts to improve music-making by the use of children's singing contributed to the accommodation problems which had already begun to be felt in the late eighteenth-century church, and Section 3.5 assesses attempts to overcome them. These remedies continued to take the form of putting up galleries, but the evidence reveals that their disadvantages were felt long before the sweeping reforms discussed in Chapter 4.

3.2. Singers

Although little evidence of singers survives in late-eighteenth to early-nineteenth-century Hertfordshire parish records, what there is indicates their presence in at least fifty-one parish churches. Of these, thirty-three are known to have used instruments (see Appendix 5). It is somewhat frustrating that Owen Davys, rector of Wheathampstead gave no examples when lecturing his antiquarian society in 1870, merely saying:

⁶⁰⁵ M.H. Port, *600 New Churches. The Church Building Commission 1818-1856*, 2nd edn. (Reading, 2006), p. 28.

[...] I need not detain the meeting with anecdotes relating to village choirs as they were a few years ago (of which I could easily arrange an absurd series) for I doubt not that many persons present have some time in their lives gone through the infliction of a service so conducted, and I would rather spend the short time during which I desire to detain this meeting in looking at a happier present, and forward to a brighter future, than backward upon a past from which we have little to learn but what to avoid.⁶⁰⁶

Few payments to singers have been found, supporting MacDermott's suggestion that they were usually unpaid.⁶⁰⁷ Occasional payments out of the church rate usually took the form of food and drink, and in January 1792 the Elstree churchwardens paid a guinea 'for a Dinner for ye Psalm Singers'.⁶⁰⁸ The St Stephen's, St Albans churchwardens were more liberal in December 1818, and paid 'Bills for Psalm singers feast £6.0s.9d'.⁶⁰⁹ Isolated payments such as these may give the impression these groups were either short-lived or visiting from a neighbouring parish,⁶¹⁰ but it is clear that isolated December or January payments were made for singers' Christmas dinners or feasts, as noted by Temperley.⁶¹¹ The 1826-35 Aldenham churchwardens' accounts record payments for 'Refreshment for Singers at Christmas',⁶¹² and in 1813 the Berkhamsted vestry resolved 'That an annual Dinner be given to the Singers, two Guineas allowed'.⁶¹³ Singers' feasts were also common elsewhere in the country, and in many Northamptonshire and Rutland parishes were a well-established tradition.⁶¹⁴

Yet in other Hertfordshire parishes singers received more regular payments. In September 1825 the Kings Langley singers were paid £2.10s, accrued over '20 months at 2/6 per month',⁶¹⁵ while in Bishops Stortford beer money of between three

⁶⁰⁶ Owen W. Davys, 'The Choral Arrangement of Churches', *Reports and Papers of the Architectural and Archaeological Societies of the Counties of Lincoln and Northampton*, Vol. 10 (1870), p. 262.

⁶⁰⁷ MacDermott, *Minstrels*, p. 16.

⁶⁰⁸ HALS, DP36/5/1 Churchwardens' accounts (1791-1826).

⁶⁰⁹ HALS, DP94/5/1 Churchwardens' accounts (1805-24).

⁶¹⁰ For example Davidson, *Choirs*, p. 105; Maggie Kilbey, 'Detestable Substitutes for Living Players'? *The Use of Barrel-Organs in Norfolk Parish Churches* (Oxford Univ. M.Sc. thesis, 2011), p. 25.

⁶¹¹ Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 158.

⁶¹² HALS, DP3/5/1-2.

⁶¹³ HALS, DP19/5/1-2.

⁶¹⁴ Weston, *Instrumentation*, pp. 30-31; Davidson, *Choirs*, pp. 169 & 188.

⁶¹⁵ HALS, DP64/5/6 Churchwardens' bills & vouchers (1825-59).

and six shillings was paid weekly 1829-30, presumably depending on the number who sang.⁶¹⁶ These indicate both that the singers sang regularly and that the parishioners were willing to support their music-making by contributing towards it out of the church rate.

3.2.1. Choir-bands

Five county surveys of choir-band instrumentation have been published, and Table 5 summarizes the evidence for the instruments found most commonly in comparison with Hertfordshire. With the exception of Lincolnshire, where Pacey was primarily concerned with organs, evidence of choir-bands has been found in approximately one quarter to two-fifths of parishes in these counties, but it is probable that they were far more widespread than this. For example, anecdotal evidence supplied to MacDermott indicated that the flute 'nearly always figured in the old church bands',⁶¹⁷ yet Table 5 reveals a very low incidence. This is probably because flutes have neither reeds nor strings, the purchase of which provide the main surviving evidence for clarinets, oboes, bassoons, violins and cellos.

⁶¹⁶ HALS, DP21/5/10-11.

⁶¹⁷ MacDermott, *Minstrels*, p. 22.

	Hertford-shire ⁶²³		Rutland ⁶²²		Cornwall ⁶²¹		Sussex ⁶²⁰		Northampton-shire ⁶¹⁹		Lincoln-shire ⁶¹⁸	
Total number of parishes in county	136		57		261		324		379		600	
Singers (no organ)	51	38%	22	39%	-		-		127	34%	-	
Choir-bands	33	24%	17	30%	101	39%	112	35%	118	31%	22	4%
Flute	4	3%	1	2%	33	13%	51	16%	6	2%	2	<1%
Clarinet/clarinet	16	12%	7	12%	33	13%	46	14%	19	5%	7	1%
Hautboy/oboe	4	3%	4	7%	11	4%	3	1%	15	4%	4	1%
Bassoon	11	8%	13	23%	23	9%	22	7%	54	14%	8	1%
Fiddle/violin	5	4%	2	4%	36	14%	45	14%	20	5%	3	<1%
Bass viol/cello	14	10%	4	7%	73	28%	42	13%	81	21%	4	1%

Table 5. Known parish choir-band instrumentation, by county.⁶¹⁸ Pacey, *Lincolnshire*.⁶¹⁹ Weston, *Instrumentation*; Davidson, *Choirs*.⁶²⁰ MacDermott, *Sussex*.⁶²¹ Woodhouse, *Face the Music*.⁶²² Davidson, *Choirs*.⁶²³ See Appendix 5.

Nostalgic novels such as Eliot's *Scenes of Clerical Life* (1858) and Hardy's *Under the Greenwood Tree* (1872) have fuelled a romanticized picture of parochial music-making with strings as 'soul-lifters' and serpents providing a 'good old note'.⁶²⁴ Although Hardy explained in the preface to the 1896 edition that his descriptions of 'west-gallery musicians' in this and his other works were intended to be a 'fairly true picture' of village customs common during the 1830s-40s, he also described how certain Dorset bands received gratuities, and acquired their fiddle-strings and other consumables.⁶²⁵ And yet it is Hardy's novel rather than the preface that has often been cited as the authoritative description of choir-band activities (see p. 17).⁶²⁶ Although choir-bands may have been common in Dorset, this may not have been the case in Hertfordshire, and there remains the possibility that no evidence of singing has been found in many parishes because there was none. In other parishes there was very little, as at Sarratt where 'the only music provided was by the clerk, who performed on the flute until he became too asthmatical to do so any longer, when his place was taken by a lame boy who played a concertina'.⁶²⁷

Where there was no instrumental support a tunable pitch-pipe was sometimes used to give the first note of the psalm-tune. In Hertfordshire these are known to have been used during the early nineteenth century at Aldbury, Great Gaddesden and Pirton,⁶²⁸ but their use is likely to have been far more widespread, owing to their affordability.

3.2.1.1 Funding

Purchases of instruments out of the church rate were infrequent in Hertfordshire, and references in churchwardens' accounts usually relate to repairs or

⁶²⁴ Hardy, *Greenwood Tree* (1896 edn.), p. 25.

⁶²⁵ *ibid.*, pp. v-vi.

⁶²⁶ For example, Donald Webster, "'A Mass all Sung to Ancient music": the Society's Influence on Church Music', in: Christopher Webster & John Elliott, *'A Church as it Should be': The Cambridge Camden Society and its influence* (Stamford, 2000), p. 333.

⁶²⁷ Gordon Anderson, 'The Old Church Bands', *The Antiquary*, Vol. 10 (July 1914), p. 267.

⁶²⁸ See Appendix 5.

incidental expenses such as reeds or strings, for example in 1793 the parish of Kings Langley paid for 'Bassoon & hoboy repairs & reeds'.⁶²⁹ Although a cello and 'claronetts' were purchased and violin repairs sanctioned at Aldenham during the 1820s, there is no mention of the hautboy known to have been used in this church.⁶³⁰ Weston has drawn attention to a contemporary painting of the Lamport choir (Northants.) depicting flute, cello and bassoon, yet only the cello and bassoon are mentioned in the churchwardens' accounts.⁶³¹ This suggests that in Lamport, Aldenham and elsewhere some choir-band instruments were either funded by other means or privately-owned.

The church rate was levied from all parish householders based on a valuation of the property they occupied, although in practice the poor were exempted and, unless it was a select vestry, all were entitled to vote at parish vestry meetings. These were usually held in the church under the chairmanship of the clergyman. Officers were appointed and church rates proposed by churchwardens at the Easter vestry, based on an estimate of what would be necessary to pay for repairs and articles 'necessary for the decent performance of Divine Service',⁶³² with the outgoing churchwardens' accounts scrutinized and taken into consideration by parishioners deciding whether or not to approve the new rate. As is all too apparent, items deemed 'necessary' by one parish were not by another.⁶³³ Churchwardens were reluctant to make unauthorized payments since unsanctioned or non-essential items could be disallowed, leaving them out of pocket. Since no vocal or instrumental music of any kind was essential for the performance of Divine Service, there was no compulsion for it to be funded out of the church rate. In 1809 the churchwardens' accounts of Madron (Cornwall) included 'Pair of clarinets and reeds and music, £5.14s.0d.' but this was disallowed by the vestry,

⁶²⁹ HALS, DP64/5/1-2 Churchwardens' accounts (1793-1853).

⁶³⁰ HALS, DP3/5/1-2; *English Church History Exhibition*, p. 187.

⁶³¹ Weston, *Instrumentation*, p. 193.

⁶³² PP 1831-32 (199) *Royal Com. to inquire into practice and jurisdiction of Ecclesiastical Courts in England and Wales: Reports*, Appendix.

⁶³³ For example in Chipping Barnet, where in April 1797 over £6 was spent on entertaining at the Boar's Head. HALS, DP15/5/2.

leaving the instruments to be funded privately.⁶³⁴ Despite this, many vestries with parishioners in less straightened circumstances did consider music-making a legitimate expense, whether by custom, vestry resolution or informal agreement.

Part of the lack of evidence from many churchwardens' accounts lies in their brevity, and this is amply demonstrated in the few parishes where bills and vouchers survive. When the local carpenter or blacksmith undertook instrument repairs they may have been grouped unitemized with other work, but in Barkway a detailed carpenter's bill from June 1832 included 6^d for 'Repairing the Bass Voil'.⁶³⁵ Similarly, in St Albans the Abbey Church accounts for December 1817 record 'Paid John Higdon $\frac{1}{4}$ salary as Musician, 2 guineas',⁶³⁶ but the voucher to which it relates reveals 'for Playing clarinett in the Abby Church, 2 guineas'.⁶³⁷ As will be seen below (see Section 3.3.2) it seems probable that Higdon received this and similar payments on behalf of himself and other instrumentalists.

If instruments were not paid for out of the church rate, how were they funded? Gammon suggested church musicians often paid for their own instruments and maintenance.⁶³⁸ Although evidence of choir-bands purchasing their own instruments rarely survives, correspondence concerning Woburn parish church supports Gammon's assertion. When the band member Harland wrote to the churchwarden Salmon in 1816 (see p. 123) he stated they had, by permission of both Duke and incumbent, acquired flutes to supplement the church 'clarionet' and 'base viol' 'at an expence not very inconsiderable to persons in our circumstances'.⁶³⁹ When the flutes were considered discordant and banned Harland wrote:

It has also been represented to us that you would permit Hautboys to be used instead of the flutes but as we cannot be assured but that they may

⁶³⁴ *Cornishman* (6 Aug. 1924).

⁶³⁵ HALS, DP13/8/21-30.

⁶³⁶ HALS, DP90/5/1.

⁶³⁷ HALS, DP90/7 Bills & vouchers (1814-48).

⁶³⁸ Gammon, "Babylonian Performances", p. 66.

⁶³⁹ BARS, R4/608/35/20-1.

in a short time be rejected as well as the flutes we have declined putting ourselves to the expence of purchasing them.⁶⁴⁰

Harland then announced the band would retire from the gallery immediately 'with feelings of pleasure mingled with regret'. Pleasure because:

we are conscious of having done every thing in our power to secure the approbation of the Community and to increase the attendance of the Public at Church.⁶⁴¹

His regret was:

we have not found in the parish of Woburn (tho' inhabited by so respectable a body of Gentlemen) one person to step forward to give us the least Encouragement in promoting this (the expression of which we have been honored with) our laudable undertaking.⁶⁴²

This indicates that many elite of a certain kind continued to be unwilling to make any financial contribution to church music-making, as noted by Crompton in 1778:

Singers are at a considerable expence for books, and oftentimes for instruction too, and in country places frequently travel miles in an evening after the labour of the day is over, to meet together for improvement [...] it certainly is very unreasonable and very uncharitable to expect, that persons who labour for a livelihood, should not only spend so much of their time, as they of necessity must, but be at a great expence too to serve a large number of persons, who can well afford to give them a small gratuity.⁶⁴³

In addition to purchase by choir-band members, the evidence suggests a complex funding picture. The first option is that instruments were given by a local landowner, patron or clergyman. As early as 1742 Tristram Land, newly-appointed vicar of Brent and Furneux Pelham paid £6.9s. 'To Mr Searle for instruments', and in 1746 subscribed a guinea 'Towards a singing pew'.⁶⁴⁴ In 1805-15 a violin and clarionet were given to Ugley (Essex) parish church by successive curates,⁶⁴⁵ but 'the principal part' of the bass viol was given by the local landowner Samuel Leightonhouse, and all the instruments kept in the care of his gardener, perhaps suggesting a desire to control their use.⁶⁴⁶

⁶⁴⁰ *ibid.*

⁶⁴¹ *ibid.*

⁶⁴² *ibid.*

⁶⁴³ Crompton, *Assistant*, pp. vii-x.

⁶⁴⁴ HALS, DP78/3/3.

⁶⁴⁵ ERO, D/P 373/1/1 Register of baptisms, marriages & burials (1805-15).

⁶⁴⁶ *ibid.*

Secondly, some instruments were purchased by subscription. At Offley the churchwardens paid 5s. in 1818 'towards paying for a new Clarenet to the Church',⁶⁴⁷ and in 1783 the parish of Swalcliffe (Oxon.) purchased an 'hoboy', vox humana and bassoon from London.⁶⁴⁸ Although the vicar and a local landowner each subscribed a guinea, smaller amounts were subscribed by a total of sixty-six people from four local villages. Similarly, when Castor (Northants.) vestry agreed to purchase two 'claranets' and a 'bass voill' in 1817 they solicited help from Earl Fitzwilliam, Lord Milton, the Bishop of Peterborough, and the Castor and Alesworth gentry:

to defray the expence of Instruments Books etc necessary for the accommodation of the Church. We now call upon and humbly solicit your aid to help to defray the expences of so good and necessary a cause.⁶⁴⁹

Although indicative of popular support, those who subscribed to instruments may have felt entitled to an opinion about their use. In 1818 subscribers towards the cello at Aston-le-Walls (Northants.) attached a list of conditions to its use and controlled the choice of instrumentalist,⁶⁵⁰ and in 1807 the Somerset parson William Holland reflected upon the temporary absence of his church's choir-band:

As we of our own Parish subscribed for the Instruments I observed that they should not forsake us in the time of our own Service, for we did not buy the Instruments for the Amusement of other Churches.⁶⁵¹

Thirdly, some instruments were acquired by part-exchange. In Hertfordshire, in 1823 the Bushey churchwardens recorded: 'To Cash for the difference between a new Violincello for the Church band & the allowance for the old one taken in Exchange £2.10s.'. ⁶⁵² In 1805 Holland recorded a similar circumstance in his journal one Sunday:

A full Congregation and the Singers had their new instruments from London for which I subscribed one guinea. I was very satisfied with the Instruments they had before but Mr Tom Poole introduced the Business

⁶⁴⁷ HALS, DP76/5/1.

⁶⁴⁸ Maurice Byrne, 'The Church Band at Swalcliffe', *Oxoniensia*, Vol. XXVIII (1963), pp. 79-83.

⁶⁴⁹ Weston, *Instrumentation*, p. 180.

⁶⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 146.

⁶⁵¹ Jack Ayres (ed.), *Paupers and Pigkillers: The Diary of William Holland, a Somerset Parson 1799-1818* (Gloucester, 1984), p. 151.

⁶⁵² HALS, DP26/5/1-2 Churchwardens' accounts (1785-1831).

and then subscribed only half a guinea. I do not approve of this mode of picking money out of my pocket.⁶⁵³

Fourthly, instruments were purchased in installments,⁶⁵⁴ on approval or by hire-purchase. Lomas found that the Wiltshire Volunteer band tried out several instruments before deciding which to learn.⁶⁵⁵ Advertising evidence supports this finding, with Longman & Broderip stating in 1790 that their instruments 'if not approved may be exchanged'.⁶⁵⁶ This suggests choir-bands may have tried out instruments before purchase, and Hertfordshire evidence now establishes this was indeed the case. In April 1817 the Barkway churchwardens purchased a second-hand clarinet from William Andrews 'Stationer and Watchmaker, Dealer and Chapman' of Royston.⁶⁵⁷ Andrews employed effective sales pressure by sending his son to collect the instrument with the suggestion that there was another interested party should the clarinet be unwanted: 'Sir, I should not have sent my son over to-day, but we have a young man waiting for the clarinett, provided it does not suit you'.⁶⁵⁸

Fifthly, some musicians made the instruments themselves. Vamping horns were occasionally made by the village blacksmith, as at Willoughton (Lincs.),⁶⁵⁹ but in rare cases more ambitious projects were undertaken, including a wooden violin by James Nye in East Chiltington (Sussex)⁶⁶⁰ and a tin cello by the Hills family in Caterham (Surrey).⁶⁶¹ No evidence of amateur-built instruments survives from Hertfordshire, and it seems likely that owing to its proximity to London it was far more common for them to be acquired from professional instrument makers. This may have contributed

⁶⁵³ Ayres, *Paupers*, p. 125.

⁶⁵⁴ In 1806 the bassoon at Holcot (Northants.) was purchased in this manner. Weston, *Instrumentation*, p. 163.

⁶⁵⁵ Lomas, 'Wiltshire', p. 96.

⁶⁵⁶ *The Times* (2 Nov. 1790), p. 2.

⁶⁵⁷ *London Gazette* (13 Mar. 1829), p. 486.

⁶⁵⁸ HALS, DP13/5/2-3 Churchwardens' accounts (1817-44); DP13/8/21-30.

⁶⁵⁹ W. Parkinson, *Lincolnshire Church Photographs*, accessed 18 May 2016, at www.wparkinson.com/Churches/.

⁶⁶⁰ James Nye, Vic Gammon (ed.), *A small account of my travels through the wilderness* (Brighton, 1981).

⁶⁶¹ Horniman Museum, 2001.429.1.

towards any perceived elitism witnessed in choir-bands over labouring members of the congregation.

Lastly, there is the possibility that some choir-band instruments came from military bands, as discussed above in Section 2.5.3.

3.2.1.2 Supply

In some parts of England itinerant composers and teachers sold tunes and tunebooks, and in Dorset a pedlar specializing in ‘fiddle-strings, rosin, and music-paper’ travelled from parish to parish ‘coming to each village about every six months’.⁶⁶² New evidence from a cluster of parishes in north-west Hertfordshire illustrates further links between composers, teachers and choir-bands. In 1798 John Gresham and his son William, schoolmaster and organist respectively of Dunstable (Beds.) had attracted a number of Hertfordshire subscribers to *Psalmody Improved* ‘intended to promote general singing in parish churches’.⁶⁶³ Further copies were purchased for use at Harpenden and Caddington,⁶⁶⁴ and as late as 1856 it was claimed that Gresham’s compositions were ‘yet the favourite music of several neighbouring choirs’.⁶⁶⁵ But in addition to supplying books of psalmody, John Gresham also supplied reeds and undertook instrument repairs, charging the Caddington churchwardens 5s. for ‘rectifying and cleaning a clarinet’.⁶⁶⁶ When Gresham died in 1812 choir-bands appear to have turned to his organist son William, and to the family of John Puddephatt, his successor as master of Dunstable school.⁶⁶⁷ Whereas in January 1812 the Aldbury churchwardens paid: ‘Mr Gresham for singing Books and Reeds’, in 1813 ‘James Puddefoot’ was paid for repairing instruments, ‘claronette’ and bassoon reeds.⁶⁶⁸ Similarly, in 1810-11 in addition to ‘1 Psalmody improved bound’ Gresham supplied

⁶⁶² Hardy, ‘Preface’, *Greenwood Tree* (1896 edn.), pp. v-vi.

⁶⁶³ John Gresham, *Psalmody Improved* [...] (London, c.1797); *Sun* (8 June 1798).

⁶⁶⁴ HALS, DP122A/5/1-2 Churchwardens’ accounts (1800-18); BARS, P35/5/2 Vouchers (1787-1840).

⁶⁶⁵ Charles Lamborn, *The Dunstablelogia* (Dunstable, 1859), p. 129.

⁶⁶⁶ BARS, P35/5/2.

⁶⁶⁷ Hugh Garrod, ‘Chew’s House’, *Dunstable & District Local History Newsletter*, no. 23 (Feb. 2005), pp. 154-7.

⁶⁶⁸ HALS, DP2/5/2 Churchwardens’ accounts (1764-1813).

Caddington church with hautboy, clarinet, and bassoon reeds, but in 1822 a payment was made to 'Mr Puddephatt for 4 Music Books'.⁶⁶⁹

Although local collections such as Gresham's *Psalmody Improved* and Ivery's *Hartfordshire Melody* tended to attract local subscribers, as the eighteenth century progressed advertising became more widespread and many composers attracted purchasers from further afield,⁶⁷⁰ and orders could also be sent or collected from London. Hertfordshire churchwardens patronized the Thompson family of musical instrument makers and publishers of St Paul's Churchyard, with Aldbury purchasing the Dorset composer Joseph Stephenson's *Church Harmony* in 1773,⁶⁷¹ and Caddington purchasing a Hautboy and two copies of the Kentish composer Abraham Adams' *Psalmist's New Companion* in 1787.⁶⁷² Tunes by these composers were also used at Essendon and Standon.⁶⁷³

But the increasing commercial opportunities available in market towns during this period gave access to a wide range of merchandise, making churches independent of itinerant salesmen or purchases commissioned from London. Many provincial stationers such as Andrews of Royston (see p. 151) acted as agents selling music and musical instruments. In 1816 J. Noble of Boston (Lincs.) advertised:

Country Choirs of Singers supplied with Musical Instruments, warranted; also Reeds, Strings, and every other article, of the best description, on the most reasonable terms – A variety of new Church music lately received.⁶⁷⁴

Similarly, Goulding's 1800 catalogue of instruments claimed the contents 'may be had of every music shop in town and country, and of most of the principal booksellers in England, Scotland, and Ireland'.⁶⁷⁵ In Woburn, William Harland, the

⁶⁶⁹ BARS, P35/5/1 Churchwardens' accounts (1779-87); BARS, P35/5/2.

⁶⁷⁰ McKendrick, *Consumer Society*, p. 11.

⁶⁷¹ HALS, DP2/29/9.

⁶⁷² BARS, P35/5/2.

⁶⁷³ HALS, DE/X228/Z5 ms volume of metrical psalm tunes, titled on spine 'James Whitaker 1829'; Wilton Hall, 'Essendon Church', p. 255.

⁶⁷⁴ *Stamford Mercury* (1 Mar. 1816), p. 3.

⁶⁷⁵ Goulding, *Catalogue*, p. 3.

choir-band member who arranged the flute purchase, was a bookseller and stationer,⁶⁷⁶ and Stephen Dodd who supplied the 'trumpet top to the bassoon' was postmaster, printer and bookbinder (see p. 123).⁶⁷⁷ Baldock parish church was supplied with music books by J. Warren, the town's 'Hair dresser, perfumer, bookseller and stationer',⁶⁷⁸ and in St Albans the St Peter's churchwardens purchased 'Psalm Books' and 'Music Paper' from the local 'Musician, Dealer and Chapman' George Sherman in 1806,⁶⁷⁹ while Job Nash, bookseller and stationer of Holywell Hill sold music books and paper to the other three parish churches.⁶⁸⁰ Market town booksellers and stationers such as these also supplied rural churches, and in 1827 the Kensworth churchwardens paid Nash 7s. 'for binding two Psalm Books'.⁶⁸¹

Noble's 1816 advertisement drew attention to another singing requisite by offering 'Blank Music-books and Ruled paper, on a plan particularly convenient for psalmody'.⁶⁸² Although some choir-bands were fortunate enough to subscribe to several copies of tunebooks it was usual to share or borrow just one, and compile individual tunebooks with music copied, or 'pricked' from a variety of sources. In 1761 the Rickmansworth churchwardens purchased 'Eight psalm books £1.1s.0d. Car^{ge} of d^o from London 6d. For pricking eight psalm books 10s.6d.',⁶⁸³ and blank tune or psalm-books were purchased 1773-1840 at Aldbury, Caddington and Pirton.⁶⁸⁴ This practice was by no means unique to Hertfordshire, for example at Oakham (Rutland) a payment was made in 1783 for 'pricken tunes'.⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁷⁶ *Kelly's Post Office Directory of Bedfordshire* (1847), p. 1757.

⁶⁷⁷ 1841 Census H0107/5/f.16/p.27; 1851 Census H0107/1755/f.162/p.3.

⁶⁷⁸ HALS, DP12/5/2 Churchwardens' bills & vouchers (1821).

⁶⁷⁹ HALS, DP93/5/3-5; *London Gazette* (24 Mar. 1798), p. 258.

⁶⁸⁰ *Universal British Directory*, Appendix, p. 181; St Michael's, St Albans, Churchwardens' papers 2 (1811-20); HALS, DP90/7; DP94/5/1.

⁶⁸¹ BARS, P34/5/1-3 Churchwardens' accounts (1805-60).

⁶⁸² *Stamford Mercury* (1 Mar. 1816), p. 3.

⁶⁸³ HALS, DP85/25/1 Charity School accounts (1761).

⁶⁸⁴ HALS, DP2/29/9; DP80/4/1-2 Churchwardens' accounts (1791-1861); BARS, P35/5/1.

⁶⁸⁵ Davidson, *Choirs*, p. 184.

3.2.2. *Concerns*

By the 1810s-20s groups of singers and choir-bands had become widespread throughout the country and settled into the very patterns of behaviour that caused concern to Porteus and others during the late eighteenth century. The first, and most important, concern was the exclusion of the congregation. In some churches the choir-band was grouped together in a singing pew in the body of the church, as at Aldbury and Essendon, but 'singing galleries' had been erected in many churches. Gammon asserted that these upset the congregation's hierarchy since entry was by merit rather than status.⁶⁸⁶ By implication the lower orders were literally getting ideas above their station, which may have been resented by rich and poor alike. Lengthy discussions of the need to reform church music appeared in the *New Monthly Magazine*, a 'virulently' Tory publication founded in 1814.⁶⁸⁷ A letter from 'P.X.' observed that 'country choirs' were usually located in galleries where they monopolized 'the whole of this part of public worship'.⁶⁸⁸ The congregation often found themselves physically separated from choir-bands whose singing became a performance with the congregation turning or standing to 'face the music'.

The second concern was repertoire. Collections of complex psalm-tunes often repeated words for emphasis, and from the mid eighteenth century onwards included 'fuging tunes', with imitative entries rather than the same words sung at the same time, and this confused the understanding of the psalm.⁶⁸⁹ Parts of words or phrases were also repeated for emphasis or to fit the tune, which caused further confusion.⁶⁹⁰ In 1779 John Wesley had criticized such tunes, saying 'it is glaringly, undeniably, contrary to common sense [...] in appointing different words to be sung by different persons at the

⁶⁸⁶ Gammon, "Babylonian Performances", p. 70.

⁶⁸⁷ David Higgins, 'The New Monthly Magazine', *The Literary Encyclopedia*, accessed at www.litencyc.com/.

⁶⁸⁸ P.X., 'On Church Music in Country Villages', *New Monthly Magazine* (1 July 1814), pp. 540-2.

⁶⁸⁹ Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 173.

⁶⁹⁰ MacDermott, *Minstrels*, pp. 63-5.

same time! [...] Pray which of those sentences am I to attend to!'.⁶⁹¹ In Hertfordshire, the novelist Anthony Trollope often visited his uncle Adolphus Meetkerke, patron of Rushden. Music-making in this parish church appears to have been of the character described by 'P.X.', since in c.1820:

the singers were so well pleased with the exercise that they were apt to prolong it, as my uncle thought, somewhat unduly. And on such occasions he would cut the performance short with a rasping "that's enough!" which effectually brought it to an abrupt conclusion.⁶⁹²

In 1827 Ford (see p. 77) alluded to the use of tunes unsuited to the chosen psalm, referring to the last verse of Psalm 95 'The Lord in vengeance drest' being sung to 'a lively tune called Falcon Street, which, to make the matter worse, requires the last verse to be concluded with a series of hallelujahs', a trait also deplored by John Wesley.⁶⁹³

Thirdly, the manner of performance. In 1795 Mason described from bitter experience 'the tintamarre which this kind of squeaking and scraping and grumbling produces, I will not pain my Reader by bringing stronger to his recollection',⁶⁹⁴ and in 1819 'T.G.' also remarked upon what he or she considered to be the deplorable state of music in country churches:

[...] our beautiful service is disfigured and disgraced to gratify the vanity of every drivelling performer on the clarionet, flute, fiddle, or violoncello. The resemblance of all this complicated discordancy of sound, to what we usually call music, is faint indeed. I have occasionally witnessed similar performances, in which the effect produced was more like the noises of the congregation in Noah's ark, than the singing in a protestant church.⁶⁹⁵

Fourthly, disrespectful behaviour. 'P.X.' complained that even a clergyman with no musical knowledge should attempt some sort of control over the music-making in his church: 'such an interference would, in the outset, tend to the entire exclusion of

⁶⁹¹ John Wesley, 'Thoughts on the Power of Music', *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley* (16 vols., London, 1812), XV, p. 362.

⁶⁹² Thomas Adolphus Trollope, *What I Remember* (3 vols., London, 1887), I, p. 63.

⁶⁹³ Ford, *Observations*, p. 52.

⁶⁹⁴ Mason, 'Parochial Psalmody', p. 391.

⁶⁹⁵ *London Literary Gazette* (2 Jan. 1819), pp. 9-10.

all fiddles, oboes, flutes, clarionet' and 'the exhibition of such indecencies as oftentimes occur from the conduct of these parochial musicians'.⁶⁹⁶

In Hertfordshire the Aldenham parish clerk recalled that during the 1820s members of the choir-band insisted on taking instruments, some church property, to the public house 'to assist in revels',⁶⁹⁷ and at Abbots Langley the churchwardens reported to the archdeacon at Michaelmas 1820:

William James White lately employed to instruct the Choir in singing has taken away and converted to his own use a bass viol belonging to the church, which he has received notice to restore but refuses so to do.⁶⁹⁸

Such activity was not restricted to Hertfordshire, and as late as 1845 the Great Houghton (Northants.) vestry found it necessary to resolve 'that no musical instrument belonging to the Parish be used for any other purpose but the services of the Church'.⁶⁹⁹ Hillsman asserted that the fibre of village life was weakened when church choir-bands were silenced,⁷⁰⁰ but instrumentalists interviewed by Curwen during the 1890s recalled that they had been involved in 'the whole social and festive life of the village [...] the dance, the harvest home, the Christmas carol, the flower show, the club feast', with no suggestion that these activities also ceased.⁷⁰¹

Fifthly, P.X. alluded to 'the generally miserable condition of the instruments on which they perform',⁷⁰² unsurprising given the susceptibility of woodwind instruments to warp or split.

Last, but not least, singers sometimes travelled several miles from their own parish to sing not only in other churches, but also nonconformist chapels,⁷⁰³ an aspect discussed further in the following Section, and this was one of the symptoms of the

⁶⁹⁶ P.X., 'Church Music', pp. 540-2.

⁶⁹⁷ HALS, DP3/29/17 Correspondence concerning the history of Aldenham church (1902-25).

⁶⁹⁸ HALS, ASA/17/17/1/2 Churchwarden's presentment (1820).

⁶⁹⁹ Davidson, *Choirs*, p. 101.

⁷⁰⁰ Hillsman, *Trends*, p. 217.

⁷⁰¹ Spencer Curwen, 'Village Musicians', p. 138.

⁷⁰² P.X., 'Church Music', pp. 540-2.

⁷⁰³ Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 240.

neglect of church music cited by Latrobe in 1831.⁷⁰⁴ Motives may have included the enjoyment derived from an afternoon out, receiving payment or, as suggested by MacDermott, friendly rivalry by augmenting or substituting for other choir-bands.⁷⁰⁵

Poor weather and dark evenings would have mitigated against such travelling during winter, but the practice of visiting other parishes appears to have been widespread during the summer months of the late 1700s and early 1800s. In 1779 the churchwardens of Caddington paid 7s.6d. for 'Beeer gave to ye Luton [Luton] Psalm Singers',⁷⁰⁶ while the Rickmansworth singers received £1 at Kings Langley in September 1814,⁷⁰⁷ and ten shillings at Aldenham in May 1822.⁷⁰⁸ It seems highly probable payments made to 'Mr Godman for his Attendance with the Psalm singers' at Elstree in 1816-17 were made to singers from the neighbouring parish of St Stephen's, St Albans some seven miles up Watling Street, where Mr Godman was both singer and parish clerk.⁷⁰⁹

Additional motives, especially when provided with instruments, appear to have been both vanity and, again, the promise of a good dinner. In 1807 Holland recorded in his Journal:

The Singers except a few were gone to Lydiard [Somerset] to Sing and have a dinner given to them and I fear carried many of the Congregation with them. Our Singers are become famous in the Country, which makes them vain and fond of Exhibiting themselves and I think they think more of their own Praise than the Praise of God.⁷¹⁰

However, when John Kent, plumber, glazier, and parish clerk of the Abbey Church died in 1798 the *Gentleman's Magazine* recounted that when 'country choristers' came from a neighbouring parish 'with instruments termed by him a box of

⁷⁰⁴ Latrobe, *Music of the Church*, p. 125.

⁷⁰⁵ MacDermott, *Sussex*, p. 12.

⁷⁰⁶ BARS, P35/5/1.

⁷⁰⁷ HALS, DP64/5/1-2.

⁷⁰⁸ HALS, DP3/5/3 Receipted bills (1822).

⁷⁰⁹ HALS, DP36/5/1; 1841 Census H0107/439/f.11/p.16.

⁷¹⁰ Ayres, *Paupers*, p. 151.

whistles' the congregation could not join in, possibly because they were unfamiliar with the tunes or because their performance was difficult to follow.⁷¹¹

Perhaps some of the problems associated with choir-band members may be partially attributable to their gradual decline in status as the nineteenth century progressed. At St Peter's-in-Eastgate, Lincoln, in 1887 an octogenarian recalled: 'my grandmother's footman, in livery powder and pigtail, used to play the flute in a loft at the west end, in company with two fiddles and a clarinet',⁷¹² but by the 1890s choir-band members elsewhere were recalled as being 'peasants'.⁷¹³ Gammon stated they drew their strength from artisan tradesmen,⁷¹⁴ and this is likely to be nearer the truth for the majority of the choir-band period. Figure 25 shows Thomas Webster's famous painting of the choir-band at Bow Brickhill (Beds.), just to the north of Hertfordshire. In 1942 Boston was in correspondence with the clarinettist's great-grandson who was able to name several of the choir-band members,⁷¹⁵ and using additional information from the 1851 census it is possible to identify their occupations.⁷¹⁶ The conductor William Osborn was a bricklayer, the clarinettist John Wootton a wheelwright and baker, and the cellist Thomas Baskerville the village blacksmith. The children at the front of the gallery were some of the straw-plaiting daughters of the conductor and clarinettist, and two of the rector's and clarinettist's sons. Although the names of few Hertfordshire choir-band members survive this is not the case in other counties, and the availability of online census records suggests that researching their occupations could be a fruitful area of research.

⁷¹¹ *Gentleman's Magazine* (Oct. 1798), pp. 905-7.

⁷¹² Pacey, *Lincolnshire*, p. 60.

⁷¹³ Galpin, 'Village Band', p. 58; MacDermott, *Minstrels*, p. 10.

⁷¹⁴ Gammon, "Babylonian Performances", p. 65.

⁷¹⁵ Noel Boston, 'Music of the Eighteenth Century Village Church', *Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 99 (1942), p. 62.

⁷¹⁶ 1851 Census HO107/1723/fo.122/p.31; HO107/1723/fo.110/p.5; HO107/1723/fo.109/p.4.



Figure 25. Thomas Webster, *A Village Choir* (1847).⁷¹⁷

3.3. Dissent and Hymnody

As Hertfordshire Methodist, Baptist and Independent meetings grew during the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries, clergymen faced the twin challenges of worshippers being enticed away by uplifting and inclusive nonconformist music-making, and raised expectations for music-making in the established church itself. In 1829 a music reviewer for *The London Literary Gazette* referred to the poor state of music-making in town parishes:

It is well known that the great success of some classes of dissenters in making converts from the established church is mainly to be attributed to the attraction of sacred music, which, in many meeting-houses has been rendered more impressive and affecting than in our parish churches, where this elevating part of public worship has been consigned either to ill-taught charity children, or else to one or two hired and careless singers concealed in the organ-gallery [...]⁷¹⁸

⁷¹⁷ Victoria and Albert Museum, FA.222[0] accessed at <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/>.

⁷¹⁸ *London Literary Gazette* (31 Oct. 1829), p. 716.

The Independent Isaac Watts was the foremost hymn-writer of the early eighteenth century. In 1715 he published his *Divine Songs* for the use of children, followed in 1719 by a metrical version of the psalms considered more singable than the New Version.⁷¹⁹ According to Bradley, Watts' verses ended the stranglehold of metrical psalmody in Protestant worship during the eighteenth century, so that by the early 1800s hymnody was at the heart of nineteenth-century nonconformity.⁷²⁰ Watson described his hymn-writing as 'unmistakably that of a non-Anglican', but McCart argued that the use of hymns in the established church, particularly those by Watts, became increasingly accepted during the eighteenth century.⁷²¹ Nevertheless, as seen below, there is no evidence that hymns by Watts or other nonconformists were used in Hertfordshire parish churches until the early years of the nineteenth century. The influence of Baptist and Independent hymns is discussed below in Section 3.3.2, but Methodists gave the most concern to church leaders during this period, partly because of the considerable appeal of the tunes they sang. Some were 'parody' hymn-tunes, that is, taken from popular or 'art' sources and given new words.⁷²² Easily-memorable tunes and words such as these were greatly advantageous when so many of the congregation could not read, and Methodist hymnody presented an attractive alternative to disenchanted members of the church accustomed to having psalms 'lined out' by the parish clerk.⁷²³

⁷¹⁹ Isaac Watts, *Divine Songs Attempted in Easy Language, for the Use of Children* (London, 1715); *The Psalms of David Imitated in the Language of the New Testament* (London, 1719).

⁷²⁰ Bradley, 'Nonconformist Hymnody', p. 237.

⁷²¹ J.R. Watson, 'The Hymns of Isaac Watts and the Tradition of Dissent', in: Rivers & Wykes, *Dissenting Praise*, p. 33; Thomas K. McCart, *The Matter and Manner of Praise. The Controversial Evolution of Hymnody in the Church of England 1760-1820*. Drew Studies in Liturgy Series, 5 (Lanham, 1998), pp. 23-5.

⁷²² Temperley, 'John Wesley', p. 13.

⁷²³ Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters, Vol. II. The Expansion of Evangelical Nonconformity* (Oxford, 1995), p. 182.

3.3.1. Methodism

John Wesley's collection of hymn-tunes 'for use of the People called Methodists' included 'Directions for Singing' which emphasized not only that all should sing, but more importantly that all should be able to understand what they were singing: 'Have an eye to God in every word you sing'.⁷²⁴ The implication is that neither was common. As early as 1787 Vincent had warned of the attractive nature of 'the psalmody of the Methodists', suggesting that for every one drawn to them from the established church by preaching, 'ten have been induced by music'.⁷²⁵ Miller echoed this in 1791, observing 'It is well known that more people are drawn to the tabernacles of Methodists by their attractive harmony, than by the doctrine of their preachers'.⁷²⁶ Methodists had finally split from the established church to become a nonconformist church in 1795, yet as late as 1832 'T.O.', a correspondent to the High-Church *British Magazine*, urged the improvement of parochial psalmody as a means of winning back 'many of the lower class [...] who frequent the meeting-houses, as I am well assured, on account of the singing'.⁷²⁷

By the time of the 1851 Religious Census only 11% of the total attendance at Hertfordshire places of worship was attributable to Methodist meetings, compared with the national average of 25%.⁷²⁸ Yet early meetings had sprung up in several areas, particularly those close to the main transport links. With an absent rector (see p. 30), the congregation of St Andrew's, Hertford seem to have taken matters into their own hands in seeking to provide a singing gallery in 1779.⁷²⁹ The impetus may have been

⁷²⁴ John Wesley, *Select Hymns: with Tunes annex: Designed chiefly for the use of the People called Methodists*, 4th edn. (Bristol, 1773), Directions for Singing.

⁷²⁵ Vincent, *Considerations*, pp. 13-14.

⁷²⁶ Miller, *Thoughts*, p. 11.

⁷²⁷ *British Magazine and Monthly Register of Religious and Ecclesiastical Information*, Vol. 2 (Dec. 1832), pp. 366-7.

⁷²⁸ Burg, 'Religious Worship', pp. 140-1.

⁷²⁹ HALS, DP49/8/2-5.

the re-establishment in 1775 of a 'large and serious congregation' of Methodists in their nearby Castle Street chapel.⁷³⁰

The major London routes which pass through Hertfordshire influenced the spread of Methodism (see Appendix 1). As he made his way up the Great North Road, John Wesley stopped at Hatfield on several occasions in order to preach, and from there journeyed to Miss Harvey's house in Hinxworth.⁷³¹ Because Methodists actively encouraged singing by all, their style of worship may have particularly appealed to women such as Miss Harvey, and it was at her home that Wesley met 'Mr Simeon, Fellow of King's College' in December 1784 (see p. 102).⁷³² Welwyn is the next town north of Hatfield along this route, where in May 1792 John Byng discovered:

[...] a new, large meeting house, sad omen of the downfall of the churches! For the dissenters will soon chuse the parliament; and then look to yourselves, my Lord the Bishop, Mr Dean, ye fat prebends, and ye idle, absent rectors.⁷³³

Further north at Baldock an anonymous 1814 verse alluded to the rector's attempts to impose his own choice of psalm rather than letting the singers choose for themselves, objections to them playing symphonies (short interludes) between verses, and complaints that they sang for too long. The fourth stanza also referred to the parish clerk who protested against:

Good author's work of modern date
Which shows the weakness of his pate
Says he, those words are not quite right
His tune too airy, brisk & light⁷³⁴

The references to 'work of modern date', and the words being 'not quite right' suggest the singers may have been singing hymns rather than restricting themselves to the approved wording of the Old and New Versions. Moreover, the singers announced their

⁷³⁰ Stanley G. Corke, *John Wesley and the Methodists in Hertford* (n.d.).

⁷³¹ John Wesley, *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley in Four Volumes* (4 vols., London, 1827), 4, pp. 226, 286 & 462.

⁷³² *ibid.*

⁷³³ John Byng Torrington, C. Bruyn Andrews (ed.), *The Torrington Diaries* (4 vols., London, 1934-8), 3, pp. 6-7.

⁷³⁴ HALS, DP12/29/5 Miscellaneous papers (1814-34).

intention of decamping to the Methodist chapel, or perhaps continuing to sing there, since the verse continued:

So now to chapel we'll away
And hear no more he's got to say
And there the singers we will aid
In those good hymns John Wesley made

Before concluding defiantly: 'If we in church sing any more/We'll sing the same we sung before'.⁷³⁵

Routley stated that before c.1840 Anglican psalm-tunes and Methodist hymns were two mutually-exclusive groups.⁷³⁶ Yet in June 1820 the Baldock churchwardens purchased two volumes of 'Sacred Music', the choice perhaps influenced by a wish to placate the musicians, and perhaps to enable them to play at both church and chapel.⁷³⁷ The purchase of 'Fawcett's Set of Music' in September 1831 suggests that the two earlier volumes were also by John Fawcett,⁷³⁸ since his *New Set of Sacred Music* was first published c.1811, followed by further sets at regular intervals until the publication of the seventh in 1830.⁷³⁹ This provides further evidence that the boundaries between church and chapel music-making were much more permeable than previously thought. Although Fawcett had a Wesleyan Methodist background, during his twenties he was choirmaster of St George's, Kendal (Westmorland), and intended his work to appeal to anglicans and nonconformists alike.⁷⁴⁰ The tunes in his first *Set* were intended to be 'sung by different Denominations of Christians', and included settings of works by John Wesley, Isaac Watts, John Rippon and others.⁷⁴¹

In addition to congregational psalmody, in 1790 Porteus had been concerned about the growing number of Methodists, and asked his clergy if any were present in their parish and, if so, whether their numbers had increased or decreased. Following

⁷³⁵ *ibid.*

⁷³⁶ Erik Routley, *The Musical Wesleys*, Studies in Church Music (London, 1968), p. 197.

⁷³⁷ HALS, DP12/5/2.

⁷³⁸ HALS, DP12/5/3 Churchwardens' accounts (1827-66).

⁷³⁹ Sally Drage, 'Methodist Anthems', in Temperley & Banfield, *Music and the Wesleys*, pp. 75-6.

⁷⁴⁰ Drage, 'John Fawcett', pp. 60-1.

⁷⁴¹ John Fawcett, *A New Set of Sacred Music* (London, c.1811).

the death of Porteus the same query was made by Bishop Randolph in 1810. While few Hertfordshire parishes had reported meetings in 1790, visitation returns of 1810 suggest not only a larger number, but also growing concern among the clergy.

St Albans was the first staging post north from London on the busy Holyhead Road as it passed through west Hertfordshire, and the centre of county activities for various nonconformist groups during this period. Wesleyan Methodists first met in a licensed outhouse almost adjacent to the Abbey Church in 1793, where one of their members was John Leifchild, 'a preacher of no mean pulpit power, a constant singer of psalms, hymns and spiritual songs'.⁷⁴² In 1801 their nineteen members relocated to a building in St Peter's Street, and in 1810 John Nicholson, rector of the Abbey Church, reported that the parish had 'numerous Methodists, who are certainly upon the increase'.⁷⁴³ By 1824 their numbers had swollen to fifty-two, necessitating a move to an even larger meeting place in Dagnall Street, home to the early Unitarian chapel and a Baptist meeting house established during the 1720s.⁷⁴⁴

Parishes situated on or within easy reach of the Old North Road received particular attention from Methodist preachers. In January 1762 Wesley had preached at both Barley and Barkway, where 'The preaching-place was exceeding large; yet it was well filled, and the people were wedged in as close as possible'.⁷⁴⁵ In 1810 Thomas Cockshutt, rector of Little Hormead and curate of Great Hormead 'The vicar not being resident', stated:

The Methodists are numerous, and their number seems to increase, there are no teachers resident in the parish, tho' many I believe occasionally visit it. Their meetings are held in a barn, which as I conceive cannot properly be licensed so long as it is used as a barn.⁷⁴⁶

While Henry Allen Lagden, vicar of Ware, reported:

⁷⁴² Greaves, *Methodism*, pp. 22-3 & 45.

⁷⁴³ LPL, FP/Randolph 9.

⁷⁴⁴ Greaves, *Methodism*, pp. 48 & 55; Urwick, *Nonconformity*, p. 220.

⁷⁴⁵ Wesley, *Journal*, 3, p. 75.

⁷⁴⁶ LPL, FP/Randolph 10/66-100 Visitation returns (1810).

The number of Methodists has increased very much. They have a licenced meeting house in the town. Their service is performed in it on Sunday evening and supplied with teachers from Cheshunt or London.⁷⁴⁷

‘Teachers from Cheshunt’ attended the training college for the ministry of the Countess of Huntingdon’s Connexion which had relocated from Wales to a building near Cheshunt parish church in 1792.⁷⁴⁸ In 1810 John Collins, vicar of Cheshunt stated ‘the number of students which are educated and preach here and from hence in the neighbouring parishes vary from six to twelve’.⁷⁴⁹ Indeed, many of the neighbouring parishes felt the effects of their preaching, and the incumbents of Broxbourne, Stanstead Abbots, Standon and Little Hadham all reported preaching or meeting houses established by Cheshunt teachers.⁷⁵⁰ Collins attributed their success to the charismatic Henry Draper, a clergyman ordained in the established church but briefly president of Cheshunt College.⁷⁵¹ Collins found that although ‘he has many followers among the lower orders, very few of the respectable families attend him’.⁷⁵² According to the poet Courtier, ‘The great attraction of Dr Draper’s preaching is its fluency. It is of the conversational description: he takes you, as it were, by the button; and familiarly, though not forcibly, detains your attention’.⁷⁵³ This impression was corroborated by an *Evangelical Magazine* report of the seventeenth anniversary of Cheshunt College in June 1809. With Draper as president ‘It was very numerously attended by friends from London and adjacent villages’, and the chapel which held about 500 ‘was crowded, and those who could not gain admittance were accommodated with seats on the outside’.⁷⁵⁴

Although clearly able to relate to the ‘lower orders’, Courtier argued that Draper betrayed not only the established church but also his polite learning and

⁷⁴⁷ LPL, FP/Randolph 12/11-105.

⁷⁴⁸ Boyd Stanley Schlenther, ‘Hastings, Selina, countess of Huntingdon (1707-1791)’, *ODNB*.

⁷⁴⁹ LPL, FP/Randolph 9.

⁷⁵⁰ *ibid.*; LPL, FP/Randolph 10/66-100; FP/Randolph 12/11-105.

⁷⁵¹ Terry Garnet, *The Pulpit, or a Biographical and Literary account of eminent Popular Preachers* (3 vols., London, 1809), 1, pp. 165-9.

⁷⁵² LPL, FP/Randolph 9.

⁷⁵³ Garnet, *Pulpit*, pp. 165-9.

⁷⁵⁴ *Evangelical Magazine*, Vol. 17 (London, 1809), pp. 344-5.

knowledge of literature: 'Dr Draper is not, I hope, become ashamed of appearing to be one of the 'men of taste' who are so much the objects of affected contempt among the party with which he is now acting'.⁷⁵⁵ One of Porteus' last acts was to prohibit Draper from officiating in any church in his diocese.⁷⁵⁶

3.3.2. Baptists and Independents

Although Methodists were at the forefront of promoting hymn-singing in the later eighteenth century, by the turn of the century dissenting congregations joined in enthusiastically,⁷⁵⁷ and in April 1810 the 'Hertfordshire Union' of Baptist and Independent churches was instituted at St Albans with the aim of spreading the gospel throughout the county, with Sir Culling Eardley Smith as its first president.⁷⁵⁸

The Independents had an influential presence in east Hertfordshire including Barley, where in 1810 the rector Charles Chester reported about 120 members 'consisting of the principal farmers and their families' out of the parish's population of c.600.⁷⁵⁹ Conversely, although Baptists had few congregations in the east of the county, by the time of the 1851 Religious Census they comprised some 45% of all attendances in the northern and western areas bordering the Chilterns, a stronghold of old dissent. Here, many private dwellings were registered as Baptist meeting places during the early 1800s, and in 1825 the Boxmoor chapel was built in Hemel Hempstead.⁷⁶⁰ One of those applying for its certification as a place of worship was Henry Nash, manager of the Frogmore paper mill, and married to the sister of William Carey, founder of the Baptist Missionary Society. A book of tunes used in this chapel was compiled in 1830 by one of the mill workers, with the inscription 'This book belongs to Stephen Cox who

⁷⁵⁵ Garnet, *Pulpit*, pp. 165-9.

⁷⁵⁶ Robert Hodgson, *The Life of the Right Reverend Beilby Porteus D.D., late Bishop of London* (London, 1811), pp. 267-8.

⁷⁵⁷ Bradley, 'Nonconformist Hymnody', pp. 238-9.

⁷⁵⁸ Urwick, *Nonconformity*, p. 232.

⁷⁵⁹ LPL, FP/Randolph 9.

⁷⁶⁰ Urwick, *Nonconformity*, pp. 440-1.

made the paper ruled the lines and pricked out the tunes'.⁷⁶¹ He included pieces by local nonconformist and anglican composers such as W.J. White of St Albans and the Watford parish church organist William Bird (see following Section), indicating either that the same tunes were sometimes used in both the established church and chapels, or that Cox played or sang in both.

By 1847 there were five Baptist chapels in Tring,⁷⁶² the westernmost parish in Hertfordshire, and a stand-off took place here in June 1827. In circumstances similar to Baldock (see previous Section), the singing gallery of the parish church was left unoccupied one Sunday morning following a disagreement between the rector and singers. The local newspaper reported 'the clerk in vain announced the Psalm, with "Let us sing to the Praise, etc." – no-one answered the invitation, and the silence remained unbroken for the space of at least ten minutes'.⁷⁶³ The rector sent the clerk to explain it was not his intention to preach a sermon 'until the congregation had sung a psalm', but no-one took the lead because they were either unwilling or unable to sing in the absence of the singers, and so the service ended abruptly with 'no singing and no preaching'.

In 1818 the Abbey Church vestry directed John Higdon to purchase tunebooks including: 'Rippons Selection with 2 Supplements' and 'Walkers Companion with 3 additional Supplements'.⁷⁶⁴ Rippon's *Selection* was a landmark Baptist hymnal compiled and part-written by the minister John Rippon and later used as the basis for the *Baptist Hymn Book*. The two supplements were a *Selection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes* (1791), also known as the *Tune Book*, and an arrangement of the *Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs of Isaac Watts* (1801).⁷⁶⁵ The *Tune Book* was produced with the

⁷⁶¹ Private collection, Boxmoor (Herts.).

⁷⁶² Judith Burg, *Religion in Hertfordshire 1847 to 1851*, Hertfordshire Record Society, Vol. XI (Hertford, 1995), p. 76.

⁷⁶³ *HM* (23 June 1827), p. 3.

⁷⁶⁴ HALS, DP90/7.

⁷⁶⁵ Ken R. Manley, 'John Rippon and Baptist Hymnody', in: Rivers & Wykes, *Dissenting Praise*, p. 95.

assistance of Thomas Walker, and the largest hymnal produced in England up to this date.⁷⁶⁶ Like Fawcett (see previous Section), Rippon's stated objective of including verses by 'different Denominations of Ministers, and Christians on Earth, in the same noble Work', was that 'Churchmen and Dissenters, Watts and Tate, Wesley and Toplady, England and America' would be able to 'sing Side by Side'.⁷⁶⁷ According to Manley, when Rippon's *Selection* and Watts' works were bound together 'they comprised the complete dissenters' hymn-book'.⁷⁶⁸ But the Abbey was not the only St Albans parish church to use this hymn-book, since in September 1819 the churchwardens of St Michael's had paid Nash for 'Binding Rippons Selection of Tunes' (see Section 3.2.1.2). Furthermore, Walker's *Companion* was used at Aldbury in 1810, and in 1827 Bishops Stortford also purchased both 'Rippon's and Walker's tune books'.⁷⁶⁹ It was commonly held that only the Old and New Versions were legally authorized for use in church, and Drage suggested that Watts' hymns were only sung by dissenters.⁷⁷⁰ Yet Bradley stated they were 'enthusiastically taken up by all denominations',⁷⁷¹ and these purchases support Bradley's observation.

Temperley argued that many choir-bands served both their parish church and one or more local nonconformist chapels during the early nineteenth century, and further Hertfordshire evidence lends support to his argument.⁷⁷² Not only did the Abbey churchwardens reimburse Higdon for his purchase of Rippon's *Selection*, but also he and other family members, including Pantamus, Thomas and Alexander Higdon, played 'orchestral instruments' in the Abbey Church during the early nineteenth

⁷⁶⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 117-8; See also Temperley, 'Music of Dissent'.

⁷⁶⁷ John Rippon, *A Selection of Hymns from the Best Authors, Intended to be An Appendix to Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns* (London, 1787), Preface.

⁷⁶⁸ Manley, 'John Rippon', pp. 117-8.

⁷⁶⁹ Thomas Walker, *Walker's Companion to Dr Rippon's tune book* (London, 1811); HALS, DP2/5/2; DP21/5/10-11.

⁷⁷⁰ Drage, 'William Cole', p. 267.

⁷⁷¹ Bradley, 'Nonconformist Hymnody', p. 237.

⁷⁷² Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 240.

century.⁷⁷³ If they also played in the local chapels, as was perhaps the case at Boxmoor, Baldock and Tring, this may have influenced the Abbey's purchase of tunebooks already used in other local places of worship, including the Dagnall Street Baptist chapel where Rippon's 'Collection of hymns' had been purchased in 1790.⁷⁷⁴

Watts' 'Hymns' were also used by the King's Langley Sunday school in 1820, suggesting that rather than being purchased solely at the request of choir-bands, nonconformist hymns were also considered suitable for use by children in the established church.⁷⁷⁵ It is unclear whether they were intended for use in the Sunday school alone or also used in Divine Service. An idea of how they may have been used can be gained from North Creake (see p. 88) where in 1792 the local patron reported:

I bought a quantity of Dr Watts songs, and let every scholar have one [...] We have about 60 that will say the whole of Dr Watts songs by rote, some of which I have fixed to some easy psalm tunes, and learnt them to sing them, they frequently assemble by themselves, and are amused with those.⁷⁷⁶

This suggests that children and adults were taught not only different verses but different tunes too, perhaps laying up trouble if the children became too attached to them. Indeed, McCart has argued that hymns gained in popularity because they had been taught to the congregation as children, rather than metrical psalms alone.⁷⁷⁷ As seen from continuing repeated calls for the improvement of psalmody, Porteus' hope that children taught to sing would continue to sing as adult members of the congregation did not meet with the anticipated success, perhaps because some chose to become nonconformists when an appetite for hymns instilled in childhood was not satisfied in the established church.

In c.1820 the St Albans composer W.J. White published his *Sacred Herald*, perhaps in response to the installation of the two new organs in the town, but almost

⁷⁷³ G.C. Straker, *A History of the Organs at the Cathedral of St Alban (London, 1929)*; Peter Hurford, *The Organs of St Albans Abbey* (St Albans, 1969), pp. 6-7.

⁷⁷⁴ Derek Turner, *With Cheerful Zeal: A History of Dagnall Street Baptist Church St Albans* (St Albans, 1999), p. 17.

⁷⁷⁵ HALS, DP64/25/9-10.

⁷⁷⁶ Sunday School Society, *Sunday-Schools*, pp. 80-1.

⁷⁷⁷ McCart, *Matter and Manner*, p. 58.

certainly to further the work of the 'Hertfordshire Union'. By way of introduction he explained 'The express design of this Work is to promote Congregation singing and assist in Private Devotion'.⁷⁷⁸ White also composed *Sacred Melodies*, which ran through several editions, finishing with an eighth in c.1830. The third edition 'adapted to the Psalms and Hymns in the New Version, Dr Watts, Dr Rippon's, Dr Collyer's, Mr Wesley's, Countess of Huntingdon's and Dr Doddridge's Hymn Books', was reviewed in the *New Evangelical Magazine* in 1823. Describing his melodies as 'simple, chaste, and elegant', the reviewer portrayed them as 'affording the finest specimen of the present improved state of Church Music, that is before the public', striking a happy medium between the 'doleful ditties' of the 1770s and the 'light, airy, theatrical jiggings' introduced in the early 1800s,⁷⁷⁹ echoing sentiments expressed by the Baldock parish clerk (see previous Section). Yet an *Evangelical Magazine* review was less enthusiastic. Commenting 'the generality of psalmodists of the present day seem to labour to confine it to themselves, to the exclusion of the congregation: this is going back with hasty strides to popery', it also accused White of writing some pieces which 'require evidently a choir of singers' and must therefore have been written with the established church in mind.⁷⁸⁰

The influence of nonconformist music-making was not restricted to hymn-singing and peripatetic instrumentalists, since some chapels now began to install organs. In 1815 an anonymous correspondent to the *New Monthly Magazine* argued:

That the Dissenters, who formerly railed at organs and separate choirs, should be found to adopt them now almost universally, is an evident proof of their attraction, and I sincerely hope the persons who have the management of the musical department in our churches will in future pay greater attention to it, as I am convinced it is ONE cause of the small congregations where it is neglected, as well as the increase of Dissenters.⁷⁸¹

⁷⁷⁸ W.J. White, of St Albans, *The Sacred Herald* [...] (London, c.1820).

⁷⁷⁹ *New Evangelical Magazine* (Oct. 1823), p. 341.

⁷⁸⁰ *Evangelical Magazine* (Apr. 1824), p. 152.

⁷⁸¹ *New Monthly Magazine* (1 Mar. 1815), p. 107.

The purchase of an organ by the Dagnall Street Unitarian chapel in 1819 would have put an end to any music-making there by the Higdon family, and almost certainly added impetus to the Abbey Church's decision to install an organ the following year, which is discussed in the following Section.⁷⁸²

Hertfordshire evidence therefore indicates that during the early nineteenth century psalmody in the established church was not restricted to settings of the approved Old and New Versions and the handful of hymns which fell into a 'grey area', including Easter and Christmas hymns, and Bishop Ken's *Morning Hymn* and *Evening Hymn*. Moreover the employment of the singing teacher William James White in 1820 at Abbots Langley (see Section 3.2.2), in all likelihood the St Albans composer W.J. White, suggests that nonconformist musicians were welcomed by certain parish churches in their drive to improve music-making, again providing evidence that boundaries between church and chapel were more flexible than previously thought.

Another tunebook purchased by the Abbey Church in 1818 was Benjamin Jacob's *National Psalmody*. Perhaps this was a taste of the less inclusive attitude which manifested itself in the following decades, since this work was intended solely for use in the established church, and this work is discussed in the next section.

3.3.3. Hymnody in the established church

During the 1810s to 1820s new organists were appointed in some Hertfordshire parish churches, and new organs installed in others. These events prompted organists to order new books of psalms and hymns for use in their churches, or to publish their own.

In 1811 William Bird published *A Set of Psalm and Hymn Tunes*. The Watford organist Felix Smith was by now very elderly, and since Bird was his successor it seems probable this work was written to mark his appointment. With a number of other published compositions, Bird must have had some talent since the composer and

⁷⁸² Alan R. Ruston, *Unitarianism in Hertfordshire* (Watford, 1979), p. 9.

organist Samuel Wesley junior⁷⁸³ travelled to Watford in November 1829 to prepare a concert with him.⁷⁸⁴

Similarly, when Miss Sherman died in 1815 Thomas Fowler succeeded her as organist and charity boys' singing master at St Peter's, St Albans. In 1817 he took the opportunity to order new 'Hymn books for the Gallery',⁷⁸⁵ and the vestry 'Ordered that the new collection of psalms introduced by the organist be used in the church in lieu of the old ones'.⁷⁸⁶ Perhaps unrealistically they decided 'That the poor of the parish who constantly attend the church be permitted to purchase them at 2/6^d each by application to the churchwardens, the parish paying the remaining one shilling'.⁷⁸⁷ So although the children were supplied with psalm-books, as was often the case for choir-bands (see above p. 154), members of the congregation were expected to purchase their own, which suggests a further hindrance to universal participation. But Fowler's choice met with disapproval from both vicar and vestry, and led to his subsequent decisions being subjected to strict scrutiny. Could it be that he too had purchased nonconformist works? The vestry ordered:

[...] that no alteration take place for the future without the consent of the minister and vestry. Ordered that Mr Fowler the organist do produce a list of sacred music to be played on the organ at the next vestry, that a selection may be made from such list by that vestry and that he provide them according to such order.⁷⁸⁸

Later that year Fowler was expelled for 'atrocious and hardened conduct' in his private life rather than his controversial taste in music, but in 1818 was listed as a subscriber to Jacob's *National Psalmody*, perhaps having subscribed while still St Peter's organist.⁷⁸⁹ Although an organist himself, Jacob's intention was that his work should be used whether or not the church had an organ, explaining the dynamics

⁷⁸³ John Wesley's nephew.

⁷⁸⁴ Philip Olleson, *Samuel Wesley: the Man and his Music* (Woodbridge, 2003), p. 207.

⁷⁸⁵ HALS, DP93/5/3-5.

⁷⁸⁶ HALS, DP93/29/8 Extracts from church records (c.1890).

⁷⁸⁷ *ibid.*

⁷⁸⁸ *ibid.*

⁷⁸⁹ Benjamin Jacob, *National psalmody, a collection of tunes, set to a course of psalms selected from the new version by J.T. Barrett* (London, 1818).

should be left to the ‘good sense of the Clerk, Organist, or Leader of the Singers’, according to the sentiment expressed in the psalm.⁷⁹⁰ Hertfordshire subscribers included Hitchin parish, which had acquired an organ in 1803, but it was also purchased for use at Totteridge, the Abbey Church and St Stephen’s, St Albans,⁷⁹¹ none of which had organs at the time. Jacob’s *Psalmody* was therefore used in at least three of the four St Albans parishes. In the Preface, he explained his work was ‘intended for the improvement and more regular performance of Psalmody in the National Church and to promote the Praise and Glory of God’,⁷⁹² so perhaps this was the beginnings of a show of strength in the face of the many local nonconformist chapels, or perhaps because Jacob’s work had been heavily promoted locally. After all, one of the new tunes commissioned from Vincent Novello for the book was entitled ‘St Albans’.

Fowler was appointed organist of the Abbey Church when an organ was installed in 1820, perhaps a reformed character, or perhaps because organists were still in short supply.⁷⁹³ In readiness for the grand opening, the churchwardens ordered five ‘Quires of Music Paper’, ‘1 Sett of Psalms and Hymns’, ‘1 Instruction on Singing’, and ‘3 Music Books’,⁷⁹⁴ but the bill was not settled until a church rate was made for this purpose in December 1821, long after the opening. The installation of the organ provided the impetus for Fowler to compile *A Selection of Psalms and Hymns*. Although the Abbey Church purchased six copies from the printer William Langley who took in part-exchange ‘several old books as waste paper’, tantalizingly unidentifiable, as at St Peter’s (see above), members of the congregation were expected to purchase their own.⁷⁹⁵ The inclusion of a frontispiece showing the place of worship would almost certainly have attracted additional purchases from proud subscribers to the organ

⁷⁹⁰ *ibid.*, Preface.

⁷⁹¹ *ibid.*, List of Subscribers; HALS, DP94/5/1; DP46B/8/12 Churchwardens’ accounts (1821-23).

⁷⁹² Jacob, *Psalmody*, Preface.

⁷⁹³ HALS, DP90/7; DP93/29/8.

⁷⁹⁴ HALS, DP90/7.

⁷⁹⁵ HALS, DP90/5/1; DP90/7.

(see Figure 26). Similarly, with the new organ depicted on the title-page, T.W. Luppino, organist of Ware church (see p. 59), was able to attract over a hundred and thirty Hertfordshire subscribers from thirty-one parishes for his *Psalms and Hymns* compiled in 1821. These new editions had the potential to introduce the congregation to a new repertoire and encourage them to participate. Luppino explained:

The present publication of Sacred music, is chiefly intended as an Inducement to the Congregation to join more generally, in that delightful part of divine worship, the singing Praises to Almighty God.⁷⁹⁶

But they also drew attention to the organist's talent for selecting, arranging and composing.

Fowler now purchased 'Kemp's Psalmody' and the first and second volumes of *The Seraph*.⁷⁹⁷ The purchase of Whitaker's *Seraph* is of particular significance for a church where charity children sang. Recommending his collection, Whitaker described other psalm-tune compositions as 'sameness personified, applied indiscriminately to the language of the Psalmist, whether joyful or melancholy'.⁷⁹⁸ He claimed this mismatch between words and sentiment often resulted in meaningless renditions:

Thus I have frequently heard in parish churches some scores of charity children, who, in singing a penitential psalm, or invoking the mercy of the Deity, have been so vehement, that their vocal efforts have rather resembled a shout or a scream.⁷⁹⁹

Luppino also tried to address this problem, since he stated 'In selecting the Melodies, care has been taken to adapt the stile to the words'.⁸⁰⁰ Again, Whitaker did not restrict his intended market to the established church, selecting 'such Tunes as have been long established favourites with both Churchman and Dissenter'. Whitaker's description of the children's 'shout or scream' suggests 'strained' and 'squalling' children's voices continued to be a problem in some churches and would have done little to encourage congregational participation.

⁷⁹⁶ T.W. Luppino, *Psalms and Hymns for Ware Church* (Hertford, 1821), pp. 1-2.

⁷⁹⁷ HALS, DP90/7; Joseph Kemp, *The New System of Musical Education* (London, 1819); John Whitaker, *The Seraph, a Collection of Sacred Music* [...] (London, 1818).

⁷⁹⁸ Whitaker, *Seraph*, p. 2.

⁷⁹⁹ *ibid.*

⁸⁰⁰ Luppino, *Psalms and Hymns*, pp. 1-2.

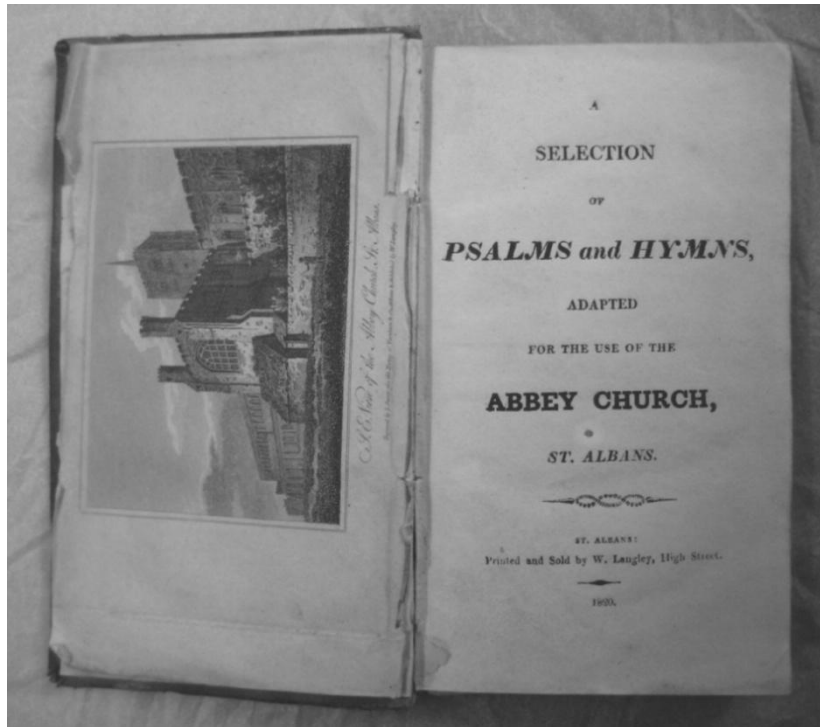


Figure 26.

Above: Thomas Fowler, *A Selection of Psalms and Hymns adapted for the use of the Abbey Church in St Albans* (St Albans, 1820); Below: T.W. Luppino, *Psalms and Hymns for Ware Church* (c.1821).⁸⁰¹

⁸⁰¹ St Albans Museum, uncatalogued, on display until the closure of its Hatfield Road premises in September 2015.

It could be argued that displays such as those described by Whitaker gave the impression that neither the children nor their teachers attached any importance to singing with understanding. But just as significantly the whole exercise of singing psalms seemed to Whitaker to be either unimportant, or something to be endured by the congregation which 'becomes as indifferent to this essential and delightful part of divine worship, as they would be to the noise of passing carriages in the streets'.⁸⁰² Instead, Whitaker took a leaf out of the Methodists' book by also including adaptations of operatic and chamber music familiar to gentry and those able to afford the price of a ticket to a public concert. Although not the first to adopt this method, Whitaker's Preface must have struck a chord with many potential purchasers.

In 1821, Charles Bridgeman, organist of All Saints, Hertford also produced a *Collection of Psalms and Hymns* for use in his church, stating 'the choral praises of a devout congregation may justly be esteemed the most delightful part of divine worship' before reprimanding his congregation:

no portion of the sacred service has been more disgraced in the performance. This very impressive act of the Christian worship is, indeed, left wholly unperformed by many persons, who sit in cold indifference, and silent unconcern, resigning to an appointed few the mere ceremony of singing [...]⁸⁰³

It seems probable the sudden appearance of several Hertfordshire collections of psalms and hymns in 1820 was not merely a response to a new appointment or the introduction of a new organ. Ever since the first years of Elizabeth I's reign the singing of 'hymns', often in practice metrical psalms, has been permitted before and after morning and evening prayer in parish churches.⁸⁰⁴ Although the Old and then New Version were commonly held to be the only authorized verses to be used (see also p. 172), during the eighteenth century some parishes began to have their own books of psalms and hymns printed, which in addition to these sometimes included other

⁸⁰² *ibid.*

⁸⁰³ Charles Bridgeman, *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns for the use of the Congregation of All Saints, Hertford* (Hertford, 1821).

⁸⁰⁴ Temperley *et al.*, 'Psalms, metrical'.

versions, and devotional hymns. Yet certain High Churchmen continued to believe that only the Old and New Version were permitted. It was not until 1820 that a widely-publicized case heard in the Consistory Court in the diocese of York ruled that both metrical psalms and other hymns were authorized for use,⁸⁰⁵ and these Hertfordshire collections may have been part of the response.

3.4. Children

Although the French Revolutionary wars had left many suspicious of educating the poor (see Section 2.4.3), the prevailing mood of seriousness now led a group of High Churchmen, members of the 'Hackney Phalanx', to see the possibility of increasing church attendance by targetting the young, and they were instrumental in founding the National Society in October 1811. In many cases National Schools incorporated existing charity and Sunday schools and shared many of their objectives, including the improvement of children's behaviour and laying down the foundations for a godly life in preparation for reward in heaven. When Baldock National Schools were opened as late as June 1834 the 'Rules for the Guidance of the Parents' stipulated that all boys and girls aged four and over were expected to attend, except those 'whose necessary employment prevents their coming in the week-days', suggestive of the harsh reality of childhood for many poor children in the early nineteenth century.⁸⁰⁶ The only 'Rule for the guidance of Children' was: 'They must remember that while they are on earth they are training to live with God for ever in heaven'.⁸⁰⁷

In perhaps the majority of parishes it was also a compulsory requirement for National School children to attend church on Sundays, as stipulated in model 'Rules for the guidance of parents' printed in the Society's first Annual Report: 'That on Sundays they are to send their Children to the School-room at such hours as shall be directed by

⁸⁰⁵ *ibid.*

⁸⁰⁶ HALS, DP12/29/5.

⁸⁰⁷ *ibid.*

the Master, before they proceed to Church'.⁸⁰⁸ Probably this was due in part to the growing number of nonconformist Sunday schools – by 1812 the 'Hertfordshire Union' had already established nine in the county.⁸⁰⁹ When a proposal was put forward for the establishment of the Elstree National School in 1814, Rule 3 stipulated:

All the children to assemble every Sunday morning at the School-house, by half past nine o'clock; and in the afternoon by two, for the purpose of attending divine worship; and if any of them shall, without sufficient cause to be allowed by the mistress, fail to do so, it is to be a ground of expulsion from the school.⁸¹⁰

Evangelicals and High Churchmen alike shared a vision of spiritual renewal, and clerical and church reform.⁸¹¹ The improvement of congregational psalmody was a secondary, but highly desirable, objective for both groups, and like their predecessors they saw the introduction of children's singing as a way of achieving this.

North of Hertfordshire, in 1826 the Lincolnshire diocesan archdeacon Henry Vincent Bayley delivered a Charge to the clergy of Stow criticizing both choir-bands and the lack of psalmody. The High-Church *British Critic* carried a commentary on Bayley's charge, saying:

The abandonment of parochial psalmody is bad enough, but really the coarse caricature of it we have occasionally been doomed to witness, appears to us decidedly worse. It never fails to remind us of the paintings we sometimes meet with, in which brawny saints, and sublunary looking seraphims, are portrayed as inflating their cheeks on wind-instruments of every imaginable calibre, or astride upon enormous bass-voles, which they appear to be scraping with truly carnal vigour and perseverance.⁸¹²

Although Bayley was confident that teaching children to sing would eventually restore singing, the *British Critic* was more sceptical, drawing attention to the mixed results seen in London parishes:

[...] The Archdeacon is quite confident that this defect in our worship admits, in a great degree, of an easy remedy: 'I take upon me to say, that in almost any parish, where there is room for a Sunday-school, this

⁸⁰⁸ National Society, *First Annual Report* (London, 1812), p. 36.

⁸⁰⁹ Burg, *Religion*, p. ix.

⁸¹⁰ HALS, DP3/25/12 Establishment of Elstree National School (1814).

⁸¹¹ Virgin, *Negligence*, p. 23.

⁸¹² 'A Charge delivered to the clergy of the Archdeaconry of Stow, at the Visitation in May 1826 by Henry Vincent Bayley, archdeacon of Stow', *British Critic* (Apr. 1827), p. 431.

defect may in great measure, and easily, be supplied. A few weeks only of teaching, with moderate encouragement, will produce a choir, which, if it may not exactly satisfy the fastidious ear, will assuredly please the pious worshipper – will tend to unite all hearts and voices in the expression of one common feeling.⁸¹³

Again referring to the fact that massed children's voices were neither pleasant to listen to nor conducive to congregational psalmody the *British Critic* continued:

[...] We know not whether the Archdeacon is much in the habit of attending the London churches; we should rather suspect that he is not; for if he were, we apprehend that even his apparently sanguine temper would be a little dashed: With all the facilities for excellent psalmody – with powerful organs, numerous congregations, and often with a multitude of charity children, who want nothing but kind and steady care to mould them into a body of admirable choristers – with all these appliances and means at their command, they do, some of them, contrive to convert this joyous spiritual exercise into a positive physical infliction upon the whole assembly, those individuals only excepted whose ears are quite insatiable of noise [...]⁸¹⁴

Just as labouring men and women had separate occupations, those which poor children were expected to pursue were reflected in their lessons. In 1839 Barkway National School stipulated:

The boys are to be taught reading, writing and arithmetic on weekdays, also Psalmody, and the church Catechism and other suitable religious information on Sundays. The girls the same, with plain Needlework.⁸¹⁵

Likewise, although the gender of singing children is usually unspecified, in many instances it is clear boys were selected in preference to girls, presumably because this was the ancient tradition in cathedrals and collegiate places of worship, and in Hertfordshire it was the boys of the Bluecoat charity school who were taught to sing at Cheshunt and the Abbey Church.⁸¹⁶ In 1827 Ford (see p. 77) promoted the merits of training Sunday school children to lead the singing in church. Echoing Porteus' suggestion to train a select number of children, and without mentioning girls at all, he suggested teaching a selection of boys aged between seven and fourteen, practising two evenings a week.⁸¹⁷ He argued that by these means 'a most excellent quire may be

⁸¹³ *ibid.*

⁸¹⁴ *ibid.*

⁸¹⁵ HALS, DP13/25/14 Barkway and Reed United Parochial [National] School (1839).

⁸¹⁶ See Appendix 4.

⁸¹⁷ Ford, *Observations*, p. 63.

raised with little trouble' and that since the elder boys would instruct the younger, in similarly optimistic vein he suggested 'the master will have little more to do than to enforce subordination and punctuality'. But suggesting he had personal experience of the difficulties involved in dealing with a choir, he added:

To expect any man to organize a quire, without a good selection of treble voices, would be as unreasonable as was the requisition of the Egyptian taskmasters.⁸¹⁸

The National Society's *Ninth Report* included accounts from a number of schools across the country which reported psalm-singing among their children, and demonstrated both the ways this had been achieved and the pleasing results. At Long Ashton (Somerset) a singing master attended the school twice a week to instruct the children in psalmody:

they now take the lead in the singing part of the Service and perform very well; indeed, were this single advantage only obtained by the Institution, I should consider our labour and money well expended, for before the School was opened not one in ten of the Children of the Parish attended the Church Service [but now] about 50 Children not only attend the Morning and Evening Service, but contribute to the devotion of the same by their Responses and Singing.⁸¹⁹

The Lincolnshire vicar George Davys promoted this aim in his 1820 *Village Conversations* between 'Thomas' and 'William':

William: [...] I hope if Sunday-schools, and day-schools, go on and prosper, our congregations will, in time, be all able to read, and so all join in the service [...]

Thomas: And they tell me, that, in many of these schools, the children learn to sing too; so that, in time, we may expect the whole congregation to join in singing the praises of God, instead of leaving this part of the service to only a few of the people, as is too much the way now-a-days. When a psalm is given out, the clerk says, "Let us sing to the praise and glory of God". This shows that we should all join if we can; it is not, "Let us listen, whilst others sing", it is "Let us sing".⁸²⁰

However in 1821 Samuel Wilks, editor of the Clapham Sect's *Christian*

Observer cautioned:

⁸¹⁸ *ibid.*

⁸¹⁹ National Society, *Ninth Annual Report* (London, 1820), p. 166.

⁸²⁰ George Davys, *Village Conversations on the Liturgy of the Church of England* (London, 1820), pp. 61-7. Davys became Bishop of Peterborough in 1839.

Much might be done in most parishes, and is done in many, by teaching the charity children to sing – not vociferate – and taking care that no tunes are sung but what a plain congregation can easily join in.⁸²¹

To vociferate is ‘to cry out loudly’, ‘bawl’ or ‘shout’, again suggesting the congregation may have found difficulties in singing with poorly-taught children’s choirs.

A summary of payments for teaching singing to Hertfordshire schoolchildren is given in Appendix 4. Although this gives some indication of the range of teachers’ occupations it does not include clergy family members and others who taught *gratis*. Concerning the clergyman’s wife, R.P. Beachcroft, rector of Blunham (Beds.) advised:

Presiding, as of course she would wish to do, over the Sunday school, she opens the interesting morning employments of that holy day with prayer and praise. She may practise the children in that very tune which is subsequently to be sung in the congregation.⁸²²

As had been hoped by bishops, clergymen and laity alike, some parishes found children’s singing attracted both their parents and people who would otherwise have stayed away, perhaps to attend dissenting meetings. At Bromley (Kent) a new west gallery was built by the parish in 1820 to accommodate all the children and, following Porteus’ 1790 recommendation, some rather than all were chosen to sing:

Psalm-singing is performed by a certain number of the Children of both sexes, selected principally for their voices, both in the Morning and Evening service, and the manner in which this pleasing and affecting part of divine worship is executed by the Children, has proved peculiarly attractive, as the Congregation, particularly in the evening, has certainly increased, since the Children have employed the best of their little abilities in this service.⁸²³

But an unforeseen consequence of compulsory attendance was that in those parishes with no school, children were obliged to attend both school and church in a neighbouring parish. In Hertfordshire, the rector of Wyddial reported to Bishop Randolph in 1810:

⁸²¹ Samuel Charles Wilks, *Correlative Claims and Duties; or, an Essay on The Necessity of a Church Establishment in a Christian Country* [...] (London, 1821), pp. 434-5.

⁸²² ‘Memoir of the Rev. R.P. Beachcroft’, *Christian Guardian* (June 1839), pp. 203-4.

⁸²³ National Society, *Ninth Annual Report*, p. 208.

Buntingford being only a distance of two short miles from hence, the children that are taught go from Widdial to Buntingford every day and return home the same evening.⁸²⁴

3.4.1. *Barrel-organs*

By 1815 church barrel-organs had again become a subject of debate in national publications. Referring to an earlier discussion on 'the better regulating psalmody in our parish churches', in autumn 1815 'Organo' of Brompton wrote to the *New Monthly Magazine*:

I beg to ask the opinion of your correspondents whether the introduction of barrel organs in our churches and chapels is likely to improve our national taste in sacred music.⁸²⁵

In reply, a Chichester correspondent claimed their introduction would rid the church of many of the problems associated with choir-bands discussed above in Section 3.2.2:

[...] although a common barrel organ is but a poor substitute for a finger one, yet it is better than none at all, and much better than the usual substitute in country churches of clarinets, hautboys, bassoons, and sometimes violins, which are in general coarsely played by illiterate musicians, and seldom in tune with each other. In addition to this evil the tunes (including anthems) are also generally selected by these performers and the singers accompanied by them, who frequently introduce fugue tunes which, like the anthems, can only be sung by themselves.⁸²⁶

The introduction of a barrel-organ would also put the clergyman in control of music-making since 'the choice of both the words and psalm-tunes is taken out of their hands and vested in the minister where it should be', and perhaps with no pun intended, 'by a proper selection of tunes coming in frequent rotation, congregational psalmody is promoted'.⁸²⁷

Readers of the *New Monthly Magazine* were not alone in discussing the merits of introducing church barrel-organs. In many parishes unskilled elderly men had been appointed modestly-paid parish clerks in order to lessen the burden on poor relief.⁸²⁸ In December 1821 'C.P.N.W.' wrote to the High-Church *Christian Guardian* suggesting a

⁸²⁴ LPL, FP/Randolph 12/11-105.

⁸²⁵ *New Monthly Magazine* (1 Nov. 1815), p. 304.

⁸²⁶ *ibid.* (1 Dec. 1815), p. 412.

⁸²⁷ *ibid.*

⁸²⁸ Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 90.

four-pronged attack to deal with the 'disgraceful manner' in which church music was performed. He or she suggested appointing parish clerks who could actually sing, the removal of instrumentalists from galleries, the introduction of an organ or barrel-organ, and the adoption of an appropriate selection of psalms and hymns. Moreover the clerk and children of the Sunday school should be instructed to sing with the organ:

Were such suggestions as these to be inculcated by our bishops, upon the clergy of their respective dioceses, and by them upon their parishioners, and universally adopted, might we not hope no longer to see a congregation wearied with the tuneless voice of a solitary clerk, or staring with wild astonishment at a gallery of conceited inharmonious performers?⁸²⁹

In the midst of this national debate it is unsurprising to find that in Hertfordshire rather than becoming widespread during the 1790s, as suggested by Temperley,⁸³⁰ it was during the 1810s to 1820s that the installation of church barrel-organs gathered pace, and of the twenty-two organs known to have been introduced during this period, seventeen were barrel-organs.⁸³¹ Circumstances surrounding the introduction of the Aldenham barrel-organ provide a rarely-documented example of its use to replace miscreant instrumentalists. The vicar Caleb Lomax objected when the Aldenham choir-band took their instruments to the public house 'to assist in revels' during the 1820s (see p. 157). They resigned in a body, upon which Lomax drove up to London and returned in triumph bearing a 'grinding organ'.⁸³² And yet MacDermott referred to barrel-organs rather than choir-band instruments when he speculated they were often used in the village inn.⁸³³ This case provides the only Hertfordshire evidence supporting the archetypal use of a barrel-organ to suppress popular church music-making put forward by Gammon, Obelkevich and others, moreover it occurred during the 1820s rather than the 1840s.⁸³⁴

⁸²⁹ *Christian Guardian* (1 Dec. 1821), pp. 451-2.

⁸³⁰ Temperley, 'Music in Church', p. 387.

⁸³¹ See Appendix 3.

⁸³² HALS, DP3/29/17.

⁸³³ MacDermott, *Minstrels*, pp. 40-1.

⁸³⁴ Gammon, "Babylonian Performances", pp. 72-3; Obelkevich, *Religion*, p. 147.

Despite this Aldenham evidence, rather than a primary desire to supplant musicians, it is a fact that the incorporation of a charity school into the National Society, or founding of an entirely new National School, was often the impetus for installing a church organ, as had been the founding of Sunday schools (see p. 85). In 1824 an anonymous supporter of the 'National System of Education' wrote to the High-Church *Christian Remembrancer* outlining the advantages of introducing plain psalmody 'into every National School'.⁸³⁵ Although the short-term benefits would indeed be 'the gradual removal out of every Church of much discordant music' and the eradication of 'the irreverent behaviour of the singers' in the gallery, the long-term benefits were of prime importance. He or she argued that 'as these children grow up, and descend into the congregation', they would carry the knowledge of singing with them, and congregational psalmody would be restored little by little, an argument used repeatedly since Gibson's 1724 Charge, but to little effect. Possibly indicating the correspondent was a barrel-organ builder, the suggestion was then made:

If some musical instrument be required to conduct the children, I would recommend the introduction of hand-organs, which may be purchased at all sizes and prices, and are now carried to very great perfection.⁸³⁶

It became increasingly common for churches accommodating National School children to acquire a barrel-organ. Bishop Randolph had installed his son Thomas as rector of Much Hadham, and during his incumbency a schoolroom was built in 1818, followed by the building of a church gallery for the children and installation of a barrel-organ.⁸³⁷ The use of the organ appears to have been successful – at least in principle – since it was replaced by a second barrel-organ in 1844.⁸³⁸ It is also likely the Wheathampstead west gallery barrel-organ was installed when the school was first incorporated into the National Society in 1815 (see Figure 27). The pleasing result reported in 1816 was 'The parents of the children have attended Church more

⁸³⁵ *Christian Remembrancer* (Jan. 1824) p. 26.

⁸³⁶ *ibid.*

⁸³⁷ HALS, DP44/5/1; DP44/29/1 Miscellaneous papers (n.d.); Robert Hole, 'Randolph, John (1749-1813)', *ODNB*.

⁸³⁸ CRL, Gray & Davison ledger, Vol. 4 (1844), p. 228.

regularly'.⁸³⁹ This provides further evidence that the Bishop of London was not alone in using his personal influence to promote children's singing, since the Bishop of Lincoln was patron of Wheathampstead, and Pretymen's son was rector during this period.⁸⁴⁰ Much Hadham and Wheathampstead were among the most valuable livings in Hertfordshire (see Section 1.1.2), and their rectors well-placed to pay for both organs and organists, yet both chose to install barrel-organs, providing further evidence that their use was both desirable and acceptable during this period, and in accordance with episcopal guidance.



Figure 27. Anon., St Helen's, Wheathampstead, looking West (c.1820).⁸⁴¹

Typical of the growing trend, in 1821 an 'elegant' Flight & Robson barrel-organ was presented by the Duke of Northumberland to St Michael's, Alnwick (Northd.).⁸⁴² The children of His Grace's free school were instructed in psalmody and formed 'a useful accompaniment to the valuable gift'.⁸⁴³ In 1820s Hertfordshire, Mrs

⁸³⁹ National Society, *Fifth Annual Report*, pp. 39-118.

⁸⁴⁰ CCEd, Person 73870.

⁸⁴¹ Wheathampstead vestry.

⁸⁴² W. Davison, *A Descriptive and Historical View of Alnwick* (Alnwick, 1822), p. 334.

⁸⁴³ *ibid.*

Gaussen of North Mymms Park funded both the National School and church barrel-organ,⁸⁴⁴ and Thomas Brand, Lord Dacre, of The Hoo, Kimpton built and supported a new charity school 'to accommodate 60 boys and 60 girls'.⁸⁴⁵ As both church patron and MP for Hertfordshire it seems almost certain the Kimpton barrel-organ was also given by him to support his local community.⁸⁴⁶ St Michaels, St Albans also acquired a barrel-organ during this period, perhaps given by a member of the Grimston family as at Pebmarsh (Essex), another church of which they held the advowson.⁸⁴⁷ At Pebmarsh the organ was placed in the west gallery and operated by the schoolmaster, and this is likely to have been the case at St Michael's too.

Yet schools and organs were not necessarily given by the same benefactors, but rather the funding of one attracted funding for the other. As founder Vice-President of the National Society, Hardwicke subscribed generously to their work (see p. 87),⁸⁴⁸ and evidence of his interest in promoting church music-making by supporting schools comes from two Hertfordshire parish churches of which he was patron.⁸⁴⁹ In 1818 Hardwicke presented Henry Pepys to the living of Aspenden, which he left in 1827 to become rector of Westmill. In order to support the children's singing, barrel-organs were purchased by subscription during Pepys' incumbency at both Aspenden in 1821, and Westmill in 1829 (see Figure 7).⁸⁵⁰

Flight & Robson were by no means the only English barrel-organ builders during this period, but their instruments do appear to have been especially favoured by the elite. One was purchased in March 1828 for Whitegate parish church (Cheshire) by

⁸⁴⁴ CRL, John Gray accounts, Vol. 1 (1821-38), p. 89; National Society records cited by Peter Kingsford, 'North Mymms schools & their children', *Brookmans Park Newsletter*, accessed 1 May 2012, at www.brookmans.com/history/kingsford3/ch1.shtml.

⁸⁴⁵ HALS, DP61/1/2.

⁸⁴⁶ John Pollington, *Kimpton Parish Church* (1978).

⁸⁴⁷ Thomas Denis Scott Bayley, *Pebmarsh Church, Essex* (Oxford, 1946), p. 48.

⁸⁴⁸ National Society, *First Annual Report*, p. 13.

⁸⁴⁹ HALS, DP120/8/1 Vestry minutes (1829).

⁸⁵⁰ HALS, DP8/1/3 Register of baptisms, includes list of subscribers to new organ (1821); DP120/1/4 Register of baptisms (1829).

'Miss Essex Cholmondley'⁸⁵¹ [Cholmondeley], a distant cousin of the rector of St Andrew's, Hertford. Because of the Methodist dictum that all should sing, even the Wesleys encouraged their use, and Flight & Robson supplied Miss Cholmondeley with a new barrel for the organ set with '10 Sacred Tunes' at a cost of nine guineas, plus two guineas for 'Arranging the music of the ten tunes as set upon the Barrel under the direction of Mr C. Wesley',⁸⁵² John's nephew Charles Wesley junior. In addition to a typical selection of metrical psalm-tunes, the barrel was pinned with tunes reflecting both Miss Cholmondeley's personal taste and faith. The choice of the Evangelical *From Greenland's Icy Mountains* was probably influenced by her brother Charles' marriage to Mary Heber, sister of Reginald Heber, Bishop of Calcutta and author of this missionary hymn. *God Save Great George our King* [...] *Huzza, God Save the King*, was hardly a 'sacred tune', but Essex's eldest brother was Thomas, Baron Delamere of Vale Royal.⁸⁵³ With close family ties to the Grenville and Pitt families it is perhaps unsurprising that a Cholmondeley should choose tunes suggestive of both missionary work and patriotism. In addition to *God Save Great George*, later known as our *National Anthem*, the Flight & Robson barrel-organ at Sutton-on-the-Forest (Yorks.) also included Psalm 60, *O God who hast our Troops dispers'd*,⁸⁵⁴ a triumphalist choice again hinting at military influence (see Section 2.5).

Perhaps wishing to emulate their social superiors, wealthy newcomers also gave organs to their parish churches during this period. Although this may have signified a desire to support their parish school and church, it also reflected an aspiration to establish their place in the social hierarchy. In Hertfordshire, Oak Hill was purchased in 1810 by Simon Haughton Clarke of Kingston, Jamaica, considered one of

⁸⁵¹ Rachel Cowgill, 'The London Apollonicon Recitals, 1817-32: A Case-Study in Bach, Mozart and Haydn Reception', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 123 no. 2 (1998), p. 192.

⁸⁵² *ibid.*

⁸⁵³ David R. Fisher, 'Thomas Cholmondeley (1767-1855), of Vale Royal, Cheshire', *The History of Parliament*, accessed at www.historyofparliamentonline.org/.

⁸⁵⁴ Flight & Robson, *A Selection of PSALMS & HYMNS as Set on the ORGAN, In the Parish Church of Sutton on the Forest IN YORKSHIRE* (London, 1809).

the richest commoners in England after making a fortune through the slave trade.⁸⁵⁵ A sweeping carriageway led down from Oak Hill to East Barnet parish church, where in 1815 David William Garrow became rector. In 1824 Haughton Clarke presented a Flight & Robson barrel-organ, which was installed in the west gallery with children of the National School seated on either side.⁸⁵⁶ Garrow was also rector of neighbouring Chipping Barnet, where in the same year another Flight & Robson barrel-organ was introduced.⁸⁵⁷ Although ostensibly purchased by subscription, the majority of the funds came from Keane FitzGerald, head of the only 'family of note' in Chipping Barnet,⁸⁵⁸ who later bequeathed considerable sums to numerous charitable causes.⁸⁵⁹ Unfortunately it is impossible to tell which organ came first – were Haughton Clarke and FitzGerald responding to a direct appeal for funding from Garrow, or simply trying to out-do each other?

The national press continued to publish advice on the improvement of congregational psalmody. In Henry Soames' 1829 *Parochial Letters from a Beneficed Clergyman to his Curate* he recommended the use of a barrel-organ, again arguing 'as it plays only certain fixed tunes, the congregation, from often hearing, is likely to correctly acquire them'.⁸⁶⁰ At the time, Soames was rector of Shelley and Little Laver, and also stipendiary curate of Bobbingworth, all in Essex.⁸⁶¹ Soames particularly recommended Flight & Robson, but perhaps the most significant explanation for Flight & Robson's success was their completion in 1817 of an enormous instrument called the Apollonicon, at a cost of approximately £10,000.⁸⁶² According to Cowgill the importance of obtaining the Prince Regent's patronage for this project had a significant

⁸⁵⁵ Cussans, *History*, III, p. 61; *VCH Herts*, 2, pp. 337-42; George E. Cokayne (ed.), *The Complete Baronetage*, reprint (Gloucester, 1983), I, p. 112.

⁸⁵⁶ HALS, DP16/5/2; LPL, ICBS/01091 Application (1829); Frederick Charles Cass, *East Barnet* (2 pts., 1885-92), I, p. 182.

⁸⁵⁷ HALS, DP15/8/3 Vestry minutes (1824-63).

⁸⁵⁸ LPL, FP/Randolph 9.

⁸⁵⁹ England & Wales, Prerogative Court of Canterbury Wills, PROB 11/1791B/258.

⁸⁶⁰ Henry Soames, 'Letter VI: Psalmody', *Parochial Letters from a Beneficed Clergyman to his Curate* (London, 1829), pp. 76-7.

⁸⁶¹ CCEd, Person 53846.

⁸⁶² Ord-Hume, *Barrel Organ*, pp. 101-102.

impact, since they could now style themselves ‘organ builders to His Majesty’.⁸⁶³ This vast barrel-and-finger organ was housed on the builders’ premises at 101 St Martins Lane, London, where regular recitals were hugely influential, indeed Ord-Hume argued ‘practically all the organ recitals given in England’ from 1817 until the mid-1830s were played on the Apollonicon.⁸⁶⁴ Yet the novelty wore off mid-century, and it was broken up for parts in 1881.⁸⁶⁵

By 1843 the High-Church *Ecclesiastical Gazette* carried a Flight advertisement claiming ‘Upwards of 200’ barrel-organs had been erected in churches throughout the country, and also ‘Apollonicons made to order for the hall or drawing room’.⁸⁶⁶ This indicates the name continued to be used to attract new orders for barrel-and-finger organs. None were made on the same scale as the original, but it came to be used as a general term to describe large barrel-and-finger organs, and when a large Flight & Robson instrument owned by Joseph Andrew de Lautour was offered for sale in 1843 it was therefore described as an Apollonicon.⁸⁶⁷

De Lautour was a retired guards officer who lived at Hexton House, Hertfordshire. With a London address in Harley Street, de Lautour would have been familiar with musical taste both in London and among neighbouring Hertfordshire landowners. According to Cussans, he ‘devoted his leisure hours and his fortune to the not less honourable pursuits of peace’ and during the 1820s ‘almost entirely rebuilt’ St Faith’s, Hexton.⁸⁶⁸ As part of the refit, in 1826 de Lautour spent £217.19s.8d. on a new organ by the organ-builder John Gray, including a sum for adjusting the barrels.⁸⁶⁹ This was installed in a new west gallery flanked by tiered seating.⁸⁷⁰ Since de Lautour’s wife

⁸⁶³ Cowgill, ‘Apollonicon’, p. 192.

⁸⁶⁴ Ord-Hume, *Barrel Organ*, p. 102.

⁸⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p. 127.

⁸⁶⁶ *Ecclesiastical Gazette* (12 Sept. 1843), p. 64.

⁸⁶⁷ *HM* (3 June 1843), p. 1.

⁸⁶⁸ Cussans, *History*, II, p. 10.

⁸⁶⁹ CRL, John Gray accounts, p. 35.

⁸⁷⁰ Mrs Ashley Cooper, *St Faith’s Hexton* (n.d.), pp. 15-20.

was both patron of St Faith's and sole patron of the Hexton charity school,⁸⁷¹ there can be little doubt one of the main motives for installing the organ was to support the singing of children seated in the tiered seating. Following the unsuccessful 1843 'Apollonicon' sale, Madame Lautour continued to pay for the upkeep of organs both at home and in the church after her husband's death.⁸⁷² Other landowners, such as Robert Bevan of Trent Park near Barnet, also paid for the upkeep of both domestic and church organs, suggesting they had either given or contributed towards the church organ and wished to encourage its use.⁸⁷³

Browne argued that private benefactors may have bought a London instrument for their own residence, but considered a locally-made instrument good enough for the church.⁸⁷⁴ Hertfordshire evidence suggests the more generalized argument that an organ purchased for a church was almost inevitably a far more economical purchase than the house organ.

Following Madame Lautour's death in 1869 the Hexton House 'Apollonicon' was removed to the Corn Exchange, St Albans, where it was auctioned. The auctioneers tried to attract interest from a range of potential purchasers, on the one hand describing it as a 'grand chamber organ', but on the other as 'suitable for a small Church'.⁸⁷⁵ It is unlikely the full description did justice to an instrument which, when new, had clearly been a most desirable acquisition for a genteel household:

A costly chamber finger organ, in solid English oak gothic case, with gilt pipes, and surmounted by an elaborately carved eagle [...] and containing six shifting barrels arranged for numerous celebrated airs. The above organ was built to order, regardless of cost, by the celebrated makers, Messrs. Flight & Robson, and is probably one of the most beautiful instruments ever made by that eminent firm.⁸⁷⁶

⁸⁷¹ PP 1819 (224) *Select Committee on Education of Poor (1818). Digest of Parochial Returns*, (3 vols.), I, p. 355.

⁸⁷² CRL, Gray & Davison accounts, Vol. 8A (1865-83), p. 351, see also Vol. 2 (1838-45), p. 159.

⁸⁷³ *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 154.

⁸⁷⁴ Browne, *Organs*, p. 37.

⁸⁷⁵ *HM* (25 June 1870), p. 2.

⁸⁷⁶ *ibid.*

3.4.1.1 Barrel-organ repertoire

The tunes pinned on barrel-organs included those to which metrical psalms and hymns could be sung, together with Anglican chants and occasionally voluntaries. As at Whitegate (see p. 187), many tunelists reflected the personal interest of the donor or incumbent. The advowson of Hornchurch (Essex) was held by New College, Oxford, its vicars were Fellows of the college, and the forty tunes pinned on the barrels of its Bevington organ included *Hornchurch, Essex, New College* and *Oxford*.⁸⁷⁷ In Hertfordshire, a William Allen barrel-organ was installed at Great Amwell in 1825 during the incumbency of William Thomas Say.⁸⁷⁸ Two of the tunes on this organ, *Stanstead* and *Aveley*, suggest that it was given by the pluralist vicar himself, since Stanstead lies less than a mile from Great Amwell, and Aveley a short distance from his other living in Rainham (Essex). Confusingly, many tunes were known by more than one name. Although *Stanstead* and *Aveley* may have been composed especially, it is possible they were known by other names, repurposed in the hope the vicar was unfamiliar with them, a device also used by itinerant singing teachers. However it is also possible *Stanstead* and *Aveley* were names given to tunes Rev. Say particularly associated with his two churches, and might explain why *Helmsley*, now usually associated with the familiar ‘Lo He comes with clouds descending’, was renamed *Stratfield* on the Stratfield Saye Flight & Son barrel-organ.⁸⁷⁹

Although Langwill and Boston hoped to use barrel-organ repertoire to investigate which tunes were ‘popular’ and how this might vary locally,⁸⁸⁰ this did not come to fruition. Yet evidence from tunelists and surviving instruments suggests that in addition to providing simple tunes as recommended by Porteus, Miller and others,

⁸⁷⁷ H. Bevington, *A Selection of Psalm & Hymn Tunes as set on the NEW ORGAN, lately Erected in Horn Church Essex by H. Bevington* (London, c. 1830).

⁸⁷⁸ HALS, DP4/5/1-8.

⁸⁷⁹ Benjamin Flight, *A Selection of PSALMS, HYMNS, &c. as Set on an ORGAN, The Gift of Field Marshall The Duke of Wellington, to the Parish Church of Stratfield-Saye, Hants* (London, c.1835). The organ is still present in the church.

⁸⁸⁰ Langwill & Boston, *Barrel-organs*, p. 17.

efforts were made to provide tunes both popular and attractive to the congregation. As shown below, these included Catholic, Swedenborgian and ‘art’ tunes inspired by oratorios and chamber music. Furthermore they included Baptist and Methodist tunes, providing additional evidence of their use in the established church (see Section 3.3).

Since between two and three hundred different tunes are known to have been used on church barrel-organs nationally, the frequency with which certain tunes occur cannot have been because of restricted availability, but because they were more popular or considered more suitable.⁸⁸¹ It is also possible the repertoire became more standardized towards the latter end of the period, often confined to tunes found in the Sunday school *Union Tune Book* (see Section 4.4.1).

The *Old 100th* was found on almost every church barrel-organ, but *St Anne* and *Hanover* were the only other commonly-pinned tunes specifically named by Tate and Brady (see Section 1.2). The frequent occurrence of *Hanover* is unsurprising given that England had Hanoverian monarchs throughout the period in which church barrel-organs were used. Similarly, another commonly-found tune is *Austria* written by Haydn in support of the Holy Roman Emperor’s struggle against Napoleon. Bishop Ken’s *Evening Hymn* ‘Glory to thee my God’ was invariably sung to a version of Tallis’ Canon, and played at afternoon services. The tune used for his *Morning Hymn* ‘Awake my soul’ was usually that written by Barthélémon for the Swedenborg Society.⁸⁸²

Numerous tunes suggest that barrel-organs were used to support children’s singing, and since many had been used at the Foundling Hospital their selection may have reinforced the association between the patron’s gift and charitable works. Similarly *University*, a tune commonly pinned on barrel-organs, was first published in Hellendaal’s *Collection* aimed at Sunday school patrons (see Section 2.4.1.2). Two frequently-chosen tunes perhaps written specifically for Sunday school children are

⁸⁸¹ Based on tunelists given in Langwill & Boston, *Barrel-organs*, other surviving tunelists, and identification of repertoire from recordings of forty-two church barrel-organs.

⁸⁸² Fiona M. Palmer, ‘Barthélémon, François Hippolyte (1741-1808)’, *ODNB*.

Abingdon by Musgrave Heighington, organist and children's singing teacher at Yarmouth (Norfolk),⁸⁸³ and *Nayland* by the High Churchman William Jones, perpetual curate of Nayland (again, see Section 2.4.1.2).

Clark stated 'church organs had, of course, both an Easter and a Christmas barrel, in addition to three or four barrels of hymns'.⁸⁸⁴ But church barrel-organs often had only one barrel and rarely more than three, furthermore most were pinned with tunes to accompany metrical psalms rather than hymns. Only one was specifically sung at Easter, *Easter Hymn* 'Christ our Lord is risen today', found on half of all barrel-organs nationally. A number of tunes were used at Christmas, but usually only one per church, and never enough to pin a whole barrel. The frequently-used *Sicilian Mariners* and *Portugal New* are both Catholic hymn-tunes, first used in the Portuguese embassy chapel in London, and *Portugal New* 'O come all ye faithful' (or *Adeste Fideles*) was the most commonly-used Christmas tune. During the early 1800s Flight & Robson barrel-organs were given by the Duke of Bedford both to his parish church at Woburn (see Section 2.5.3) and to the parish church of Milton Abbot (Devon) when he built Endsleigh Cottage, a picturesque rural retreat.⁸⁸⁵ For Milton Abbot he chose Haweis' Christmas hymn *By night whilst Shepherds on the plain* (see p. 102),⁸⁸⁶ and the same hymn was chosen by the Marquis of Buckinghamshire for the instrument given to his parish church at Stowe (Bucks.).⁸⁸⁷

Routley stated that before c.1840 Anglican psalm-tunes and Methodist hymns were two mutually exclusive groups,⁸⁸⁸ but on church barrel-organs the most frequently occurring tunes found both before and after 1840 include two renowned Methodist hymn-tunes, namely *Mount Ephraim* by Benjamin Milgrove and the advent

⁸⁸³ Trevor Fawcett, *Music in Eighteenth-Century Norwich and Norfolk* (Norwich, 1979), p. 33.

⁸⁸⁴ John E.T. Clark, *Musical Boxes, A History and Appreciation* (Birmingham, 1948), p. 42.

⁸⁸⁵ Flight & Robson, *A Selection of PSALMS & HYMNS, AS SET ON THE Organ, The Gift of His Grace the Duke of Bedford to the Parish Church of Milton Abbot* (London, c.1818).

⁸⁸⁶ Thomas Haweis, *Carmina Christo, or Hymns to the Saviour* (Bath, 1792).

⁸⁸⁷ Flight & Robson, *A Selection of PSALMS & HYMNS, as set on the ORGAN, The Gift of His Grace the Most Noble the Marquis of Buckinghamshire To The Parish Church OF STOWE, BUCKS* (London, 1817).

⁸⁸⁸ Routley, *Musical Wesleys*, p. 197.

hymn *Helmsley*. The frequent inclusion of these two tunes clearly indicates the influence of Methodism on Anglican music-making and the church's attempt to retain worshippers. Wesley's successful use of parody hymn-tunes led to many 'art' tunes being pinned on church barrel-organs, including *Surrey* by Henry Carey, an operatic composer.⁸⁸⁹ Moreover the presence of *Bradley Church* from Walker's *Companion*, Thomas Clark of Canterbury's *Cranbrook* and Zerubbabel Wyvill's *Eaton* on some church barrel-organs reveals that Baptist tunes were also considered suitable for use in the established church.⁸⁹⁰ These tunes were not restricted to organs supplied by a single organ-builder but by several, including Bryceson and T.C. Bates among others.

When a new church barrel-organ was acquired, the evidence indicates that it was common to order new psalm-books, and during the 1820s 'psalm books' were purchased for use with both the Aspenden and Westmill barrel-organs.⁸⁹¹ Flight & Robson advertised 'Books of the most appropriate Psalms [...] as set on their organs',⁸⁹² but books could also be printed locally, and at Chipping Barnet 250 'Books for Psalms' were purchased for use with their newly-purchased barrel-organ in 1824.⁸⁹³ In addition to drawing attention to the generosity of those who had provided the organ, these books had the potential to familiarize literate members of the congregation with the repertoire and make the church's music-making an inclusive activity. Yet because the congregation probably had to purchase their own copies, as in St Albans (see pp. 172-3), this did little to encourage the participation of the poor. It is also possible that all 250 books were intended for the school children of Chipping Barnet, since 110 children were taught in charity day schools in 1818, with a further 120 in two Sunday schools.⁸⁹⁴

⁸⁸⁹ Suzanne Aspden, 'Carey, Henry (1687-1743)', *ODNB*.

⁸⁹⁰ For example at Hampton Gay (Oxon.) and Wardley (Rutland).

⁸⁹¹ HALS, DP8/1/3; DP120/1/4.

⁸⁹² *Ecclesiastical Gazette* (12 Sept. 1843), p. 64.

⁸⁹³ HALS, DP15/5/2.

⁸⁹⁴ PP 1819 (224), I, p. 352.

3.4.2. *Singers and children*

Newly-accommodated schoolchildren were not always given the exclusive use of a gallery. In Hertfordshire, the Welwyn vestry resolved in April 1812 ‘that the middle of the Charity Boys gallery be lowered and that Mr Otway be allowed a little piece of it’, suggesting the he was both schoolmaster and choir-band leader (see Section 2.5.3),⁸⁹⁵ and in June 1834 Samuel Johnes Knight, the rector, applied to the ICBS for funding to erect a large new gallery to seat singers, children and the poor. In a covering letter to Lord Kenyon a committee member wrote:

Mr Knight is very anxious this project should be effected during his ministry and he hopes now especially that there is a Division among them, that increased room may be the means of bringing back several Dissenters to the Right Fold.⁸⁹⁶

Although the wording of this application hints at a formulaic argument to increase the likelihood of being granted funding, the involvement of both the rector and his wife in the welfare and moral well-being of the parishioners suggests that they had their best interests at heart. Similarly, as late as 1841 Rev. Tucker, vicar of Sandon made a successful application for funding towards a gallery because there was ‘no accommodation for the children, or for the singers’.⁸⁹⁷ He supplied a number of drawings and plans to support his application for the gallery ‘to accommodate 80 persons including the schoolchildren – the two front seats for the singers’ (see Figure 28). This reinforces Addleshaw and Etchells’ observation that singers often occupied a few seats at the front or side of a gallery, the rest being used by ‘children or ordinary members of the congregation’.⁸⁹⁸

⁸⁹⁵ HALS, DP119/8/5 Vestry minutes (1812).

⁸⁹⁶ LPL, ICBS/01669 Application (1834).

⁸⁹⁷ LPL, ICBS/02944 Application (1841).

⁸⁹⁸ Addleshaw & Etchells, *Architectural Setting*, pp. 93 & 98.

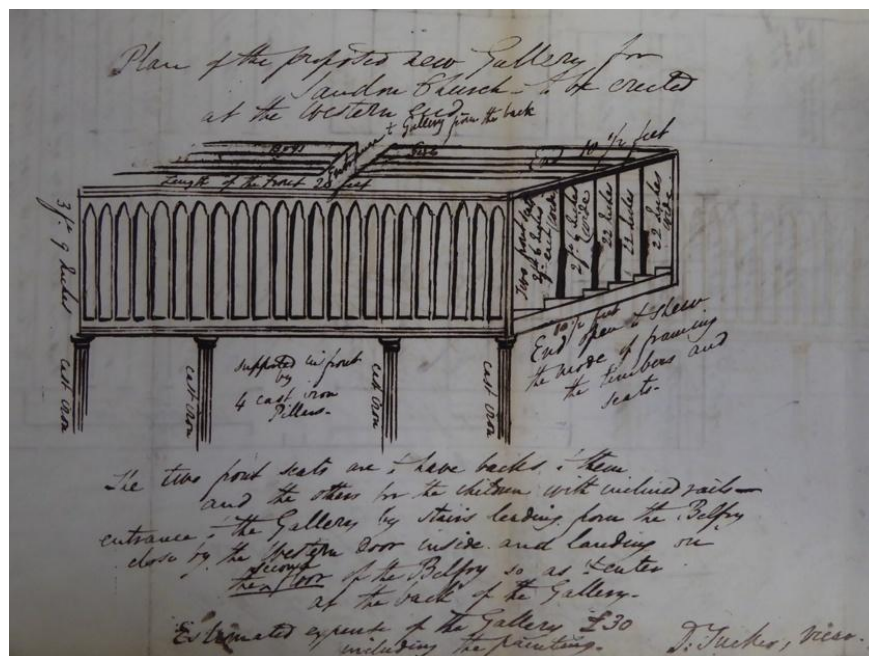


Figure 28. Dennis Tucker, above: Western end of Sandon church showing the proposed new gallery; below: Plan of the proposed new gallery (1841).⁸⁹⁹

⁸⁹⁹ LPL, ICBS/02944, ff.9-10.

There can be little doubt that in some cases children and singers shared a gallery owing to space restrictions, but the evidence suggests that in some cases it enabled children to sing with adults or with the support of instrumentalists. Prior to the introduction of the organ at Towcester (Northants.) three payments for 'hautboy reeds' were made for the Sunday school 1786-8, suggesting that children sang with the support of an oboeist.⁹⁰⁰ Mid-century the Barham (Kent) singing loft was occupied by the choir 'consisting mainly of a band of school-children' with the front row reserved for the musicians,⁹⁰¹ while at Pebmarsh (Essex):

Tribes of schoolchildren sat in the gallery at the west end and formed the choir, and there were 5 or 6 men in front who played the 'cello, flute, violin, double bass and concertina'.⁹⁰²

During the 1780s there had already been concern about children and 'anthem singers' singing together (see p. 89), and in 1814 'P.X.' complained in the *New Monthly Magazine*:

A psalm which I heard not long ago in a village church was intended for a fugue. It was commenced by the men, accompanied by a bassoon, was followed by the boys and a clarinet, then by the girls and a oboe, afterwards by the men and boys singing in octave, subsequently by the boys and girls, and finally by the whole in chorus!!!⁹⁰³

This complicated repertoire evidently did little to encourage congregational participation. Although Kings Langley Sunday school committee purchased 'Watts' Hymns' for the children in 1820 (see Section 3.3.2), they may also have sung with the choir-band, since payments were made to singers and instrumentalists throughout the period 1793 to 1853.⁹⁰⁴

In some churches choir-band members also taught the children to sing, and at Irthlingborough (Northants.) payments were made to the singers in 1819 'for teaching the children at the Sunday-school to sing' at a rate of 5/- per child.⁹⁰⁵ Following the

⁹⁰⁰ Weston, *Instrumentation*, p. 341.

⁹⁰¹ MacDermott, *Minstrels*, p. 15.

⁹⁰² Bayley, *Pebmarsh*, p. 48.

⁹⁰³ P.X., 'Church Music', pp. 540-2.

⁹⁰⁴ HALS, DP64/5/1-2.

⁹⁰⁵ Weston, *Instrumentation*, p. 310; Davidson, *Choirs*, p. 109.

incorporation of the Abbey Bluecoat school into the National Society, in 1814-20 John Higdon (see p. 148) was paid for both 'playing the Clarionet at the church on Sundays' and 'Instructing the Blue Coat Charity Boys to sing', the only references to singing made during this period (see Appendix 4).⁹⁰⁶

The evidence also suggests that members of a defunct choir-band were sometimes drafted in initially to support children's singing. In Hertfordshire, the Furneux Pelham churchwardens' accounts include payments to the labourer George Bayford for 'bass viol' strings and repairs 1842-52, by which time he was 68 years old.⁹⁰⁷ No references are made to singers, and yet there were National and Sunday schools in 1847,⁹⁰⁸ suggesting the children may have sung in church accompanied only by the elderly cellist. Similarly at Rickmansworth children's singing was supported by the remains of a choir-band prior to the introduction of a barrel-organ.⁹⁰⁹ At Little Gaddesden John Osmond was paid 'for teaching boys & girls the art of singing' in 1824.⁹¹⁰ According to the village schoolmaster, the choir during this period was accompanied only by an old man who played the clarionet, perhaps Mr Osmond.⁹¹¹ Trollope described a fictional, but perhaps typical, church of the era. With a nave full of appropriated pews the children sat in the west gallery of Allington church with the aged remnants of the old choir-band:

As regards its interior, it was dusty; it was blocked up with high-backed ugly pews; the gallery in which the children sat at the end of the church, and in which two ancient musicians blew their bassoons, was all awry, and looked as though it would fall.⁹¹²

⁹⁰⁶ HALS, DP90/5/1 & DP90/7.

⁹⁰⁶ HALS, DP90/5/1; 1851 Census HO107/1706/f.647/p.13.

⁹⁰⁷ HALS, DP78/5/1 Churchwardens' accounts (1842-52); 1851 Census HO107/1706/f.647/p.13.

⁹⁰⁸ Burg, *Religion*, p. 55.

⁹⁰⁹ Cussans, *History*, III, p. 150.

⁹¹⁰ Little Gaddesden, Churchwardens' bills & vouchers (1824).

⁹¹¹ Vicars Walker Bell, *Little Gaddesden. The Story of an English Parish* (London, 1949), p. 145.

⁹¹² Anthony Trollope, *The Small House at Allington*, 2nd edn. (2 vols., London, 1864), 1, p. 12.

3.4.3. *Replacing the singers*

As noted in Section 3.2.1, there is no evidence of any regular music-making in some Hertfordshire churches, and in others such as Elstree the only evidence is of occasional visiting singers. Yet after the incorporation of Elstree's charity schools with the National Society in 1818 no further payments were made to visiting singers, and by 1820 the church had acquired a barrel-organ, suggesting a reform of former practices.⁹¹³ Furthermore, although many churches had their own singers their attendance was not guaranteed, and some found the solution to this problem by using children's voices. In Kent, Newnham parish church reported to the Society in 1820:

[The children] have been taught Bishop Kenn's morning and evening hymns, and a few psalms, by which they are enabled to supply the occasional absence of the 'village choir'. And their efforts have been well received.⁹¹⁴

In other cases the evidence suggests that children's voices were used as a means of introducing sweeping reform by replacing the singers completely. At All Saints, Leamington (Warks.) it was reported in 1825:

A neat organ has lately been added to this church, at which Mr H.T. Elliston gratuitously officiates as organist, and by charitably attending to the vocal tuition of the children belonging to the Leamington Sunday School, has completely put to rout, the eternal clarionet, fiddle, and leathern lungs of some half dozen of remorseless bald pated choristers that so long 'splitted the ears of the groundlings' by murdering Sternhold and Hopkins, and inflicting on the congregation all the tortures of Psalmody.⁹¹⁵

However, the willingness of singers to deputize for the organ and organist in times of emergency suggests a lack of the complete antipathy suggested by scholars who interpret the introduction of an organ as a source of conflict.⁹¹⁶ At Bishops Stortford the singers were paid 5s. in October 1829 'for attending while the organist was ill',⁹¹⁷ likewise in 1827 the organ at Ware was out of order, and £1.10.6d. was paid

⁹¹³ National Society, *Seventh Annual Report* (London, 1818); Langwill & Boston, *Barrel-organs*, p. 79.

⁹¹⁴ National Society, *Ninth Annual Report*, p. 163.

⁹¹⁵ William Thomas Moncrieff, *The visitors' new guide to the spa of Leamington Priors, and its vicinity* (Leamington Priors, 1824), p. 87.

⁹¹⁶ Gammon, "Babylonian Performances", pp. 72-3; Obelkevich, *Religion*, p. 147.

⁹¹⁷ HALS, DP21/5/5 Churchwardens' accounts (1827-29).

to ‘Singers while repair^g organ’.⁹¹⁸ In St Albans, sporadic payments to St Peter’s organists are interspersed with payments to singers following the departure of Fowler (see Section 3.3.3), including a payment to a Higdon family member in 1822, suggesting their continuing involvement in music-making.⁹¹⁹

However, the replacement of singers with choirs of children supported by an organ was not always a smooth transition. In 1819 the *Christian Observer* reported a case tried in the Court of Arches:

in which an action was brought by the minister against the churchwarden; and the charge in the citation was, ‘for obstructing and prohibiting, by his own pretended power and authority, and for declaring openly his intention still further to obstruct and prohibit, the singing and chanting of the charity-children of the parish’. Here the churchwarden supposed that he had a right to direct when the children should sing, and when they should not. The minister had directed the organ to play in certain parts of the service, and the children to chant at the same time: the churchwarden directed the contrary; and the organist obliged him in preference to the minister.⁹²⁰

Although the Court decided in the minister’s favour, other cases followed, and a significant case submitted to Doctors’ Commons in 1822 throws light on the unhappy compromise reached at Chardstock (Dorset) that may have been common elsewhere. The *Christian Remembrancer* reported that the previous November several Chardstock ringers had been gaoled following a ‘tumultuous’ disagreement concerning the abandonment of the Pains and Penalties Bill.⁹²¹ The significance of this is that some of the ringers were also members of the choir-band, and the remaining members refused to sing in their absence. The curate, Thomas Babb, therefore taught the Sunday school children to sing, and they sang in church until:

the singers, namely Benjamin Dening, and eight others, including three of the ringers (being the next Sunday after their liberation from prison) began to sing at the same time as the children, on which the latter desisted.⁹²²

⁹¹⁸ HALS, DP116/5/1 Churchwardens’ accounts (1794-1827).

⁹¹⁹ HALS, DP93/5/3-5.

⁹²⁰ *Christian Observer* (Dec. 1819), p. 810.

⁹²¹ *Christian Remembrancer* (June 1822), pp. 375-6.

⁹²² *ibid.*

The following Sunday the choir-band deliberately drowned out the curate's prayers for the King, provoking the curate to write a note forbidding them to sing the following Sunday:

Benjamin Denning read the note first to himself, and afterwards aloud, Harrison also read it, and James Smith said, they were the first singers and would sing. They did not however attempt to sing; but after the children had sung a verse, James Smith rose from his seat, went down from the gallery in a very noisy manner, several boys following him most of whom again returned, but he walked out of the church and remained in the church-yard till the service was over.⁹²³

On Saturday 3 February the curate forbade the singers to sing or play any musical instrument in the church without his written consent, and the next morning the children were allowed to sing 'without interruption'. It was a different story in the afternoon. Seven of the singers and 'some strangers', perhaps singers from a neighbouring parish offering their support, sat in the gallery until it was time for the children to sing, whereupon all except James Denning: 'rose up hastily, and noisily lifting up the seats on which they sat, went down from the gallery and walked out of the church'. The sole remaining singer 'was observed making signals whilst the children were singing to persons to leave the church' and nearly one third of the congregation followed the singers out. The main legal opinion sought was:

Whether the right of controlling the choir and directing or preventing their singing altogether is not vested by law in the officiating minister, and whether in the present case the choir having ceased to sing and a new choir being formed by the minister the old choir had any right to resume and interrupt the service?⁹²⁴

Lushington's opinion was that the minister had authority to 'what tunes shall be used, and at what times they shall be sung', and moreover:

he may prevent the use of all instruments, except, perhaps, in the case of an organ erected by faculty, but I do not think that the minister can lawfully prohibit any parishioner from joining in the singing, if any parishioner so joining behave indecorously, he may be punished in the ecclesiastical court.⁹²⁵

⁹²³ *ibid.*

⁹²⁴ *ibid.*

⁹²⁵ *ibid.*

This real-life Dorset case certainly presents a more acrimonious situation than the more familiar and much-cited fictional replacement of the Mellstock 'quire' by the National School mistress and her choir of Sunday scholars painted by Hardy in *Under the Greenwood Tree*.

But singers, clergymen and churchwardens were not alone in facing the unintended consequences of the introduction of an organ and children's voices to lead the psalmody. Rather than ridding the church of the complicated and exclusive repertoire used by choir-bands, churches with ambitious organists again faced the problem of floridly-ornamented psalmody, as had been the case when organists supplemented their church employment with theatre work, or *vice versa* (see Section 2.2.1). According to Ford:

it is no uncommon thing for organists to burden a plain Psalm-tune, with such an abundance of flourishes, as to destroy the melody, and render it almost impossible for any one to sing with correctness or certainty [...] If the composer of the Old Hundredth could rise from his grave, and visit some of our churches, he would be at a loss to recognise his own composition.⁹²⁶

The editor countered Ford's remarks by drawing attention to Thomas Busby, who stated 'the vocal part of our parochial church service is generally so ill performed, that an organ decently played, and loud enough to drown the voices of the clerk, charity children, and congregation, is a blessing'.⁹²⁷

3.5. Church buildings

3.5.1. Accommodation

Even in sleepy rural churches the accommodation problems discussed in Section 2.6.1 became acute following the establishment of a National Society school, because children were usually required to attend church on Sundays (see Section 3.4). This exacerbated the problem of poor parishioners turning to dissenting meetings, where accommodation was not usually such an issue.

⁹²⁶ Ford, *Observations*, pp. 77-80.

⁹²⁷ Thomas Busby, *A General History of Music* (2 vols., London, 1819), 1, p. 6.

In many churches the poor and children sat on benches wherever they could be squeezed in, and Buckler's 1814-41 sketches of Hertfordshire churches show benches in several including Kimpton and Barley (see Figure 29). Samuel Valentine Edwards, rector of Caldecote applied to the ICBS for a grant to buy benches for use in the chancel in 1838, saying his congregation had recently increased to more than 100: 'though I could not find accommodation for more than half that number without borrowing some forms from the farm and even then some sat on the stone steps round the font'.⁹²⁸ As late as 1851 children were obliged to sit on benches in many Hertfordshire churches, including Brent Pelham where they sat 'on forms in the aisle', and Rushden with 'benches for about 70 children in the chancel'.⁹²⁹



Figure 29. J.C. Buckler, 'View from the South aisle of Barley Church' (1841).⁹³⁰

⁹²⁸ LPL, ICBS/02292.

⁹²⁹ Burg, *Religion*, pp. 119, 126, 151 & 195.

⁹³⁰ HALS, DE/Bg Buckler, *Views*, 2, p. 117.

Although numerous Hertfordshire churches applied for ICBS grants to accommodate large numbers of children following the establishment of a National School, galleries continued to be shared by the labouring poor, servants, tradesmen and singers. In April 1824 Thomas Lloyd of All Saints, Hertford applied to the ICBS for funding, saying: 'The parishioners are extremely anxious to afford accommodation to the Inhabitants, and particularly to the lower classes, who are literally driven to the meeting houses for want of room'.⁹³¹

Some churches provided a gallery for the sole use of children by adapting one that already existed. When the Broxbourne barrel-organ was installed 1804 the carpenter was paid 'To 2 Days ¼ Cutting out the Peughs in Gallery for the Orgin & helping to dix D^o 9s.'. ⁹³² By 1815 Broxbourne's schools had become affiliated with the National Society,⁹³³ and a payment to George Cheffins for 'Carpenters' Work in the Church for National School children', confirms that yet more accommodation was needed to seat all the children.⁹³⁴ Datchworth National School was founded by local landowners in 1820,⁹³⁵ and in 1824 the church applied for ICBS funding towards a new children's gallery with 'additional seats below where there were none before for the poor'.⁹³⁶ Similarly, a large west gallery built in 1819 at Berkhamsted accommodated twenty-four 'poorer inhabitants', together with an organ flanked by 'thirty children educated in the Charity School'.⁹³⁷ Rather than applying to the ICBS, in other churches works were privately funded, and in 1825 the Little Hadham vestry agreed to build a gallery by voluntary subscription for schoolchildren and psalm singers.⁹³⁸

Poor boys and girls were usually seated separately in church, just as they were taught separately (see p. 180), and the plan for the Sandon gallery shown in Figure 28

⁹³¹ LPL, ICBS/00557 Application (1824).

⁹³² HALS, DP24/5/2-14.

⁹³³ National Society, *Third Annual Report* (London, 1816).

⁹³⁴ HALS, DP24/5/2-14.

⁹³⁵ HALS, DP33/1/24 Notes on the erection of parish school (1820).

⁹³⁶ LPL, ICBS/00574 Application (1824).

⁹³⁷ HALS, AHH/19/2 Faculty for a gallery Berkhamsted (1819).

⁹³⁸ HALS, DP43/5/1 Churchwardens' accounts (1825).

shows boys seated on the left, girls on the right. The same arrangement was adopted at Markyate where they were seated on either side of the barrel-organ (see Figure 30). Children were not treated any differently from adults in this respect, since in many churches men and women were traditionally seated separately, including Cheshunt, the Abbey Church and Anstey, among others.⁹³⁹

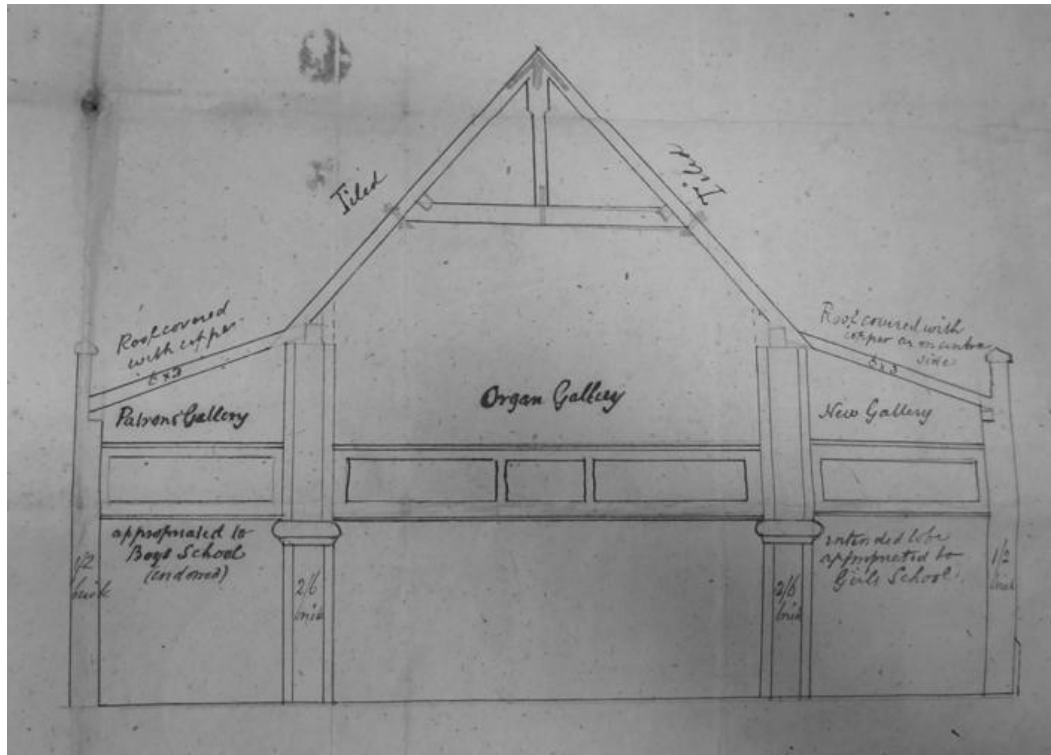


Figure 30. Elevation of gallery, St John's, Markyate (1843).⁹⁴⁰

But there was no consensus as to how the seating was arranged. In many churches men sat on one side of the nave and women on the other, as at Sawbridgeworth until 1879,⁹⁴¹ while in others men sat in the nave, women in the gallery, or *vice versa*. Elsewhere polite men and women sat together in allocated seating, but the servants and labouring classes were segregated,⁹⁴² and at Redbourn during the 1850s:

⁹³⁹ HALS, DP29/8/48-52; DP90/8/1-3 Vestry minutes (1799-1854); Frank Ricardo Williams, *Anstey: A Hertfordshire Parish* (Cambridge, 1929), pp. 58-9.

⁹⁴⁰ LPL, ICBS/02868 Application (1843), f.28.

⁹⁴¹ *Great St Mary's Through the Ages* (Margate, n.d.), p. 29.

⁹⁴² James Edward Vaux, *Church Folklore. A record of some post-Reformation usages in the Church of England*, 2nd edn. (London, 1902), pp. 30-7.

The vicar's family, together with a few parishioners who lived in the large houses, were allowed to sit in the chancel; the central aisle was occupied by farmers and trades people; the south side by labouring men; the north by women [...] an old inhabitant, still living, distinctly remembers his grandfather playing a clarinet in the men's gallery over the rood screen – the women's gallery was at the west end.⁹⁴³

But ICBS or private funding for galleries was not always available. In April 1822 Thomas Feilde, vicar of Stanstead Abbots sought ICBS financial assistance to build a new gallery.⁹⁴⁴ When none was forthcoming he wrote again, saying the parishioners had relinquished their plans, intending to seat the children in 'the open parts of the church', by which he meant squeezing them into seats in the north aisle.

As seen above, because of the expectation that children would lead congregational singing, the incorporation of a school into the National Society often acted as the impetus for installing a church organ (see p. 185), as had the founding of Sunday schools before them, and this took up yet more space. The parish of Frant (Sussex) reported to the Society in 1818:

We have raised a subscription of £120, and built a new gallery in the Church for the poor, in order to appropriate the old gallery solely to the use of the children. By a similar contribution, we have purchased an organ, at the expense of £84, for the purpose of instructing the children in psalmody.⁹⁴⁵

This practice gathered pace during the 1810s and 1820s. When in 1820 the Abbey Church installed its first organ since the Restoration it applied for ICBS funding to build a gallery to seat the National School children, who were now to be taught singing by the organist instead of the clarinettist.⁹⁴⁶ However, during this period organs were usually sited in galleries, not only because this is where the singers and children were seated, but again because this was often the only space available, as seen in the cramped seating shown in Figure 31.

⁹⁴³ Harry Miller, *Redbourn Parish Magazine* (Aug. 1910), cited by Alan Featherstone, *Redbourn's History* (Redbourn, 2001), pp. 208-9.

⁹⁴⁴ LPL, ICBS/00381 Application (1822).

⁹⁴⁵ National Society, *Seventh Annual Report*, p. 166.

⁹⁴⁶ LPL, ICBS Committee minute book, no.1 (1820), p. 168; HALS, DP90/7.

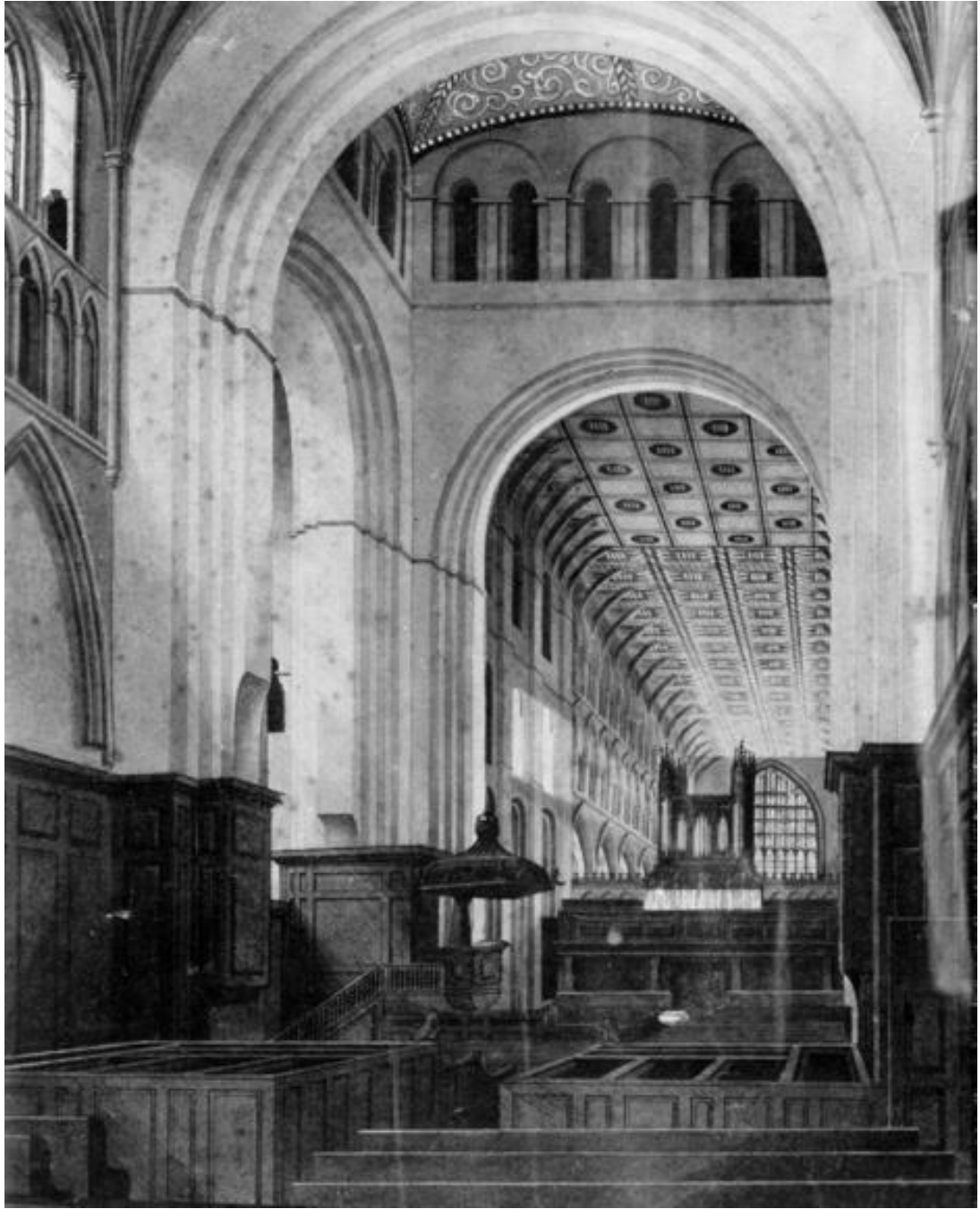


Figure 31. Anon., Interior view of the Abbey Church, St Albans (1820).⁹⁴⁷

⁹⁴⁷ Cathedral and Abbey Church of St Alban Muniment Room, Shelf F Kent Book, p. 211.

3.5.2. *West gallery extensions*

In some churches space was at such a premium that existing west galleries were enlarged. At St Michael's, St Albans children were seated on either side of the barrel-organ, but as late as 1846 the gallery was altered to accommodate new pews at the front (see Figure 32).



Figure 32. Daniel Hollingsworth, *Plans and elevations of gallery*, St Michael's, St Albans (1846).⁹⁴⁸

Furthermore, many town parish churches found it necessary to build a second west gallery above the first. An 1826 section through proposed children's west galleries for a new church in the rapidly-expanding industrial parish of Bilston (Staffs.) shows four rows of pews, backed by seven rows of children's seats, with another children's gallery above. Port used this diagram to illustrate the constructional difficulties of installing galleries,⁹⁴⁹ but made no comment on the need for two children's galleries in a newly-built church (see Figure 33).

⁹⁴⁸ St Michael's, St Albans.

⁹⁴⁹ Port, *600 New Churches*, p. 139.

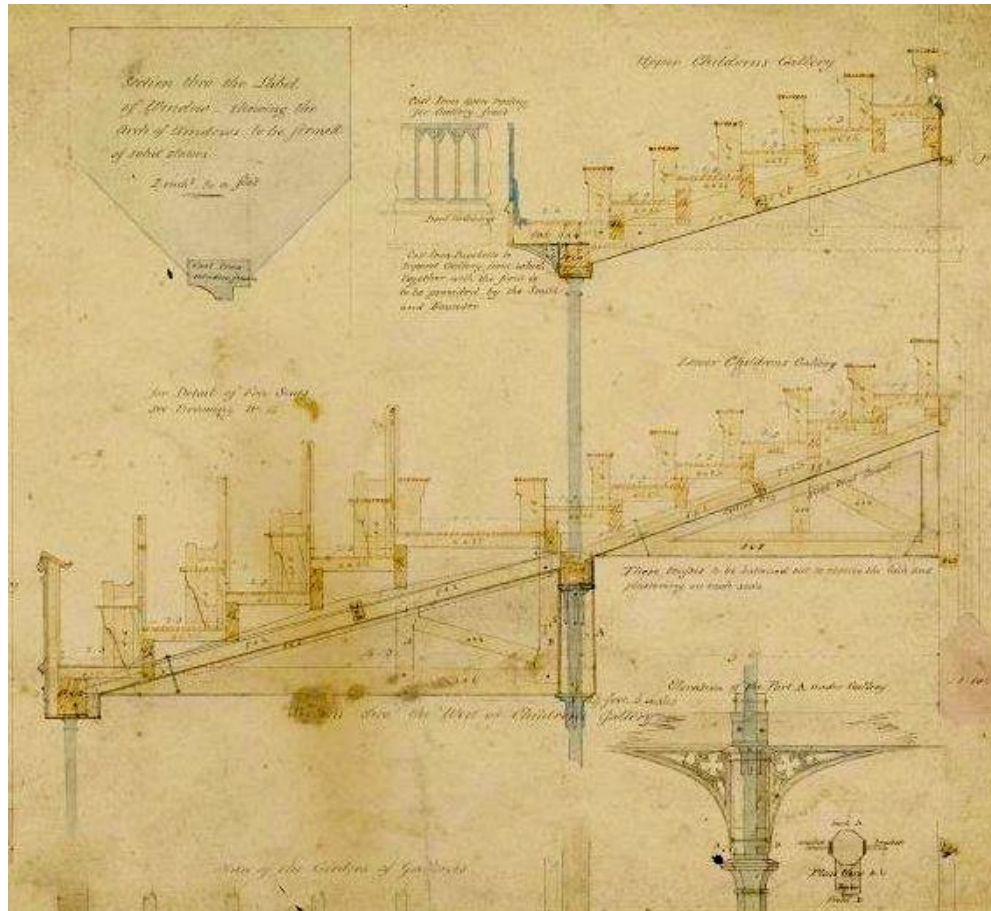


Figure 33. Francis Goodwin, *Designs for St Mary's, Bilston: details of the gallery* (1826).⁹⁵⁰

But the same problem was faced in small market towns. In Leicestershire, Brandwood found evidence for two tiers of west galleries at Barkby, Market Harborough and Melton Mowbray, but again with no explanation for their installation.⁹⁵¹ In Hertfordshire, organs presented to both Hitchin and Hoddesdon during the 1810s were installed in an upper west gallery,⁹⁵² partly because there was no room elsewhere but also because this is where the singers sat. Finding it necessary to seat more than one hundred and thirty children, in 1822 St Etheldreda's, Hatfield

⁹⁵⁰ RIBA, *RIBApix*, RIBA85543, accessed at www.architecture.com/image-library/.

⁹⁵¹ Geoffrey K. Brandwood, 'Anglican Churches before the Restorers: a Study from Leicestershire and Rutland', *Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 144 (1987), pp. 395-7.

⁹⁵² *HM* (27 Feb. 1858), p. 3; HALS, DP24A/6/10 Specification for re-seating and other works to Hoddesdon church (1864).

had two galleries at the west end, with 'eight raised seats or forms for the accommodation of the children' in the enlarged part of the upper gallery.⁹⁵³

While galleries continued to be built in certain churches, others began to recognize the unforeseen consequences of trying to seat so many adults and children, and some galleries were already being removed during the 1820s. Yet this was for purely practical reasons, rather than the aesthetic and liturgical arguments put forward by Ecclesiologists from the 1840s onwards, the consequences of which are discussed in Chapter 5.

Until the ecclesiastical re-orderings which saw the division and relocation of the pulpit and reading desk, in many churches these were to be found against a wall mid-way down the nave, and Hertfordshire examples included East Barnet, Barley and Stanstead Abbots (see Figure 34).



Figure 34. St James', Stanstead Abbots (2015).

⁹⁵³ National Society, *Ninth Annual Report*, pp. 24-157; HALS, 64394 Faculty book (1822).

This placed the clergyman and parish clerk in a position where they could be clearly heard and seen by the majority of the congregation. According to Yates, a major disadvantage was that some were obliged to sit with their backs to the altar, an arrangement considered disrespectful by High Churchmen.⁹⁵⁴ What Yates did not consider is that a pulpit in this location would be invisible to those seated beneath a low gallery, nor could they clearly hear what was being said. In addition, where an organ had been placed at the front of a gallery, this blocked the view of those occupying the gallery behind it or on the opposite side from the pulpit.

In March 1828 the curate of Bushey preached a sermon urging that his church should be rebuilt, arguing that the seats beneath the singers' and children's galleries were dark, poorly ventilated and badly placed to hear the preacher (see Figure 35).⁹⁵⁵ Although the singers' gallery was eventually removed in 1842, the church was not 'restored' until 1871.



Figure 35.
William Henry Hunt,
Interior of Bushey church
(c.1820).⁹⁵⁶

⁹⁵⁴ Yates, *Liturgical Space*, pp. 79-81.

⁹⁵⁵ HALS, DP26/29/5 'Bushey Reports' (1828).

⁹⁵⁶ National Gallery of Art, USA, 1992.96.3 accessed at www.nga.gov/.

An ICBS application made in September 1834 suggested the sounding board at the back of the Ware organ should be removed from the gallery, again presumably because it was blocking the view of the pulpit for those seated behind or to one side.⁹⁵⁷ Describing a situation similar to Bushey, the application stated that the west gallery where the organ and children were located was too deep and low, making the seats beneath ‘dark, unpleasant and nearly useless’.⁹⁵⁸ One can only hope the lack of headroom shown in Figure 36 has been exaggerated.

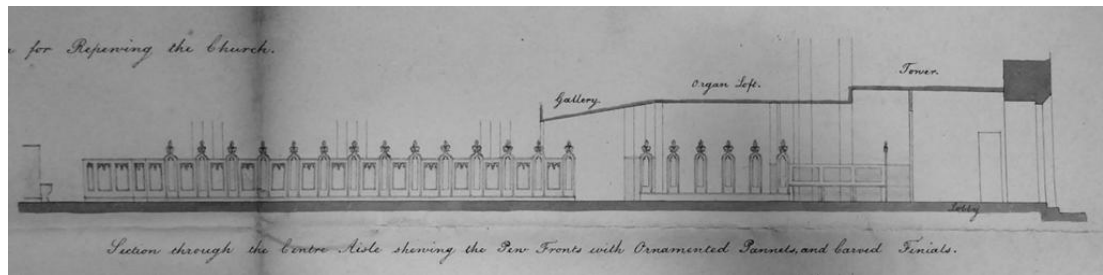


Figure 36. Lewis Vulliamy, *Section through the centre aisle, St Mary's, Ware (1834)*.⁹⁵⁹

Unlike at Bushey, the vicar of Rickmansworth had success in his campaign to rebuild the church. In the 1810 episcopal visitation he stated ‘The parish church though very considerable is quite inadequate to the accommodation of so populous a parish [...] this circumstance must contribute to the increase of Dissenters’,⁹⁶⁰ and in 1826 the church was completely rebuilt to seat 2000 people, with box pews and galleries supported by iron pillars ranged on three sides. The west gallery housed the barrel-organ and choir, the north gallery held fifteen faculty seats, and men and boys sat in the south gallery.⁹⁶¹ Upper-storey windows shown in contemporary photographs indicate the gallery was well-lit, but this was not the case in many churches (see Figure 37).

⁹⁵⁷ LPL, ICBS/01784 Application (1834).

⁹⁵⁸ *ibid.*

⁹⁵⁹ *ibid.*

⁹⁶⁰ LPL, FP/Randolph 11/99.

⁹⁶¹ HALS, DE/X840/7/13 St Mary the Virgin, Rickmansworth (n.d.).

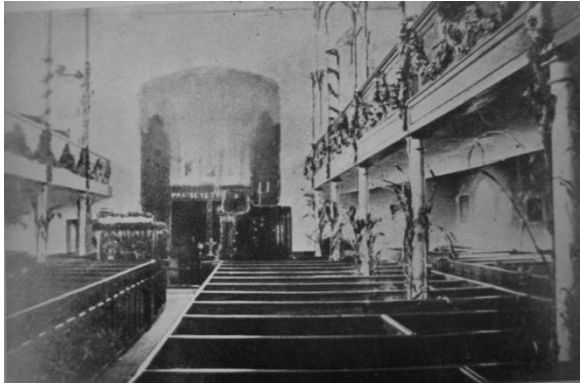


Figure 37. St Mary's, Rickmansworth (pre-1891).⁹⁶²



East Barnet provides a striking Hertfordshire example of the unforeseen consequences of the need to accommodate children as part of an overarching desire to improve congregational psalmody. In 1829 the rector and churchwardens made an application for ICBS funding towards a new gallery in place of the two existing west galleries. The submitted plans carefully depicted sightlines to the pulpit, located on the South side of the nave (see Figure 38). Other than those seated at the front, few in the galleries could see the minister: 'Owing to the proximity of the Pulpit and intervention of the organ', as at Ware. Situated at the front of the lower west gallery, the organ was so tall it blocked the view for many in both the lower gallery, with 'bare headway under the upper gallery', and the upper gallery 'so close to the ceiling of the church that at the back there was scarcely any room to stand up'.⁹⁶³ The adopted remedy was to move the pulpit further east and build a large replacement west gallery with the organ next to the west wall, and children of the National School seated on either side.

⁹⁶² *ibid.*

⁹⁶³ LPL, ICBS/01091.

Existing upper gallery:

'Gallery for children of the National School [...] It had no light except the reflected rays from the nave, and was only ventilated by a small hole in the ceiling and a grating in the back partition'.

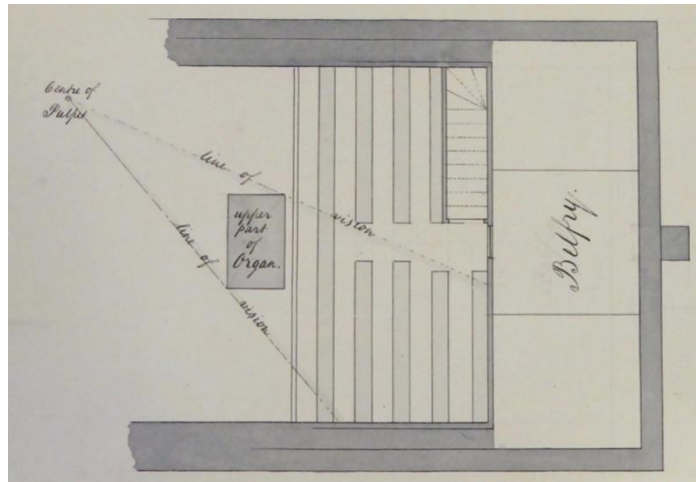
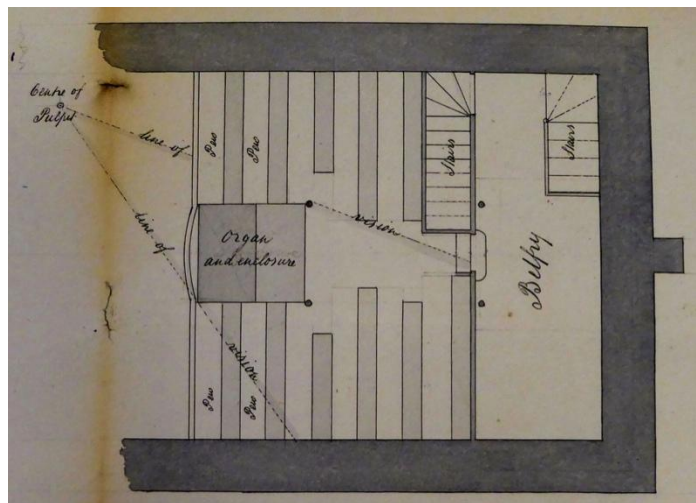
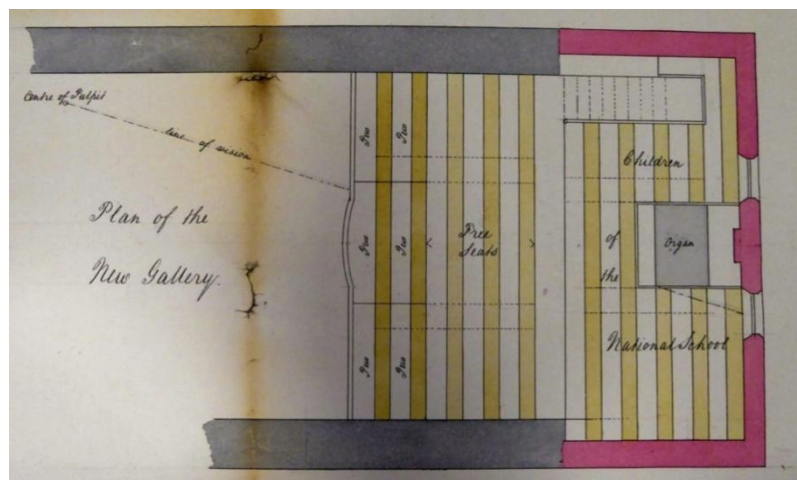
Existing lower gallery:Proposed replacement gallery:

Figure 38. Richard Kelsey, Reordering of galleries at St Mary's, East Barnet (1829).⁹⁶⁴

⁹⁶⁴ *ibid.*

3.6. Summary

During the 1810s to 1820s great importance was attached to attracting children to church with the twin aims of overcoming indifference and increasing attendance in the face of growing nonconformity. A secondary motive was the improvement of congregational psalmody and replacement of groups of singers and choir-bands, which continued to provide the only music-making in many churches, and were increasingly considered both non-inclusive and poorly-controlled. The evidence suggests that the incorporation of existing or new schools into the National Society and the schoolchildren's participation in singing in the local church were often linked, and could be used to further the objective of congregational psalmody. Although in some churches children sang with existing choir-bands, in others there had been no previous music-making. In either case the use of barrel-organs continued to be seen as a desirable means of supporting children's singing. The acquisition of a church organ therefore often quickly followed the establishment of a National School or building of a schoolroom, accelerating the trend for installing organs and formation of choirs of charity children first seen during the eighteenth century. Although the continuing contribution of long-established local gentry was evident, this period also saw the beginnings of the involvement of newcomers wishing to mark their social prominence by presenting a church organ and or supporting the school.

Contemporary descriptions of the noise and 'physical infliction' of poorly-trained children's voices suggest that the use of choirs of children to lead congregational singing continued to be a problem in some churches. This was exacerbated by the fact that the congregation were expected to provide their own psalm-books. Moreover, some adults now preferred to sing the hymn-tunes they had learnt as schoolchildren rather than the psalm-tunes used in church. Many of these were nonconformist tunes, and therefore some educated in church schools as children found themselves more comfortable worshipping in nonconformist chapels as adults.

Other parishioners, perhaps more significantly, certain choir-band members, attended both their parish church and Methodist or Baptist meetings. Both these circumstances may have led to the adoption of nonconformist tunes and hymns in some parish churches.

Efforts to improve church music-making by the use of children's singing continued to contribute to the accommodation problems already felt in the late eighteenth-century church, since seating now had to be provided for large numbers of National School children. Church galleries continued to be erected despite the disadvantages which were already evident, and the ongoing problems caused by the need to accommodate charity children are discussed further in the following chapters.

4. 1830s to 1840s: Disputes and Tractarianism

4.1. Introduction

The 1830s to 1840s saw the publication of a number of books, periodicals and newspapers which ushered in a liturgical revolution described by Yates as ‘the most violent the Church of England had experienced since the Reformation’.⁹⁶⁵ Some new publications were keen to offer advice to clergymen in the many parishes that found themselves with resident incumbents for the first time in decades, if not centuries. This was partially attributable to new appointments made after the 1838 Pluralities and Residence Act. In Hertfordshire, just as the *Patriot* had been established in 1832 as a national paper representing the dissenting interest,⁹⁶⁶ so in 1834 the *Hertford Mercury* was founded at the instigation of leading Hertfordshire Liberals, stirred into action by the circumstances which had led to the abrupt dismissal of their local colleague Lord Melbourne’s ministry.⁹⁶⁷ The *Hertford Mercury* was published in Fore Street, Hertford near All Saints where the editor Stephen Austin was a member of the choir.⁹⁶⁸ Another new development was the 1836 reduction in Newspaper Tax from 4d. to 1d. per copy which resulted in a dramatic rise in circulation figures, and this chapter considers some of the forthright discussions on church music-making that were published.

Broadening newspaper readership also led to widespread dissemination of reports of church rate disputes, and their influence on church music-making is examined in Section 4.2. Although isolated incidents had occurred previously, this presented a new problem for many town churches during the 1830s-40s, and press reports led to their escalation. As seen in Section 4.3, this resulted in difficulties funding existing arrangements for church music-making. Again, most organs newly-introduced during this period were barrel-organs, but with fewer willing subscribers this choice

⁹⁶⁵ Yates, *Buildings*, p. 127.

⁹⁶⁶ J.P. Ellens, *Religious Routes to Gladstonian Liberalism. The Church Rate Conflict in England and Wales 1832-1868* (Pennsylvania, 1994), p. 21.

⁹⁶⁷ *HM* (25 Nov. 1834), p. 1; (28 May 1892), p. 5.

⁹⁶⁸ Sheldrick, *Three Centuries*, p. 21.

was now driven by reasons of economy rather than fashion. Although some elite continued to fund organs, new fund-raising approaches attempted in parishes with no sympathetic landowners met with mixed success, so that it was often the clergy and their families who paid for the new instruments.

Congregational singing continued to be considered unsatisfactory, and Section 4.4 examines continuing attempts to use children's voices to lead with the aid of a barrel-organ, together with a variety of innovative teaching methods, some influenced by new Tractarian attitudes towards church music-making. In 1833 John Keble had preached his seminal Oxford sermon on 'National Apostasy', with arguments subsequently developed in 'Tracts for the Times' by members of his circle, most notably Edward Pusey and John Henry Newman. The new 'Tractarian' or 'Oxford Movement' developed into a fundamental shift towards Catholicism, only lacking recognition of the Pope's authority. Their focus on the Eucharist required the provision of suitably reverential church buildings, worship and music-making, radically altering the way the church operated, and many new periodicals represented their stance.

In 1845 all Hertfordshire parishes were transferred to the diocese of Rochester, and it was in this year that the amateur musician Robert Druitt attracted support from both clergymen and laity after the publication of his *Popular Tract on Church Music*.⁹⁶⁹ His supporters collaborated to form the Tractarian 'Society for Promoting Church Music', and in 1846 the first issue of their journal *The Parish Choir* was published under Druitt's editorship. Their aim was that the publication with its music supplements should reach every parish to promote congregational psalmody among 'all members of the Church, high and low, rich and poor'.⁹⁷⁰ Since initial Tractarian opposition to the church's use of instrumental support included both organs and choir-band instruments, this indicates they were still common during the

⁹⁶⁹ Bernarr Rainbow, *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church (1839-1872)* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 96-98.

⁹⁷⁰ *Parish Choir* (Feb. 1846), p. 2; Rainbow, *Choral Revival*, p. 98.

1830s-40s. Rather than 'suppression' by barrel-organs, the early Tractarian insistence on unaccompanied singing and the ecclesiological drive to remove galleries formed the most significant factors in the demise of choir-bands during this period.

Closely related to the growing Oxford Movement, 1839 saw the founding of the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture. The Cambridge Society for the Study of Church Architecture was also founded in 1839, and almost immediately renamed the Cambridge Camden Society (CCS). In addition to publishing *The Ecclesiologist* it produced a series of pamphlets entitled *A Few Words to [...]*, again with the aim of reaching every parish in the country.⁹⁷¹ These two university societies, sometimes disparagingly referred to as the theological and artistic sides of the same movement, actively encouraged the scholarly study of mediaeval art and architecture in order to promote the restoration of old churches and building of new to provide suitable liturgical settings.⁹⁷² As shown in Section 4.5 this had a significant impact on liturgical and seating arrangements, which themselves affected the development of music-making.

4.2. Church rate disputes

In October 1831 bishops in the Upper House failed to support the Reform Bill. Frustration at this failed opportunity to introduce parliamentary reform inflamed antipathy towards the Tory-dominated established church in general, and bishops in particular. One manifestation of this was the burning of effigies of bishops instead of the Pope on 5 November 1831, and in Hertfordshire a guy dressed as a bishop 'instead of Guy Faux' was carried through the streets of Ware before being burnt 'amid the execrations of the people assembled to witness it'.⁹⁷³ But in addition to parliamentary reform, many also demanded reform of the church rate system. Although attempts were made in 1834 and 1837 to pass legislation, this was not finally achieved until the

⁹⁷¹ Adelman, *Contribution*, p. 26.

⁹⁷² Yates, *Buildings*, p. 150.

⁹⁷³ *Bucks Gazette* (12 Nov. 1831), p. 4.

Compulsory Church Rates Abolition Act of 1868.⁹⁷⁴ Until then, all parishioners remained responsible for the repair of their parish church whether or not they actually attended it, so in addition to members of the congregation, ratepayers included non-church-goers and dissenters in varying proportions. Therefore some decisions affecting church music-making were made by persons whose main concern was financial.

As seen in Section 3.2.1.1, numerous Hertfordshire parishes made small payments out of the church rate for music, instruments and singers. This indicates firstly that their vestries considered music-making necessary for the decent performance of Divine Service, secondly that the rate-payers were able to afford these sums, thirdly that there was little or no opposition, and lastly that at least some of the parishioners were prepared to sing. When an organ was installed, a natural progression may therefore have been for the organ and organist to be funded out of the church rate, and organists' salaries often feature prominently in churchwardens' accounts. Although vestry resolutions authorizing payments to organists out of the church rate survive for some Hertfordshire parishes, in most instances there are none, either because the records do not survive or more frequently because none were made. Similarly, while some vestries authorized one-off payments towards the upkeep of the organ, others sanctioned such payments retrospectively, since they were not struck out of the churchwardens' accounts. The incumbent was often anxious not to include items in the rate that could later be refused by those who paid most, as there would then be a risk that the remaining rate-payers would be unable or unwilling to pay the difference. A parsimonious decision was made in August 1849 when the Shenley vestry 'Agreed that a sum not exceeding three pounds per year be allowed to pay an organist whenever a voluntary player cannot be procured'.⁹⁷⁵ This minute was signed by the rector Henry J. Newcome, newly-installed as incumbent of one of the most valuable livings in Hertfordshire.

⁹⁷⁴ 1868 c. 109 (Regnal. 31 and 32 Vict).

⁹⁷⁵ HALS, DP99/8/1 Vestry minutes (1849).

Barrel-organs purchased by subscription at both Broxbourne and Hoddesdon had been installed at the rate-payers' expense with no difficulty in the early 1800s (see Section 2.4.4), but by the time an organ was offered to Walkern in 1842 the vestry only agreed to install it on condition that it 'be done without any expense to the parishioners either *now*, or *hereafter*' [sic].⁹⁷⁶ The change in attitude between 1805 and 1842 which influenced the wording of this resolution was due to both the growth of nonconformity and the parishioners' growing awareness of what could legally be required of them.

Certain individuals, most notably Quakers, had refused to pay the church rate since the seventeenth century, and as early as 1817 a correspondent to the *Norfolk Bury Post* had questioned the legality of paying the organist out of the church rate.⁹⁷⁷ But during the 1830s-40s numerous town vestries began to oppose payments to organists. This was because town parishes were more likely to have both organs and significant numbers of dissenters, many of whom were very prominent in the community and actively involved in the vestry. In Hertfordshire, the Totteridge vestry questioned the legality of paying the organist out of the church rate in October 1833. No conclusive decision was made, with the discussion postponed until the Easter vestry, when:

if it be proved that the same may be legally charged upon the rate that it be allowed for this year, but if on the contrary, it is not legal, that such charges be then struck out of the churchwardens accounts.⁹⁷⁸

Voting against setting the church rate signified the rate-payers' refusal to support the church building and establishment, from both of which they now felt alienated. Furthermore, it marked their disapprobation of the Tory party that had failed to introduce reform. This was only a means of registering a protest, since the churchwardens had the final decision when it came to setting the rate, but in 1830 the ecclesiastical lawyer John Haggard reported a ruling that parishioners could not be forced to pay for the installation or upkeep of an organ, even if a faculty had been

⁹⁷⁶ HALS, DP114/8/1 Vestry minutes (1842).

⁹⁷⁷ *Bury and Norwich Post* (26 Feb. 1817), p. 2.

⁹⁷⁸ HALS, DP46B/12/5 Vestry minutes (1827-33).

granted.⁹⁷⁹ The ruling does not appear to have been common knowledge during the 1830s, and demands were made of some parishioners which could later be regarded as unjustifiable. In December 1828 Jane Austen's nephew James Edward Austen-Leigh married Emma, daughter of the London banker Drummond Smith who had purchased Tring Park during the 1780s.⁹⁸⁰ Austen-Leigh was appointed curate of the parish church, and at a September 1832 vestry 'proposed on the part of the Miss Smiths of Tring to present the church with an organ'.⁹⁸¹ The offer was accepted, but any short-lived gratification felt by the parishioners was quickly dispelled when the churchwardens explained they would be called upon 'to pay for the alteration of the Gallery and the fixing of the Organ'.⁹⁸² After being illegally compelled to pay almost £22 for installing the 'free' barrel-organ, the following year the vestry retaliated by refusing to pay the barrel-organist's salary out of the church rate. By 1841 this had clearly become a widespread problem, and a legal periodical wearily included this 'F.A.Q.'-style advice:

Q.: Can parishioners assembled in vestry legally make a church rate to pay the salary of an organist?

A.: The parishioners cannot make a church rate for the specific purpose of paying an organist's salary; but the majority of those present in vestry may legally agree that the organist's salary shall be paid out of the church rate. The ecclesiastical courts have repeatedly recognized this power.⁹⁸³

Many corporations supported the established church, often by contributing towards the organist's salary,⁹⁸⁴ for example in Truro (Cornwall) the organist's £45 salary comprised £30 from the church rates, £10 from the corporation and £5 from gallery seating rents.⁹⁸⁵ Some corporations also held an advowson, such as the

⁹⁷⁹ John Haggard, *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Ecclesiastical Courts at Doctors' Commons and in the High Court of Delegates* (4 vols., London, 1829-33), III, pp. 4-10.

⁹⁸⁰ Deirdre Le Faye, *A Chronology of Jane Austen and Her Family: 1700-2000* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 636; *VCH Herts*, 2, pp. 281-294.

⁹⁸¹ HALS, DP111/8/20.

⁹⁸² *ibid.*

⁹⁸³ *Justice of the Peace and County, Borough, Poor Law Union and Parish Law Recorder* (24 Apr. 1841), p. 245.

⁹⁸⁴ Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, 3rd edn. (2 vols., London, 1971), 1, pp. 108-9.

⁹⁸⁵ McGrady, *Cornwall*, p. 123.

St Albans Corporation which contributed £20 towards the Abbey Church organ in 1819.⁹⁸⁶ But in 1835 the Reform of Municipal Corporations Bill became law, abolishing closed or self-elected corporations, so that all now had to be elected by ratepayers. In addition to having vestry voting rights, nonconformists and non-church-goers could now also be elected to the corporation, and this quickly happened at Wisbech (Cambs.).⁹⁸⁷ Perhaps hoping to encourage similar actions in Hertfordshire, in 1836, the year newspaper tax was reduced, the *Hertford Mercury* reported that at a recent Wisbech vestry the clergyman arrived late only to find the chair had already been taken by Josiah Rumbull, a dissenter.⁹⁸⁸ The chairman discovered the organist was being paid £10 a year out of the church rate to instruct the singers, in addition to his astonishingly high salary of £70-£80 per annum, perhaps part-funded by the outgoing corporation. The chairman asked why members of the dissenting chapel, who had voluntarily raised £40 to purchase the chapel's Seraphine,⁹⁸⁹ should also fund music-making in the parish church? Sure enough, when the Easter 1837 Hitchin vestry was held, the *Hertford Mercury* reported 'From the large attendance of Churchmen and Dissenters it was evident that an opposition to the rate was expected'.⁹⁹⁰ When William Hainworth, sometime preacher at Tilehouse Street Baptist Chapel,⁹⁹¹ objected to the payment of the organist's salary from the rate, the chairman asked the opinion of Delmé Radcliffe, whose father had presented the organ to the church (see p. 107). He replied that it appeared 'unreasonable thus to compel Dissenters to pay for what he considered a luxury of the church', and it was agreed the salary of the organist should in future be defrayed by private subscription.

Church rate disputes affecting church music-making were not limited to organs and organists. As late as 1850 the St John's, Bedford vestry resolved that 'the

⁹⁸⁶ A.E. Gibbs, *The Corporation Records of St Albans* (St Albans, 1890), p. 169.

⁹⁸⁷ Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, p. 108.

⁹⁸⁸ *HM* (21 June 1836), p. 2.

⁹⁸⁹ A type of reed organ. See Section 5.5.2.

⁹⁹⁰ *HM* (9 May 1837), pp. 2-3.

⁹⁹¹ HALS, DE/Gr/46 Hitchin.

player of the clarionet henceforth be not paid out of Church rate'.⁹⁹² Nonetheless, the most widely-reported disputes relating to church music-making concerned organs and organists, again because they usually occurred in town parishes. In April 1849 the Berkhamsted inhabitants subscribed 'a considerable sum' towards the purchase of a new finger organ to replace their barrel-organ.⁹⁹³ The proposal that an organist should be appointed at an annual salary of £25 paid from the church rate was strongly opposed, some ratepayers claiming this was illegal, and others 'that those who had been dissatisfied with the old organ should subscribe for the salary of the organist required for the new instrument'.⁹⁹⁴ After 'a warm discussion', it was from Haggard that the churchwardens sought legal advice (see p. 222), under circumstances that throw new light on faculty applications. They asked whether they would be justified 'under the authority of a resolution of vestry, or otherwise', to pay the organist and organ-related expenses out of the church rate, and if so whether any special notice of the object of the vestry should be given. Haggard's opinion was:

That a majority of ratepayers in the parish of Gt Berkhamstead may legally vote a salary to an organist, & a sufficient sum for tuning the organ, & for necessary repairs as occasion may require. If the vestry be convened mainly for the above objects, they certainly should be specified in the notice, but generally, such expences form a part of the annual items submitted to the rate-payers to be included in a rate, applied for annually by the churchwardens as expences incident to the performance of Divine Service, to the churchwardens' office. In this case, the item being new, it is advisable to specify it.⁹⁹⁵

An additional comment provides a partial explanation as to why so few faculties for church organs survive from this period. His wording clearly implies very few Hertfordshire churches went to the trouble and expense of applying for one:

Strictly, I apprehend, a faculty is required for the erection of an organ, and if opposition to payments in respect of it be anticipated, it may be worth consideration whether the instrument itself should be erected without legal authority.⁹⁹⁶

⁹⁹² BARS, P88/8/1 Vestry minutes (1850).

⁹⁹³ *HM* (28 Apr. 1849), p. 3.

⁹⁹⁴ HALS, DP19/6/1 Papers relating to the organ (1849).

⁹⁹⁵ *ibid.*

⁹⁹⁶ *ibid.*

Finally Haggard drew their attention to the 1830 ruling, saying:

the faculty would not saddle the expenses of performance upon the church rate, nor would it be refused merely on the ground of those expences not being specially provided for. See *Jay v. Webber*, vol.3 p.4 by Haggard.⁹⁹⁷

Objections to funding music-making out of the church rate were not confined to parishes under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Lincoln. In the diocese of London the celebrated Parker finger organ at Watford was part-exchanged for a J. Walker barrel-and-finger organ in 1841.⁹⁹⁸ This is suggestive of severe financial difficulties, so much so that Walker's invoice was not paid in full until some three years later, when 'directed by the Archdeacon'.⁹⁹⁹ Yet extraordinarily in 1845 the vestry appointed the organist Thomas Warne 'at the salary of £50 per annum and that it be paid out of the church rate'.¹⁰⁰⁰ This was an unusually high salary, and when a church rate of ½d in the pound was proposed in 1849 'for the purpose of paying the salary of the organist and for such other expences as are by law chargeable to the church rate' there was widespread rebellion. The entire parish was polled, but with 187 votes for and 142 against, the organist kept his job, albeit at a significantly reduced salary of £30.¹⁰⁰¹ Unable to manage his affairs on this reduced salary, Warne was declared insolvent in 1851,¹⁰⁰² the consequences of which are discussed in Section 5.2.1.

Difficulties became particularly acute in St Albans, where the corporation was no longer patron of the Abbey Church following the 1835 Corporations Bill, and there was a particularly large and active body of dissenters. In August 1838 it was necessary to hold a collection after morning and evening services at the Abbey Church 'in lieu of an appointed salary for the organist, Mr T. Brooks'.¹⁰⁰³ On Christmas Eve 1845 the

⁹⁹⁷ Haggard, *Reports*; G.C. Boase, 'Haggard, John (1794-1856)', rev. Beth F. Wood, *ODNB*.

⁹⁹⁸ HALS, DP117/5/1 Churchwardens' accounts (1824-44); *Watford Observer* (28 May 1870), p. 4; Martin Goetze & Dominic Gwynn, 'Leatherhead', *Goetze & Gwynn*, accessed 25 Oct. 2015, at www.goetzegwynn.co.uk/organ/1766-thomas-parker-organ-leatherhead/.

⁹⁹⁹ HALS, DP117/5/1.

¹⁰⁰⁰ HALS, DP117/8/1-3.

¹⁰⁰¹ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁰² *HM* (13 Sept. 1851), p. 1.

¹⁰⁰³ *County Press* (18 Aug. 1838), n.p.

goods of several St Albans Baptists were seized for non-payment of the church rate.¹⁰⁰⁴ The Baptist printer and bookseller Richard Gibbs responded to the ongoing situation by printing and circulating handbills highlighting the absurdity of some of the items seized, and more importantly that their expected resale value was in all cases far higher than the amount owed. The matter was reported widely in newspapers as far away as Hampshire and Leeds,¹⁰⁰⁵ and the situation deteriorated further during the 1850s (see Section 5.2.1).

Although some organists such as Brooks were now remunerated by church collection this was a temporary measure, and the suggestion made by church rate opponents that payments should be made by subscription seemed to offer a practical alternative in some parishes. Yet neither method offered job security. The salary of the Hitchin organist Frederick Walker was paid by subscription, but by March 1848 the number of subscribers had fallen so substantially that they were obliged to offer a reduced salary, which he considered 'illiberal':

with a large family like mine – the loss of ten pounds a year would be a serious inconvenience, but at times like the present when my teaching is so greatly reduced and the wants of my family so much greater than before – the reduction of one fourth of my yearly stipend is a hardship I severely feel and may indeed ultimately prove of the most disastrous consequences.¹⁰⁰⁶

Walker stated that if forced to accept the terms he would only play on Sundays, Christmas Day and Good Friday, 'all other requirements to be specially paid for'. The subscribers demurred, and in October 1851 his brinksmanship was rewarded with dismissal by the churchwardens 'in consequence of their inability to collect the sum requisite to pay your salary'.¹⁰⁰⁷

To make matters worse, dissenters and non-church-goers were not the only parishioners who revolted against church rates. Following the introduction of Tractarian-led ritualism, in some parishes it was members of the congregation

¹⁰⁰⁴ *HM* (27 Dec. 1845), p. 3.

¹⁰⁰⁵ *Hampshire Telegraph* (20 May 1848); *Leeds Times* (27 May 1848).

¹⁰⁰⁶ HALS, DP53/7/4 Minutes of meetings of subscribers to the organist's salary (1837-56).

¹⁰⁰⁷ *ibid.*

themselves who raised objections. In Hertfordshire, this was particularly so in those town parishes which lay in the London diocese, following Bishop Blomfield's 1842 Charge to his clergy in which he insisted on a High-Church interpretation of the rubric, for example by the wearing of surplices, thereby displeasing Evangelicals and Tractarians alike.¹⁰⁰⁸ This was probably felt keenly in Ware owing to the location of St Edmund's College, a large Roman Catholic teaching establishment, in the neighbouring parish of Standon. Henry Coddington, vicar of Ware was regarded with increasing suspicion by his parishioners who considered him 'imbued with Tractarianism'.¹⁰⁰⁹ In June 1843 vestry members did not mince matters when they wrote to the bishop:

My Lord, we the undersigned inhabitants and ratepayers of the parish of Ware respectfully beg leave to represent to your lordship that the alterations lately made in the celebration of Divine Worship in this parish are utterly inconsistent with our views and feelings, nay more, we may say so entirely repugnant to them, that we are fully convinced if they are persisted in it will ultimately endanger the true interests of the church.¹⁰¹⁰

The letter was taken round the parish for signature, and in a covering letter the churchwardens asked the bishop whether it was advisable to risk 'the separation of a very large and influential portion of the congregation, some of whom have already begun to talk of a voluntary Church Association'. The dispute continued to escalate. By September the churchwardens had entered into correspondence with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and a discussion was held as to whether the organ should be continued at all, since:

It now only played two psalms in which the congregation engaged, and was employed during the rest of the service merely for the accommodation of the minister, while he was marching about the church.¹⁰¹¹

¹⁰⁰⁸ Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, pp. 214-6.

¹⁰⁰⁹ *HM* (16 Sept. 1843), p. 3.

¹⁰¹⁰ HALS, DP116/8/10 Vestry minutes (1843).

¹⁰¹¹ *HM* (16 Sept. 1843), p. 3.

The editor of the *Hertford Mercury* reflected:

It was most unfortunate that Dr Pusey and Mr Newman, the leaders of the new movement in the Church, were good and amiable men, for this fact induced many to fail in the performance of their duty in opposing the principles promulgated by them.¹⁰¹²

As anticipated, when the next Ware vestry was held ‘a considerable number of the principal rate-payers were present’, always a sign of potential trouble, as at Hitchin.¹⁰¹³ Several items were struck out, and the meeting agreed ‘notice should be given to the organist, Mr Luppino of Hertford, that after Easter next his services will be dispensed with, as his salary will not be allowed out of the church rate’. By the following month 230 of the congregation had broken away to form a separate meeting in the Town Hall led by a Wesleyan Connexion minister, with ‘prayers, lessons, and singing psalms [...] in strict accordance with the usage of the established church’.¹⁰¹⁴

This incident provides an interesting example of how a change in the use of the organ was instrumental in repelling rather than attracting worshippers – up until this point its major role would have been to support singing, preferably by the congregation, rather than providing liturgical embellishment. Moreover it illustrates the fact that the opportunity to sing at Methodist meetings continued to provide an attractive alternative to attending parish churches where the congregation felt excluded from singing. This is because the music-making was either left to a select choir or dominated by chanting, which is discussed in Section 4.4.5.

¹⁰¹² *ibid.*

¹⁰¹³ *HM* (9 Dec. 1843), p. 2.

¹⁰¹⁴ *HM* (11 May 1844), pp. 2-3.

4.3. Organs

4.3.1. Barrel-organs

In light of the difficulties associated with paying for a finger organ and an organist's salary, during the 1830s-40s the use of church barrel-organs became an even more attractive alternative, and of the thirty-nine organs known to have been newly-installed in Hertfordshire churches, thirty-seven were barrel-organs.¹⁰¹⁵ In a letter to the recently-initiated High-Church *British Magazine*, 'R' advised clergymen 'barrel organs are cheaper than finger-organs, and do very well for a country church', with the additional advantage of not needing to find or pay an organist.¹⁰¹⁶ He also noted that finger organs could be fitted with a barrel mechanism: 'this is a good plan, in case of the illness or absence of the usual organist'.¹⁰¹⁷ Hot on the heels of the *British Magazine* came another High-Church publication, the *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, which from August 1839 onwards carried advertisements from the organ-builder John Gray, quickly followed by other firms including Bates, Flight, Holdich and Eagles. They specifically targeted those who wished to purchase barrel-organs for church use, highlighting their usefulness in teaching children to sing and stressing their economical nature, sometimes selling them unfinished so the church could employ a local carpenter such as Cheffins to build the casework (see p. 205). Gray claimed his 'may be set up without the assistance of an organ builder, a matter of no little consideration when required at a distance from the Metropolis'.¹⁰¹⁸

Certain organ-builders appear to have made attempts to capitalize on the episcopal drive to improve psalmody. From the 1810s onwards Henry Bryceson recommended the purchase of his church barrel-organs 'to promote decent psalmody'.¹⁰¹⁹ When a decision was made in about 1830 to 'reform' the psalmody in Loughton (Essex), a barrel organ was ordered from Bryceson, on the understanding

¹⁰¹⁵ See Appendix 3.

¹⁰¹⁶ *British Magazine* (1 Dec. 1835), pp. 679-81.

¹⁰¹⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁰¹⁸ *Ecclesiastical Gazette* (13 Aug. 1839), p. 37.

¹⁰¹⁹ *The Times* (18 Aug. 1817), p. 1.

that he was under the patronage of the Bishop of London, indicating that the parish wished to follow episcopal guidance. Voluntary contributions were made to purchase the organ, with an additional subscription to 'defray the expenses of teaching the children to sing'.¹⁰²⁰

Wolffe has noted that Evangelicals and High Churchmen alike wished to encourage congregational psalmody from the 1830s onwards.¹⁰²¹ The evidence not only supports his argument, but also suggests both gave serious consideration to using barrel-organs to do so, since in addition to being heavily advertised in High-Church periodicals they were also promoted in the Evangelical *Christian Observer*. In 1834 the editor counselled a concerned clergyman seeking help after reading the SPCK's advice 'Nothing is so objectionable as a barrel organ'.¹⁰²² Although agreeing 'the name barrel organ sounds ill from vile associations', the editor reassured 'what is the Apollonicon itself but a barrel organ?' (see Section 3.4.1). He concluded the clergyman had 'better avail himself of this secondary aid than allow the praises of God to remain unsung'. This supports the growing evidence that barrel-organs were in many cases introduced to support music-making where there had been little or none, rather than solely to suppress unruly choir-bands.

4.3.2. Fund-raising

During the 1830s-40s some elite continued to fund church organs in the expectation that they would support children's singing, and in 1835 the *Bucks Herald* reported:

Lord Augustus FitzClarence, vicar of Mapledurham, has just presented the parish with a valuable organ, which is now being erected in the church and, we understand, about twenty of the children are taught singing, in order that this part of Divine Service may be performed in a pleasing and proper manner.¹⁰²³

¹⁰²⁰ ERO, D/P 233/6/17 Correspondence & papers (c.1830).

¹⁰²¹ John Wolffe, 'Praise to the Holiest in the Height', Hymns and Church Music', in: Wolffe, *Religion*, p. 86.

¹⁰²² *Christian Observer* (Feb. 1834), p. 95.

¹⁰²³ *Bucks Herald* (6 June 1835), p. 3.

Similarly in 1835 Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, presented a Flight & Sons barrel-organ to the parish church situated in his park at Stratfield Saye (Hants.).¹⁰²⁴ One of the Duke's brothers was son-in-law to the Marquess of Salisbury, whom Wellington visited frequently at Hatfield during this period, and in July 1835 the Duke accompanied them to St Etheldreda's.¹⁰²⁵ The Salisburys made reciprocal visits to Stratfield Saye, and in October 1835 their fellow houseguests included Queen Adelaide and her entourage.¹⁰²⁶ Although this barrel-organ may have been given to support the singing by the parish charity school, the desire to please prestigious visitors may have also influenced Wellington's decision to give the organ. The practice was lampooned in 1840 by the controversial *Satirist* :

The Earl of Thanet has presented the parishioners of Rainham in Kent, with "a barrel organ of a very superior description". Other noble lords are fond of showing the strength of their piety and zeal for the Church in a very similar fashion, and we must admit that it is no bad plan to "throw a tub to the whale" in rustic districts in this way.¹⁰²⁷

In other words, the gift of an organ would distract parishioners from matters in more serious need of attention. In Hertfordshire this included the funding of schools, where 'had as much money been spent on education as had in fact been spent on bribery and treating in the notoriously corrupt politics of St Albans, the schools would have been very well provided for indeed'.¹⁰²⁸

The introduction of church barrel-organs became commonplace as local landowners continued to follow the example set by the elite. This circumstance was embroidered upon by the 'silver-fork' novelist Mrs Gore¹⁰²⁹ in her account of Wheatam, 'a pleasant village in the county of Herts', almost certainly inspired by Wheathampstead.¹⁰³⁰ Silver-fork novels offered an insight into aristocratic life, and

¹⁰²⁴ Flight, *Stratfield-Saye*.

¹⁰²⁵ Carola Oman, *The Gascoyne Heiress. The Life and Diaries of Frances Mary Gascoyne-Cecil 1802-39* (London, 1968), p. 171.

¹⁰²⁶ Oman, *Gascoyne*, p. 180.

¹⁰²⁷ *The Satirist; or, the Censor of the Times* (2 Feb. 1840), p. 34.

¹⁰²⁸ Agar, *Behind the Plough*, p. 110.

¹⁰²⁹ Winifred Hughes, 'Gore, Catherine Grace Frances (1798-1861)', *ODNB*.

¹⁰³⁰ Mrs Gore, 'Hush!', *Bentley's Miscellany*, Vol. XIV (July 1843) pp. 65-73.

often ridiculed social climbers. Mrs Gore's cautionary tale did so by relating the purchase of 'Wheatam Priory' by Gamaliel Cribbs, a 'City man'. Wishing to establish himself in the locality and keep up with 'Ashridge' and 'Brocket' (Hertfordshire estates owned by the late Earl of Bridgewater and the Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne), Cribbs' desire to present a barrel-organ to the church rode roughshod over the wishes of the vestry. He persuaded them that doing so would save the organist's salary of forty to fifty pounds a year, not to mention the cost of a finger organ, and that in this age of the Apollonicon, 'cylinder organs' satisfied the needs of nine out of ten parishes such as Wheatam. His winning card was that the money saved could be spent on the poor, presumably an argument well-versed in real life, and a machine-organ was duly installed. On the second Sunday the children sang four verses of the *Morning Hymn* to the approbation of all present, but the organ continued through eight more verses, followed by twelve verses of the *Evening Hymn* after the overzealous sexton broke the stop-bolt handle. With no possibility of silencing the organ 'the tittering of the charity school was as though a thousand swallows' nests were rearing their young in the roof', and the organ was removed to the churchyard where it could still be heard. Note the disgruntled donor Mr Cribbs in his exclusive curtained pew immediately in front of the pulpit in Figure 39, the delighted smock-wearing peasant, and in the pulpit itself the parson attempting to distance himself from proceedings.



Figure 39. George Cruikshank, *The Self-Playing Organ* (1843).¹⁰³¹

¹⁰³¹ Mrs Gore, 'Hush!', p. 72.

Mrs Gore was described by *The Times* as 'the wittiest woman of her age',¹⁰³² and it seems possible her fiction may have been the origin of many would-be anecdotes of unruly barrel-organs. Yet other tales appear to be genuine, including the instrument at Stanmer (Sussex) which 'could not be lightly suppressed when once its services were employed'.¹⁰³³

In those parishes with no resident church-going landowners, or where the incumbent had fallen out with them, other sources of funding were sought. Prior to the 1830s several Hertfordshire organs had been purchased by subscription, albeit with most of the funding coming from wealthier local parishioners. But a decline in the number of purchases by subscription during the 1830s-40s suggests the widely-reported church rate disputes made potential subscribers doubtful of the merits of contributing towards any kind of church organ. The increasingly widespread use of church barrel-organs may have both contributed towards this reluctance to contribute, and been the result of few funds being available (see Figure 40).

¹⁰³² Hughes, 'Gore'.

¹⁰³³ MacDermott, *Sussex*, p. 11.

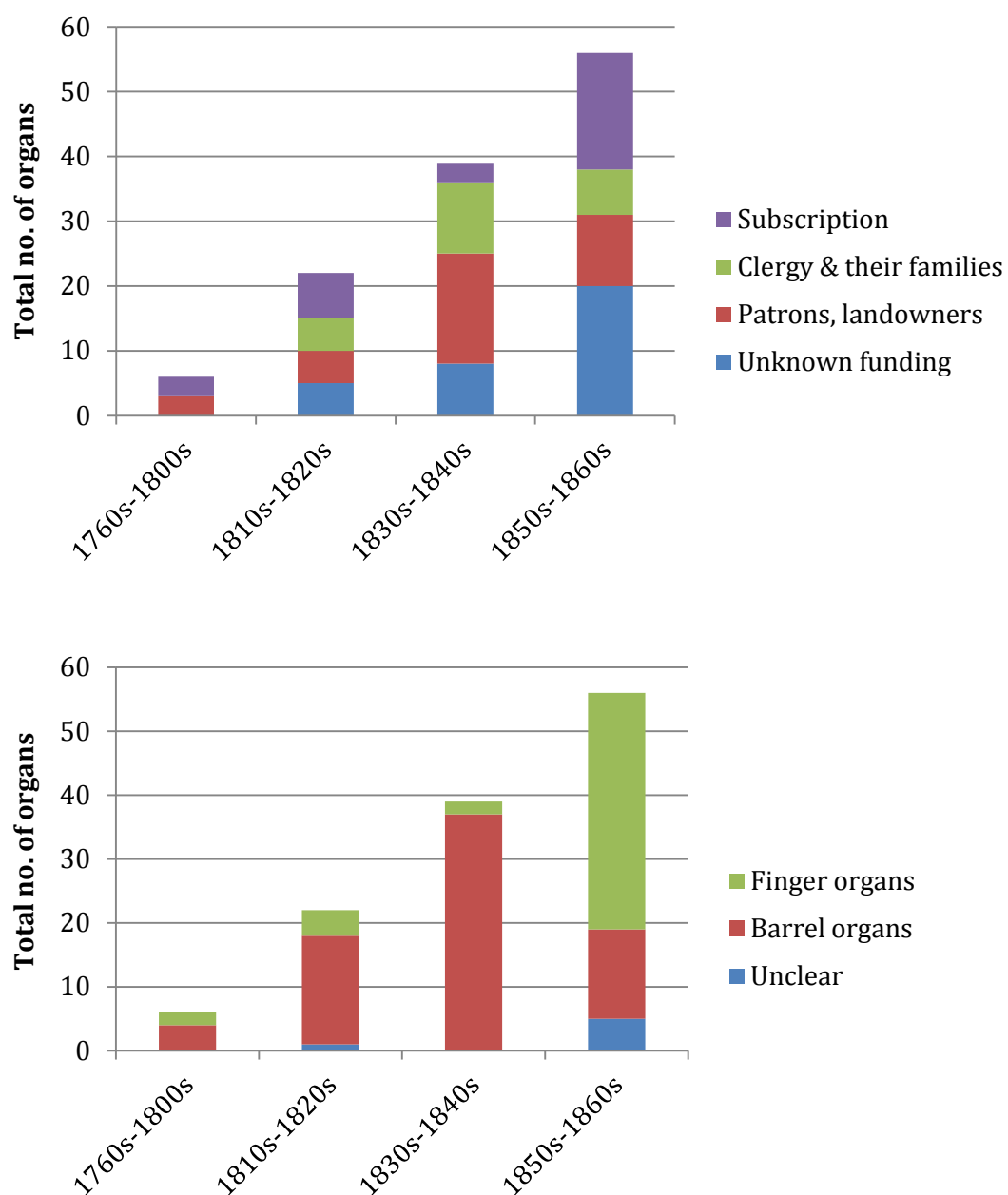


Figure 40. Funding of newly-installed church organs in Hertfordshire 1760s-1860s.¹⁰³⁴

¹⁰³⁴ Based on Appendix 3.

With dwindling support from subscribers, incumbents became major contributors towards organ purchases during the 1830s to 1840s, and clergy families frequently paid for the entire instrument. Thistlethwaite argued that this demonstrated the clergy's desperation to improve parochial music,¹⁰³⁵ and Hertfordshire evidence suggests they funded at least a quarter of the organs newly-installed during this period. But in some parishes the clergy paid for both the organ and the National School, indicating a continuation of their inter-relatedness. Frederick Dudley Ryder, nephew of the Evangelical bishop Henry Dudley Ryder, supported Ickleford and Pirton National Schools during the 1840s,¹⁰³⁶ and it seems probable he was also responsible for the installation of the barrel-organs in both churches. Ippollitts and Great Wymondley were under the patronage of Trinity College Cambridge, and from the 1750s onwards shared a Trinity-educated vicar, with services held alternately morning and afternoon.¹⁰³⁷ During the incumbency of Thomas Henry Steel, 'active in distributing Church tracts' in the 1840s,¹⁰³⁸ the vicarage was demolished in order to provide a site next to the church for the National School (see Figure 41).¹⁰³⁹ The barrel-organs installed in both churches are likely to have been purchased by Steel himself.¹⁰⁴⁰

¹⁰³⁵ Thistlethwaite, *Victorian Organ*, p. 66.

¹⁰³⁶ See Appendix 3; Burg, *Religion*, pp. 44 & 56.

¹⁰³⁷ Burg, *Religion*, pp. 141-2.

¹⁰³⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 44 & 88.

¹⁰³⁹ J. Johnstone Page, 'Great Wymondley Church', *Transactions*, East Herts Archaeological Society, Vol. II part I (Hertford, 1906), p. 18.

¹⁰⁴⁰ LPL, ICBS/03355 Application (1844); Langwill & Boston, *Barrel-organs*, p. 79.



Figure 41. Ippollitts church and school.

Clergy in more straightened circumstances or wishing to engage popular support sought other means to raise the necessary funds. Preaching a sermon was a long-established method, and continued to make a useful contribution. In 1842 a collection towards the new organ following a sermon at Weston parish church was particularly successful, totalling more than £30.¹⁰⁴¹ In towns, fund-raising concerts of both sacred and secular music proved popular mid-century, partly because using the church itself as the venue was a novelty. In March 1840 the *Hertford Mercury* anticipated 'a decided treat to the lovers of music' at the forthcoming concert in aid of the new organ at All Saints, Hertford,¹⁰⁴² and at Codicote 'Mr Brode and twenty-two of his pupils' gave a selection of sacred and secular pieces at their organ fund-raising concert in 1864.¹⁰⁴³

Secular fund-raising events became increasingly fashionable, and had the advantage of attracting the attention of non-churchgoers. Having already fallen out

¹⁰⁴¹ *HM* (27 Aug. 1842), p. 2.

¹⁰⁴² *HM* (21 Mar. 1840), p. 2.

¹⁰⁴³ *Hertfordshire Express* (17 Dec. 1864), p. 2.

with the local landowner over parish finances,¹⁰⁴⁴ in August 1840 the vicar of Ardeley sought alternative funding by holding a 'Fancy Fair' at the new George Hotel Assembly Rooms in Buntingford to raise money for a barrel-organ. By holding the event in the nearest market town, a small parish such as this with a mainly labouring population was able to attract funds from its wealthier neighbours, who were 'both numerous and fashionable'.¹⁰⁴⁵ As late as July 1864 a bazaar 'for the sale of fancy articles and toys' at The Elms, Baldock raised funds 'for enlarging and improving the organ now in use in the parish church'.¹⁰⁴⁶ The grounds of a private dwelling such as this provided a more genteel setting and attracted a better class of potential customer, and the *Herts Guardian* reported 'the grounds and gardens at the Elms were of themselves worth a visit'.¹⁰⁴⁷

But while some were happy to make voluntary contributions to the church, others felt more fundamental issues needed to be addressed. When Rev. Mason of Aldenham printed a circular asking for donations towards repairs in 1841 he drew a forthright response from a correspondent who fulminated:

There are few things scandalize me more than any thing in the shape of voluntary subscriptions in aid of the Established Church; by Jove, if this practice is to prevail & extend itself as it appears to have done of late, we shall be told to pay our clergy by voluntary subscription, & why not? if we are thus to repair beautify & build churches or chapels.¹⁰⁴⁸

He or she agreed to give a trifling sum on 'the express understanding that I give it not in any way to effect 'the necessary repairs of the church' but to alter the form of the pews or sittings and correct an evil [...] caused by vain men who must have pews as spacious as their acres, and fenced as high as their parks or gardens' with the parting shot 'from a clergyman of the Established Church carrying a begging-box, promoting a

¹⁰⁴⁴ David J. Howlett, 'Malet, Sir Charles Warre, first baronet (1753-1815)', *ODNB*.

¹⁰⁴⁵ *HM* (29 Aug. 1840), p. 3.

¹⁰⁴⁶ *HG* (30 July 1864), p. 4.

¹⁰⁴⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁴⁸ HALS, DP3/6/2 Letter concerning Aldenham church (1841).

bazaar, preaching a sermon or putting forth circulars for such purposes, Good Lord deliver us'.¹⁰⁴⁹

In the parish of Higham Gobion (Beds.) adjacent to Hexton and Pirton in Hertfordshire, the rector John Wardale completely avoided the need to appeal to his parishioners for funds in 1849 by purchasing eight £12.10s.0d. shares in the Great Northern Railway, with the specific purpose of applying the dividends 'to the maintenance of the Sunday School, the turning and maintenance of the Barrel organ, and instruction in singing'.¹⁰⁵⁰

4.3.3. *Second-hand organs*

As a result of changing tastes, by mid-century chamber organs and domestic barrel-organs were no longer fashionable in polite society, and often unwanted on the death of their owner. Thus in 1843 following the death of George Alfred Muskett, former MP for St Albans, his '4-barrelled organ' was offered for sale.¹⁰⁵¹ It was also common practice to sell house contents on leaving the district rather than going to the expense of moving them, and this led to further instruments becoming available second-hand. In 1837 a sale of 'Household furniture' in Hoddesden included 'a 4-barrel organ [...] the property of the Misses Sams who are removing',¹⁰⁵² while perhaps further up the social scale in 1847 a sale of household furniture at Brook House, Cheshunt 'by direction of Charles Chapple, the proprietor, removing' included 'a capital eight-barrelled organ by Gerock'.¹⁰⁵³

Because of the funding difficulties during this period, many churches could not even afford a new barrel-organ, let alone a finger organ and organist, and cheap second-hand instruments became highly sought-after. Such was the demand that some churches advertised for them, for example: 'A BARREL ORGAN is WANTED, for a small

¹⁰⁴⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵⁰ BARS, P125/1/5 Register of baptisms (1849).

¹⁰⁵¹ *HM* (22 July 1843), p. 1.

¹⁰⁵² *HM* (17 Oct. 1837), p. 1.

¹⁰⁵³ *HM* (22 May 1847), p. 1.

country church. To be of moderate compass, and to contain two or three barrels of the usual psalm tunes'.¹⁰⁵⁴ It is clear from many such examples that the size and appearance of organs were just as important, if not more so, than their precise repertoire. Finding little demand from domestic purchasers, vendors attempted to tap into the still-growing market for church barrel-organs, as seen in numerous advertisements. When George Fry moved from Fore Street, Hertford, in 1845 he offered for sale 'a fine-toned large barrel organ, calculated for a Church or Chapel, will play 24 sacred tunes',¹⁰⁵⁵ and as late as 1862 a *Herts Guardian* reader offered:

A BARREL ORGAN, playing 40 Psalm and Hymn Tunes, with 5 stops; suitable for Church or Chapel. It is 8 feet high, with ornamental front, and in good condition: cost 70 guineas, and will be sold cheap.¹⁰⁵⁶

Many had clearly not been originally destined for church use, including a very extravagant instrument which may have been similar to that owned by the de Lautours of Hexton (see p. 190), but described as suitable for a small church:

TO CLERGYMEN & CHURCHWARDENS. To be disposed of, a very fine-toned handsome organ, originally cost £2500; is self-acting, and also can be played in the usual way by the hand; it has 400 pipes and 4 barrels.¹⁰⁵⁷

There soon became a glut of second-hand barrel-organs, and with few church resources to buy them it became by no means unusual for households simply to give their local church a domestic barrel-organ of which they had tired, as at Cheshunt.¹⁰⁵⁸ Although there are no sacred tunes pinned on this particular organ, domestic barrel-organs used to accompany family prayers were pinned with psalm-tunes on one or more barrels, and it would not have been incongruous to give such an instrument to the church, which accounts for stories of dance tunes being played during Divine Service. While many are anecdotal, others are based on fact, and in 1898 Sabine Baring Gould recalled the presence of 'The Devil's Hop' on his church organ, which would never do:

¹⁰⁵⁴ *The Times* (29 Oct. 1838), p. 1.

¹⁰⁵⁵ *HM* (11 Oct. 1845), p. 1.

¹⁰⁵⁶ *HG* (7 Jan. 1862), p. 1.

¹⁰⁵⁷ *HG* (11 Nov. 1856), p. 2.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Now in Lowewood Museum, Hoddesdon, on display in October 2012.

[...] if this tune were not turned we would be one tune the poorer in divine service. But it was intolerable that any psalm should be sung to "The Devil's Hop". After much consideration the difficulty was solved in this way. On the organ the title "The Devil's Hop" was altered into "De Ville's Hope," and instructions were issued to the grinder to grind slowly and solemnly. By this means the air served for an Easter psalm.¹⁰⁵⁹

A second-hand chamber organ was equally unsuited to a church with no organist, therefore many were adapted to be played by barrels. John Smith, rector of Baldock purchased one from Gray in December 1835 who added: 'a barrel movement complete with draw stops at the back with 3 barrels £31-10-0'.¹⁰⁶⁰ On a more ambitious scale, Rev. Joseph Stephen Pratt, vicar of St John's, Peterborough and a cathedral prebendary, took up the chaplaincy of Stanstead St Margaret on his retirement. His wife Frances Cecilia was both patron and a member of the Cowper family, daughter of William Cowper MP and granddaughter of Martin Madan (see Section 1.1.3). It was only fitting he should repair and beautify the church,¹⁰⁶¹ and in 1837 arranged for his William Allen chamber organ to be transported from Peterborough, supplied with four barrels, fitted with a movement to play them, and installed in the west gallery (see Figure 8).¹⁰⁶² Although many of the tunes chosen were typical of those used on other barrel-organs of the era, Pratt's taste was more catholic, perhaps reflecting his experience of music-making in Peterborough, and his desire to retain worshippers. To this end he chose several associated with choir-band use, including *Portsmouth New* and Joseph Key's *Psalm 92*.¹⁰⁶³

Several different approaches were therefore adopted to circumvent funding problems caused by both church rate disputes and the reticence of those who might formerly have been expected to support church music-making. In many instances the solution continued to be the installation of a barrel-organ, whether new, second-hand or adapted from a chamber organ. Since many came from country houses it indicates

¹⁰⁵⁹ Sabine Baring Gould, *An Old English Home and its Dependencies* (London, 1898), p. 123.

¹⁰⁶⁰ CRL, John Gray accounts, p. 129.

¹⁰⁶¹ Cussans, *History*, II, p. 137.

¹⁰⁶² CRL, John Gray accounts, p. 141.

¹⁰⁶³ Identified from the instrument during the present study.

the continuing influence of the elite, yet now their priority was often the cheapness of the instrument rather than the superiority of the music it might support. Second-hand church barrel-organs continued to be used during the 1850s-60s, and this is discussed in Section 5.5.1.

4.4. Children

Following a Parliamentary enquiry into education in 1833, Parliament voted annual grants to both the British & Foreign School Society and the National Society, which continued to require Sunday attendance at church. In 1839 Barkway National School rules stipulated:

The master and mistress [...] shall always attend church with the children, whether in holiday time or otherwise, whenever it is open for Divine Service. The children shall proceed to church from school in order together, and return after church to school in like manner.¹⁰⁶⁴

In many villages the church's National School was the only school, and newly-resident clergy were therefore able to have a direct influence on children, and through them, their parents. Yet although it was obligatory for the church to provide some sort of accommodation for the schoolchildren, there was no requirement for their parents to attend at all. In Hertfordshire, George Gaisford was appointed perpetual curate of Wigginton in 1854, and later recalled:

The church – it was like many other rural churches in those days – untidy, mean, dilapidated – a gallery at the west end into which the schoolchildren were with difficulty squeezed, the usual 3-decker arrangement of pulpit &c in short everything as bad as could be. But worst still was the congregation, a few very aged women & the schoolchildren.¹⁰⁶⁵

As seen above, in many churches poor attendance was attributable to a lack of accommodation, but not all parents wanted to attend the church, many attending nonconformist places of worship where the compulsory attendance of National School children at the parish church was a continuing source of frustration. At both Baldock and Barkway National Schools the weekday school hours during the 1830s were

¹⁰⁶⁴ HALS, DP13/25/14.

¹⁰⁶⁵ HALS, DP124/29/1 George Gaisford, Some notes concerning Wigginton (1901).

9-12 a.m. and 2-5 p.m. from Ladyday to Michaelmas, with afternoon lessons finishing an hour earlier during the winter.¹⁰⁶⁶ Although there was no school on Saturday (and at Baldock, on Wednesday) afternoons at certain times of year, the children's week was almost entirely timetabled, since they were also expected to attend school and Divine Service at least once, sometimes twice, on Sundays. Barkway Independent Chapel commented in 1851: 'The smallness of our school arises from the attendance in the National School on the Lord's day being compulsory'.¹⁰⁶⁷

4.4.1. Educational reform

The first national attempts to reform music education were made following the long-awaited passing of the Reform Bill in 1832, when two school textbooks were published to teach children to read music.¹⁰⁶⁸ Firstly, John Turner's *A Manual of Instruction in Vocal Music, Chiefly with a View To Psalmody* was published in 1833 under the auspices of the National Society. Rather than aiming to teach children by ear, like Wilkins and others before him (see Section 2.4.2), this book set out a method for teaching the rudiments of music theory before teaching singing. Turner's *Manual* was adopted in many churches, and his method received a warm endorsement in 1839 when a correspondent to *The Church Magazine* suggested using it to form a small choir of National School boys, who would be more tractable than 'village musicians'. He or she argued that in many churches there was no psalmody at all, and in others it was still:

left to the direction of the village choir; who, not having much knowledge of music, and being moreover greatly disposed to magnify what they have, in about the inverse ratio of their acquirements, either sing to the praise and glory of themselves rather than of God, or inflict torment upon tender ears by the most merciless disregard of time and tune.¹⁰⁶⁹

¹⁰⁶⁶ HALS, DP12/29/5; DP13/25/14.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Burg, *Religion*, p. 129.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Rainbow, 'Parochial and Nonconformist Church Music', p. 146.

¹⁰⁶⁹ *Church Magazine* (Nov. 1839), p. 343.

Secondly, in 1835 Sarah Anna Glover, daughter of a Norwich clergyman and, perhaps unsurprisingly, a Sunday school teacher, published her *Scheme for Rendering Psalmody Congregational*. She too observed that many congregations were unable or unwilling to sing, and like Gibson and Porteus before her advocated the teaching of poor children to sing in order to lead them.¹⁰⁷⁰ Teaching the rudiments of music was not easy, and various aids were employed. Glover invented an innovative device termed the 'Norwich sol-fa ladder' used in conjunction with a glass harmonicon to teach her sol-fa method. Yet it was only after the congregationalist minister John Curwen adapted her system as the 'tonic sol-fa' and used it in his 1843 *Singing for Schools and Congregations* that this method was widely adopted.¹⁰⁷¹

Glover was by no means the only person to suggest ingenious devices to teach singing. In 1838 William Cecil, rector of Longstanton St Michael (Cambs.) found that in rural parishes 'The singing is confined almost exclusively to the gallery of performers',¹⁰⁷² and proposed 'A syllabus of directions for training untaught children in the knowledge and practice of psalmody'.¹⁰⁷³ Cecil's 'Specification of the mechanical apparatus for teaching psalmody, to large assemblies of children' described in detail how an iron frame was to be filled with a 'mattress' of old carpet or similar, covered with white fabric, across which black tapes were stretched to form staves. Details were given of individual notes and musical symbols made of black-painted tin, with the advice 'from the above description they may be made by any common tinman'.¹⁰⁷⁴ A single tune was then displayed on the apparatus, in very large characters:

¹⁰⁷⁰ Sarah Ann Glover, *Scheme for Rendering Psalmody Congregational; comprising a Key to the Sol-fa Notation of Music and Directions for Instructing a School* (Norwich, 1835), p. 5.

¹⁰⁷¹ John Curwen, *Singing for Schools and Congregations* (London, 1843). John Spencer Curwen was his son.

¹⁰⁷² William Cecil, *The Church Choir. A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes* (1838), Preface, cited by G. Udny Yule, 'In Memory of the Rev. William Cecil', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philosophical Society*, Vol. 27 (Cambridge, 1931), pp. 9-11.

¹⁰⁷³ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁷⁴ *ibid.*

While the master plays or sings the melody, one child stands before the chart, and points with a wand to the notes as they are played. The other children sing the tune, following the notes so pointed, by the eye, and the tune by the ear. Several children in succession, sometimes two or three together, act this part of Fugleman to the rest, till every child in the room can do it with ease.¹⁰⁷⁵

The *Christian Guardian* commented:

This is very ingenious and so clearly defined that we doubt not it will be found generally useful. We could wish that it should be adopted in every grade of school; indeed teachers and governesses would not find the drudgery of first lessons in music half so intolerable, were they to have recourse to this amusing invention.¹⁰⁷⁶

Turner, Glover and Cecil all proposed teaching children to sing so that they would lead the congregation but, unlike some who introduced barrel-organs, their clear intention was to reform former practices rather than introduce music where there had been none.

Although the Sunday School Union had been formed in 1803, it was not until 1837 that its first book of tunes for schoolchildren was published, namely *The Union Tune Book*.¹⁰⁷⁷ Although largely overlooked by scholars, this included arrangements of many of the traditional psalm-tunes, suggesting they were considered both suitable and familiar to children and adults. In many instances the *Union Tune Book* arrangements are those found on surviving church barrel-organs, providing further evidence that they were used to support children's voices. No claim was made for the originality of the selection, indeed it was the 'extremely low' price and simplicity of the arrangements that appealed to the Tractarian *Educational Magazine* which also commented:

Very little oral instruction will be necessary to the rules laid down, as their perspicuity and simplicity are such as children may understand them, an advantage rarely found in works of this character.¹⁰⁷⁸

Unsurprisingly, the *Union Tune Book's* simple tunes and arrangements did not find favour with all. The following year Novello published the third volume of his

¹⁰⁷⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁷⁶ *Christian Guardian* (Dec. 1839), p. 488.

¹⁰⁷⁷ John Peck, *The Union Tune Book, being a collection of Psalm and Hymn tunes, adapted for use in Sunday Schools and Congregations* (London, 1837).

¹⁰⁷⁸ *Educational Magazine* (June 1838), p. 241.

Psalmist,¹⁰⁷⁹ with which the *Eclectic Review* unfavourably compared the *Union Tune Book*. Describing the *Union Tune Book* as an attempt ‘to prolong the reign of vulgarity and common-place over our sacred music’, it praised the *Psalmist* for being ‘the very opposite’.¹⁰⁸⁰ Novello became a byword for producing ‘music for the masses’ and employed this approach to advertise ‘Novello’s 169 Psalm and Hymn Tunes [...] for one shilling’.¹⁰⁸¹ However the *Union Tune Book* went on to become very successful, ran through at least 15 editions, and was still in print in 1879, long after the publication of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* in 1861.

In 1840 the Council on Education drew up significant new instructions for school inspectors, clearly indicating that although choirs of schoolchildren continued to be seen as a means of improving congregational psalmody, they were now required to be able to sing from notation rather than relying on a barrel-organ:

Attainment in singing: Having by ear an acquaintance with psalmody and labour songs, acquainted with the elements of the notation of music, able to sing common psalm tunes and labour songs from notes at sight, able to sing chants, anthems and more difficult sacred music, from notes.¹⁰⁸²

In 1848 John James Scott, sometime curate of Countisbury and Lynton (Devon), gave very detailed ‘Rules and Regulations for a Church Choir, when composed chiefly of young persons in the National Sunday school’, including two hours practice a week, or more if new psalms, chants or anthems were to be learnt: ‘The times of practising are recommended to be: not before six o’clock in the evening in the summer time’, presumably so that choir practice did not interfere with their working day, but ‘at half-past twelve o’clock from Michaelmas to Lady-Day, in order that children may not leave their homes in the dark winter evenings’.¹⁰⁸³

¹⁰⁷⁹ Vincent Novello, *The Psalmist: a Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, suited to all the varieties of Metrical Psalmody; consisting principally of Tunes already in general use for Congregational Worship* [...] (London, 1838).

¹⁰⁸⁰ *Eclectic Review*, Vol. 4 (Oct. 1838), p. 479.

¹⁰⁸¹ *Musical Times* (1 July 1848), p. 23.

¹⁰⁸² *Ecclesiastical Gazette* (14 Apr. 1840), p. 206.

¹⁰⁸³ John James Scott, *The Psalms, Canticles & Hymns, in the Book of Common Prayer* [...] *Pointed as they are to be chanted* (London, 1848), pp. x-xi.

4.4.2. *Tractarian influence*

Many newly-ordained clergymen were attracted by the dynamic approach of the Oxford Movement. In 1847 William Upton, minister of Dagnall Street Baptist church, St Albans undertook a survey of Hertfordshire places of worship to assess the progress of both Baptist and Independent ministry for the Hertfordshire Union (see Section 3.3.2). Although the Evangelical movement continued to flourish throughout the 1800s, by the end of the nineteenth century Anglo-Catholics had become the dominant group in the Church of England, taking the initiative from the old High Churchmen. But the changes they introduced reinforced the church-chapel dichotomy and fuelled long-running church rate disputes, with serious consequences for church music-making. As seen in Section 3.3, some musicians were in the habit of playing in both church and chapel, and likewise some nonconformists attended their parish church in the morning, and their own chapel in the afternoon or evening as a supplement. Many newly-resident clergy disapproved of this. Upton described Richard Gee, appointed vicar of Abbots Langley in 1844 at the age of 27, as 'Puseyite', adding 'A flag on the Church announces and calls to church on Saints days – All quite Anglo Catholic'.¹⁰⁸⁴ Gee and his curate were 'indefatigable in denouncing Dissent urging and bribing people to attend the Church',¹⁰⁸⁵ and similarly when a young St Albans boy was taken to the Dagnall Street Methodist chapel by his parents in 1843 it was considered 'a grave offence' by the National School committee who ordered him to be birched.¹⁰⁸⁶

Yet Tractarians continued to see singing children as a means of reforming parochial psalmody, reiterating the thinking of the elite associated with charity and Sunday schools (see Section 2.4.1.2) and early supporters of National Schools (see Section 3.4.3). An early practical example of Tractarian reform appeared in 1840 with the publication of Frances Ann Head's *Choral Psalmody*, which included arrangements

¹⁰⁸⁴ Burg, *Religion*, pp. 46-7.

¹⁰⁸⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁸⁶ Greaves, *Methodism*, p. 49.

by Arthur Henry Dyke Acland. Under the impression F.A. Head was a clergyman, Temperley described 'his' endeavours as an example of a successful attempt to reform singing in a country church.¹⁰⁸⁷ But Head was a member of the Devon gentry who had sought the advice of Acland, younger son of a major landowner in nearby Killerton.¹⁰⁸⁸ A talented instrumentalist, Acland had come under Tractarian influence while at Oxford. He took the name Troyte in 1852 under the terms of an inheritance, and it is by this name that he is best known as a composer of hymn-tunes and Anglican chants.¹⁰⁸⁹ In 1840 Head published her work with the self-explanatory title *Choral Psalmody, or a Collection of Tunes to be Sung in Parts, without instruments, by all Village Choirs [...] the ultimate object of which is to terminate in Congregational Singing*. Tractarians initially wished to do away with any sort of instrumental support for church music-making and, under Acland's influence, Head argued against 'the whimsical flourishes of the wind and stringed instruments [...] which now fill the galleries of our country churches'.¹⁰⁹⁰ She continued 'the music best calculated for these instruments is *not* that of the Psalmody, the harmony of which has *no proper instrumental accompaniment* at all, and the place of these bands therefore is *not* in the *church*'.

Head explained to Acland how she had set about forming an unaccompanied choir at Awlescombe to replace the choir-band in 1839. At first the singers fared badly, and 'the former musicians in the pews below were heard laughing aloud at the performance', but she persevered so that by the end of the year the choir had learnt one hundred and forty tunes.¹⁰⁹¹ She thanked Acland for his encouragement and help:

¹⁰⁸⁷ Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 241.

¹⁰⁸⁸ I am indebted to Tam Mucklow for drawing my attention to the identity of F.A. Head.

¹⁰⁸⁹ John Edward Acland, *A Layman's Life in the days of the Tractarian Movement* (Oxford, 1904), p. 71.

¹⁰⁹⁰ F.A. Head, *Choral Psalmody* [...] (London, 1840), p. 8.

¹⁰⁹¹ Acland, *Layman's Life*, pp. 77-81.

I had not the most remote idea of publication when I began, or of doing more than improving our poor execrable village choir. The tunes in their own MS books were mostly written for their own vile instruments. Some tunes had no parts at all, others were arranged for flutes, hautbois, and violoncello, in many cases impracticable for voices, and all transcribed so imperfectly as to be utterly unintelligible.¹⁰⁹²

Another Sunday school teacher, and author of more than 400 improving works, was the educationist Mary Martha Sherwood.¹⁰⁹³ In 1844 she wrote of Lady Alicia Devereux, 'a widow of a certain age, possessed of a large fortune' who moved to the fictional Steeple Lawford, where she found neither Sunday nor foundation school.¹⁰⁹⁴ At the parish church 'the singing, therefore, was left to adults, and was entirely carried on, with the assistance of the organ, by some of the idlest and least worthy of the young people of the place'. When she invited the curate John Marten to supper 'He found his patroness primed with a new scheme, and, in consequence, in the highest possible spirits'.¹⁰⁹⁵ As in real-life Awlescombe 'The singers must be degraded from their exalted place in the church, and a set of children prepared to take that place'. With no suitable school in the parish:

she was resolved to establish charity-schools for both sexes, on the national plan; and these children being under the control of the governors, (she herself being at the head, as she resolved to be, of the whole affair), they might be taught to sing, and would, of course, be directed in what they should sing.¹⁰⁹⁶

Letters to the Tractarian *Educational Magazine* also enlarged upon this theme.

In May 1840 'E.T.' offered 'a few remarks on the best method of improving parochial or village psalmody':

Many of your readers may be doomed to listen with aching ears, and tastes and feelings sorely wounded, to the miserable attempts at sacred music in their parish church, and would be rejoiced if so pleasing and important a part of the service could be better conducted.¹⁰⁹⁷

The influence of church rate disputes can again be seen in E.T.'s argument that the singers were tolerated 'because they are volunteers and cost the parish nothing

¹⁰⁹² *ibid.*

¹⁰⁹³ Patricia Demers, 'Sherwood, Mary Martha (1775-1851)', *ODNB*.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Mary Martha Sherwood, *The History of John Marten* (London, 1844), pp. 18-76.

¹⁰⁹⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁹⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁹⁷ *Educational Magazine* (May 1840), pp. 309-14.

except a trifling gratuity at Christmas', yet were permitted to 'introduce their own instruments' and 'to reign supreme in the singing gallery'. Again, the proposed solution was to use children, preferably taught using Glover's sol-fa system:

In any place where there is a daily boys' or girls' school, the elements of this choir may be found [...] once well begun, and singing established as a regular part of school tuition, the clergyman and his people will be secure of a succession of tolerable vocalists. Though the children pass off from the school, some remain in the village, and these, whether in the gallery or in the body of the church, are useful both by their better singing and better taste.¹⁰⁹⁸

In reply, 'D.E.F.' again recommended the works of John Turner, whose method was taught at the National Society's Westminster training college.¹⁰⁹⁹ 'T.V.' agreed that an improvement was called for, but instead of recommending a boys' choir suggested:

there can be no excuse for continuing the execrable psalmody usual in village churches, where there is a charity school and a good singing-master within a moderate distance. It is astonishing how soon a selected class of children, particularly girls, acquire the habit of singing at sight, under good instruction.¹¹⁰⁰

In early 1841 Acland took up the theme in earnest in a short series of articles for the magazine. In his first, he argued Glover's system was unnecessary, since the continuing choral tradition in cathedrals was evidence that children were capable of learning music theory rather than any need for the sol-fa system. He then praised Head's work, based entirely on teaching music theory.¹¹⁰¹ The following month a letter from Miss Head herself was published at Acland's request, detailing her teaching method. At first she familiarized children to sing at the pianoforte, before moving on to simply using a pitch-pipe to give the first note. Using the familiar argument that the results would be self-perpetuating she wrote:

¹⁰⁹⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁹⁹ *ibid.* (Aug. 1840), pp. 111-3.

¹¹⁰⁰ *ibid.* (Nov. 1840), pp. 312-3.

¹¹⁰¹ *ibid.* (Jan. 1841), pp. 39-50.

Should this plan [...] be at all extensively adopted, the trouble – such as it is – will in the next generation totally cease. The children of those who now, as children themselves, sing by note the first and second parts, would learn almost unconsciously of their parents. [...] every child, boy or girl, in every parish, who may have either voice or ear, may learn; and our village churches may henceforward be filled, not only with good choirs, but with the voices of the whole congregation.¹¹⁰²

It is clear this approach was adopted in other churches, perhaps making a virtue out of necessity since funding was at such a low ebb. When the singing was undertaken by schoolchildren at Tingrith (Beds.) during the 1860s the domineering lady patron stipulated that neither band nor organ would be tolerated, and a tuning fork was used to set the pitch.¹¹⁰³ Acland added a teaching suggestion of his own. Like Cecil, he had a practical scientific mind, and proposed representing the music stave with 'the wires and balls used for teaching arithmetic, arranged in two rows of five wires with balls on; and between each, a wire of another colour being used for the ledger C line'.¹¹⁰⁴

In Hertfordshire, although the teaching method is unknown, it is clear that the children of Graveley National School sang at their parish church. In early January 1841 the *Hertford Mercury* reported that on the previous Sunday:

After the morning service, the boys and girls 30 in number, who regularly sing at Graveley church, were conducted by the churchwardens [...] to the residence of Mr John Bellamy of Gothic Cottage; who with his accustomed liberality regaled them with an abundant supply of plum pudding and roast beef, when they retired with gratitude and attended the afternoon service with the utmost decorum.¹¹⁰⁵

This suggests the young singers were given a Christmas feast in continuation of the traditional reward given to singers (see Section 3.2), and that another advantage of using children's voices was that they too expected no further payment.

Like the *Educational Magazine*, the *Parish Choir* campaigned against gallery singers and church bands, pleading for a more decorous approach to worship. Each

¹¹⁰² *ibid.* (Feb. 1841), pp. 88-92.

¹¹⁰³ Ditchfield, *Parish Clerk*, pp. 283-5.

¹¹⁰⁴ *Educational Magazine* (Feb. 1841), pp. 92-102.

¹¹⁰⁵ *HM* (9 Jan. 1841), p. 2.

issue included supplements of Anglican chants and other parish church music, ideally to be sung unaccompanied, and the promotion of this 'special style' of music emphasized the Tractarian ideal that there should be a clear distinction between the church and the secular world.¹¹⁰⁶ The publication was not well received by the High-Church *Oxford and Cambridge Review*, which referred to its 'namby-pamby' (that is, Whiggish) objections to church bands.¹¹⁰⁷ The very first issue of the *Parish Choir* indicated that in both rural and town parishes the singing was left to the children. In rural parishes there was either no organ or no resident organist, and an untrained choir of 'a few children of the parish school', and in towns schoolchildren taught by the organist were 'the psalm-singers for the congregation'.¹¹⁰⁸ Therefore rural children were seen to be a hindrance to the congregation singing, and town children inappropriate since they sang on their behalf. The *Parish Choir* argued:

something may be done, and ought to be done, to improve the style of music and singing in our churches [...] Therefore, as a first step, we say, let all children be taught to sing, not only in the national and charity schools, but also in the private schools to which people in good circumstances send their children.¹¹⁰⁹

This goes further than other contemporary suggestions that only poor children should lead the singing in church, and is reminiscent of Riley's 1762 advice that the children of polite families should also play their part (see Section 2.3.1).

In 1836 the biographer John Martin was appointed librarian to the Duke of Bedford. Between 1845 and 1854 he visited and described nearly every church in Bedfordshire under the pseudonym W.A. (Woburn Abbey) for the *Northampton Mercury*. His series promoted Tractarian ideals and drew attention to widespread neglect and negligence.¹¹¹⁰ Martin was strongly opposed to organs, particularly when placed in the west gallery which blocked out the light. In response, the correspondent 'J.D.P.' wrote:

¹¹⁰⁶ Temperley, *Parish Church*, pp. 248-9.

¹¹⁰⁷ *Oxford and Cambridge Review* (May 1846), p. 344.

¹¹⁰⁸ *Parish Choir* (Feb. 1846), p. 7.

¹¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*, p. 1.

¹¹¹⁰ Gordon Goodwin, 'Martin, John (1791-1855)', rev. Chris Pickford, *ODNB*.

Organs are now become so common that, with many other things which have become cheap, 'quae sunt rara sunt cara' will no longer apply. Some who have been surfeited with them in London and elsewhere especially where the crash and growl of 'modern improvements' are in full vigour, look back with pleasure on the old instrumental music of the country church towns. One or two clarionets, a bassoon, and violoncello, well played, as they often were, are quite equal to an organ [...] In [organ lofts] the whole is generally given up to the 'children', which frequently produces a most unsatisfactory result.¹¹¹¹

Martin agreed 'the singing of the children is far preferable to the finger organ', and argued 'To effect this there must be schools in every village',¹¹¹² but his inference was that this would enable them to be taught to sing without the support of an organ, as at Awlescombe. This represented a clear change in attitude, altering the long association between church organs and choirs of children, and showed an objection to what had been considered a desirable reforming effort in a previous period.

The CCS argued against the use of any musical instrument in church, and their heated discussions as to whether churches should have organs at all influenced the teaching methods discussed in the previous Section. In 1843 they declared that owing to the vocal nature of 'church musick' before the invention of the organ its use could not be justified, and gave a stark example:

compare a church where metrical psalms have been wont to be lustily sung with no accompaniment except (perhaps) a bass; and the same church, when some ill-judged liberality has given a barrel-organ [...] we think nothing can be much more revolting than to hear the feeble singing of a congregation to a jingling, shaking, barrel-organ, which plays about three tunes like "Cambridge New".¹¹¹³

After enumerating further objections, including the cost, but especially the wanton manner in which organs and galleries blocked arches and western windows, they baldly asserted: 'We do therefore earnestly deplore and deprecate the introduction of organs into old churches not yet provided with them or new churches to be built'.¹¹¹⁴ The CCS acknowledged Cambridge University's failure to educate potential clergymen in the niceties of church music, since it was then a place with 'a few

¹¹¹¹ *Northampton Mercury* (26 July 1845), p. 3.

¹¹¹² *ibid.* (2 Aug. 1845), p. 3.

¹¹¹³ *Ecclesiologist* (Sept. 1843), pp. 1-5.

¹¹¹⁴ *ibid.*

miserable and effete singers running about from choir to choir, and performing, to a crashing and bellowing of organs, the most meagre and washy musick'.¹¹¹⁵ This appears to have fuelled their prejudice against organ music and they added 'most earnestly do we hope that no more organs – we can scarcely condescend to say, or *barrel-organs* – may be put up in our beautiful old churches'.

Despite strong Tractarian opposition to organs or any other musical instruments their stance quickly began to soften, so that by 1842 the CCS already advised churchwardens they could 'do much for the more solemn and reverent performance of Divine Service, by encouraging the organist to teach the children to sing'.¹¹¹⁶ Although the disassociation between organs and charity children was only a temporary hiatus in mid-century, it was to become permanent during the following decades, as discussed in Chapter 5.

4.4.3. Further misgivings concerning barrel-organs

It was often still found easier to teach children by ear, regardless of the 1840 ruling that children should be able to sing from notation (see p. 247), and this is another reason why so many churches continued to install a barrel-organ, despite John Turner's direction 'Nothing is so objectionable as a barrel organ, it being difficult, if not impossible, to sing by it'.¹¹¹⁷ Head also protested:

The finest natural ear must be rendered callous, the sweetest-toned voice must either be subdued or become harsh and coarse by the hopeless endeavour to imitate the perplexed sounds of the damaged barrel-organs.¹¹¹⁸

In 1831 some of the first signs of what became a more widespread rebellion against the use of barrel-organs had come from Latrobe in his diatribe against faults in church music (see p. 124). He wrote of their inflexibility:

¹¹¹⁵ *ibid.*

¹¹¹⁶ CCS, *A Few Words to Churchwardens on Churches and Church Ornaments. No. 1 Suited to Country Parishes* (Cambridge, 1842), p. 16.

¹¹¹⁷ John Turner, *A manual of Instruction in Vocal Music, Chiefly with a View To Psalmody* (London, 1833), p. 65.

¹¹¹⁸ Head, *Choral Psalmody*, pp. 7-8.

[...] the barrel, once set, being unendowed with reason [...] must proceed doggedly in its inwrought regularity. And no alternative remains for the congregation, but either to sink into silence, or endure a continued course of wearisome dissonances.¹¹¹⁹

Furthermore, because no tunes could be introduced without some expense 'a church that is thus hampered remains condemned to the original machine which forms [...] so many barrels of legalized error'.¹¹²⁰ In addition to the restricted repertoire, there were also difficulties in setting a suitable tempo, which was often painfully slow. Moreover, inherent mechanical problems included the distracting noise caused by turning the handle, damaged staples distorting the tunes, and the unpredictability of wooden barrels warped in damp churches.

The organ-builder Gray addressed some of these issues in a letter to the *British Magazine* in 1836,¹¹²¹ and in 1839 advertised a new operational system that mounted barrels on a rotating frame (see Figure 42). This had the advantage of reducing wear and tear to the barrels and staples, and therefore the number of missing or incorrect notes, but its main advantage was not having to reload a different barrel when choosing a new tune. Gray wrote:

[...] in many churches it is the custom to commence with the Morning Hymn, and when this is the case, the barrels must be frequently changed, or none but the limited collection of tunes on one barrel will ever be heard during the service.¹¹²²

¹¹¹⁹ Latrobe, *Music of the Church*, p. 355.

¹¹²⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹²¹ *British Magazine* (1 Jan. 1836), p. 116.

¹¹²² *ibid.*

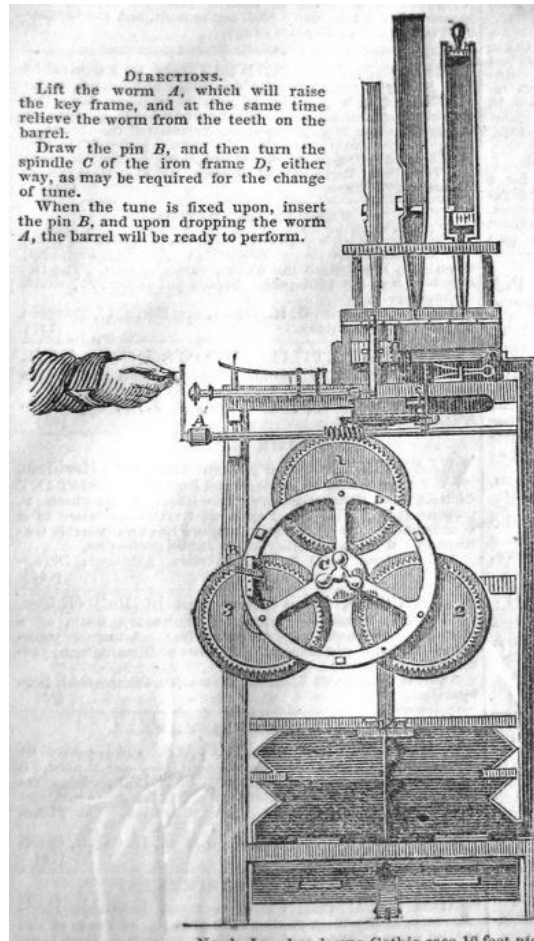


Figure 42. Gray's improved church barrel-organ (1839).¹¹²³

Many Hertfordshire churches acquired these instruments, and in 1840 Rev. Watson of Norton purchased 'an improved barrel organ no.1' for £63.¹¹²⁴ Other clergy part-exchanged their existing barrel-organ for an 'improved' model, including the Tractarian Thomas Randolph of Much Hadham in 1844.¹¹²⁵ Other organ-builders soon adopted Gray's invention. When Abel Smith founded the new National School at Bengoe, the churchwarden Joseph Woodward gave St Leonard's a Bates & Son 'Trio Church Barrel Organ in solid Oak Case gilt front – three barrels in iron revolving frame ten tunes on each to order'.¹¹²⁶ However, the 'improved' system eventually became a

¹¹²³ *Ecclesiastical Gazette* (13 Aug. 1839), p. 37.

¹¹²⁴ CRL, Gray & Davison accounts, Vol. 3 (1840), p. 138.

¹¹²⁵ *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 166.

¹¹²⁶ HALS, DP17/6/13 Vestry resolution, Bates & Son invoice (1850).

victim of its own success owing to the difficulties of installing new barrels or re-pinning old ones when attached to a frame, and the Much Hadham instrument was probably the second-hand organ purchased in 1849 by Dagnall Street Baptist chapel, St Albans.

Tractarians were not only opposed to barrel-organs themselves, but also the repertoire and florid arrangements of simple psalm-tunes unforeseen by Porteus. As a consequence, they too sounded more like ‘art’ than ‘common’ tunes, and were therefore considered unacceptable. In 1846 ‘A Choir-Master’ wrote to the *Parish Choir* ‘On the objectionable character of many psalm tunes in common use’, and classified them according to just how objectionable he found them.¹¹²⁷ Many classified as ‘light and inferior’ and worse still, ‘lax and secular’, were commonly-pinned on barrel-organs, and tunes known to have been played by Hertfordshire instruments are classified according to his opinion in Table 6.

The editors agreed ‘good taste and piety’ would never tolerate the use of any ‘light and inferior’ or ‘lax and secular’ tunes, including *Cambridge New* which had already been singled out by the CCS (see p. 254) and the Methodist advent tune *Helmsley*, since described as ‘probably the greatest musical achievement of Methodism’.¹¹²⁸ Apart from those named by Tate and Brady, few tunes fell into the first category, ‘solid and ecclesiastical’. By 1847 the *Parish Choir* concluded: ‘When a barrel organ is admitted into a church, let us give up all prospects of improvement, and we shall not be disappointed’.¹¹²⁹

¹¹²⁷ *Parish Choir* (May 1846), pp. 31-2.

¹¹²⁸ Bradley, *Abide With Me*, p. 10.

¹¹²⁹ *Parish Choir* (Oct. 1847), p. 46.

Tune	<i>Parish Choir classification</i>¹¹³⁰	<i>Where used</i>¹¹³¹
Abridge	A	GA, SM
Angel's Hymn	A	GA
Bedford	A	GA, SM, W
Hanover (Old 104 th)	A	GA, SM
London New	A	GA
Old 100 th	A	A, GA, W
St Anne	A	GA
St Mary	A	SA
Warwick	A	GA
Winchester	A	A, SA
Cambridge New	B	GA, SM, W
Devizes	B	GA, SM, W
Easter Hymn	B	GA
Gainsboro'	B	GA
Job	B	GA
Manchester New	B	A, GA
Mount Ephraim	B	GA
Portugal New	B	GA, SA, W
Shirland	B	GA, SM, W
St Peter	B	SA
Truro	B	GA
Abingdon	C	GA, SM, W
Falcon Street	C	GA, SM
Helmsley	C	GA, SM
Hursley	C	SA
New York (Sheffield)	C	W
Portsmouth New	C	SM
Sabbath New	C	GA, W
University	C	GA, SM

Table 6. Tunes known to have been played by Hertfordshire church barrel-organs, as classified in *The Parish Choir* (1846).

¹¹³⁰ A = solid and ecclesiastical; B = light and inferior; C = lax and secular.

¹¹³¹ A = Aldenham, GA = Great Amwell, SA = St Michael's, St Albans, SM = Stanstead St Margaret, W = Watford; BL, Add MS 47775A; HALS, DP4/29/2 Music played by the barrel organ in the church (1856); *Watford Observer* (28 May 1870), p. 4; St Michael's, St Albans, Correspondence with Mr F.F. Hill (1974); Stanstead St Margaret tunes identified during the present study.

In the light of the strong Tractarian disapproval of barrel-organs it is perhaps paradoxical that advertisements for church barrel-organs pandered to the ecclesiological taste for Gothic church fitments. As late as 1851 the Great Exhibition provided organ-builders with the opportunity to showcase their products, and Bryceson won a 'Prize Medal' for a church barrel-organ 'of superior construction in a gothic case'.¹¹³² The editors of the *Ecclesiologist* were unimpressed, perhaps incensed by the casework:

We [...] hope that the encouragement given to the manufacture of barrel organs playing metrical psalm tunes and chants will not be such as to tempt future exhibitors to spend time and trouble in these most detestable substitutes for living players [...] we think that this make-shift can never be excused or tolerated in divine service.¹¹³³

But Tractarians were not alone in despising barrel-organs. In 1842 the editor of the High-Church *Church of England Magazine* recalled being obliged to listen to a damaged barrel-organ, and highlights what must have been a significant problem for many churches across the country: 'it was the gift of some grandees of the congregation, and its removal, poor groaning creature, would have been an insult'.¹¹³⁴

4.4.4. The influence of John Hullah

In 1840 the National Society's first teacher-training establishment was opened at Battersea. The Education Secretary Sir James Kay appointed John Hullah to teach music as an integral part of the masters' and mistresses' training, following successful reports of children's singing in church. When an additional teacher-training establishment opened at St Mark's College, Chelsea all trainees were taught to sing psalms, chants and anthems in the college's 'parochial choir', and the Society advised prospective candidates:

¹¹³² *London Journal of Arts, Sciences, and Manufactures, and Repertory of Patent Inventions* (London, 1851), p. 196.

¹¹³³ *Ecclesiologist* (June 1851), p. 189.

¹¹³⁴ *Church of England Magazine* (9 Apr. 1842), p. 245.

Superior musical abilities are not often found, and still less often cultivated, in this country, in conjunction with the other and higher requisites mentioned above. Much attention will, however, be bestowed upon this department of education in the College, in the hope of diffusing through the country a better style of psalmody, along with the practice of congregational singing.¹¹³⁵

Indicating that those who already had some grounding in music would be looked upon favourably, the prospectus added: 'a turn for music in youths, otherwise well qualified, will be an additional recommendation'. Chanting was taught in teacher training colleges from about 1840 onwards.

Under Government sanction, in 1841 Hullah also started massed singing classes at Exeter Hall, London using the same teaching method, and one year later was presented with a commemorative music stand by grateful members of his first workman's singing class. In front of a packed Exeter Hall audience, Mr T.H. Headland, a member of the class, thanked Hullah for providing the working man with a cheap and innocent means of relaxation after work 'in his own home, and with his own family', in other words, an alternative to spending his wages on drink, or worse. It is apparent from what he said next that despite the numerous and widespread efforts to teach children to sing, by the 1840s there were still few signs this had resulted in congregational singing becoming general:

An improvement of congregational singing has long been deemed necessary; its inefficiency has probably arisen from the want of a more general acquaintance with the science of music; in consequence of which, this important portion of public worship has commonly been entrusted to the children of elementary schools, from whose little voices, childish apathy, and unconscious irreverence, cannot be obtained those solemn effects of piety which ought to be produced by the multitude of voices engaged in devout sympathy and holy earnestness in singing the praises of Almighty God.¹¹³⁶

Those successfully completing Hullah's courses were awarded certificates of competence to teach music from *Hullah's Manual*, his translation of Guillaume Wilhem's

¹¹³⁵ National Society, *30th Annual Report* (London, 1841), p. 96.

¹¹³⁶ *Illustrated London News* (1 Nov. 1842), p. 437.

method used in Parisian schools and public singing classes.¹¹³⁷ This presented an additional income stream to impoverished church organists with no guaranteed salaries (see Sections 4.2 and 5.2.1). In May 1842 the Hitchin organist Frederick Walker delivered a lecture on ‘Hullah’s, or rather Wilhem’s’ system of teaching singing.¹¹³⁸ He had already established classes in the Hertfordshire parishes of Hitchin, Weston and Ashwell, and planned to extend these to other parishes. The following November Thomas Brooks, organist of the Abbey Church, announced that he too had ‘qualified himself under Mr HULLAH as an instructor of Wilhem’s Method of teaching singing’ and intended to give lessons at the town hall.¹¹³⁹ Brooks had the full support of the local clergy, numbering among his patrons the incumbents of the Abbey Church, St Peter’s, St Michael’s, St Stephen’s, Redbourn and Abbots Langley, suggesting attempts to teach children to lead congregational singing were petering out. The Ware organist T.W. Luppino was not far behind, advertising his own singing classes in April 1843, although he appears to have had his own ideas about how it should be taught. He explained his plan ‘was not exactly that of Hullah, or of Mainzer, but an adaptation of both’.¹¹⁴⁰ Here Luppino referred to Joseph Mainzer, who had recently set up London singing classes to rival Hullah’s under the title ‘Singing for the Million’, and the mid-century singing craze that developed out of the popularity of Hullah and Mainzer’s classes is discussed further in Section 5.4.1.

In January 1843 Brooks lectured at Shenley with a view to setting up singing classes there, and ‘dwelt with considerable earnestness on the necessity of persons acquiring a knowledge of vocal music to enable them to join in congregational singing’.¹¹⁴¹ A few months later Brooks’ work received a resounding endorsement from

¹¹³⁷ Percy A. Scholes, ‘The Hullah Movement’, *The Mirror of Music 1844-1944* (2 vols., London, 1947), 1, p. 11; Bernarr Rainbow, ‘Hullah, John’ in: *Grove Music Online*, accessed at www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

¹¹³⁸ *HM* (7 May 1842), p. 3.

¹¹³⁹ *HM* (5 Nov. 1842), p. 2.

¹¹⁴⁰ *HM* (15 Apr. 1843), p. 2.

¹¹⁴¹ *HM* (14 Jan. 1843), p. 2.

Hullah himself when he agreed to conduct the St Albans class, and the room was ‘nearly filled by the fashionables of the town and neighbourhood’.¹¹⁴² Hullah explained to the assembled company that his primary motive had been:

to increase and improve congregational singing, and to substitute a creditable style of singing in places of worship for the imperfect strains that were sent forth from most of the churches in England.¹¹⁴³

In 1847 Hullah reflected on the success of the musical instruction given in the Society’s training institutions. Although admitting that in most parish churches the musical portion of Divine Service was ‘still far, very far, from what might be desired’, he argued ‘both in the kind of music sung, and in the manner of singing it, there has been in most places some – in many places, very great – improvement lately’.¹¹⁴⁴

4.4.5. Chanting

Temperley has argued that the introduction of chanting was a gradual and complex process, rather than being an invention of the Oxford movement.¹¹⁴⁵ Again alluding to financial difficulties, ‘W.R.’ wrote to the *Christian Observer* in 1834 reporting that his chapel had used a barrel-organ for the last thirteen years, and there was ‘scarcely an individual in my congregation’ who did not join in the singing. He explained:

We chaunt [sic] the responses, the Te Deum, Jubilate &c, and can add what number of new tunes we please. I should almost be afraid of having a ‘keyed organ’, for in a country situation there would be difficulty in providing an organist, and it would be a tax upon the people to ensure him a salary.¹¹⁴⁶

The fact that this Evangelical clergyman promoted chanting supports Temperley’s argument, yet it was clergy with Tractarian leanings who were most prominent in pressing for the introduction of congregational chanting instead of metrical psalmody. Their initial attempts to induce the congregation to sing Gregorian

¹¹⁴² *HM* (5 Aug. 1843), p. 2.

¹¹⁴³ *ibid.*

¹¹⁴⁴ National Society, *36th Annual Report* (London, 1847), pp. 19-20.

¹¹⁴⁵ Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 249.

¹¹⁴⁶ *Christian Observer* (Apr. 1834), p. 216.

chant were very problematic,¹¹⁴⁷ but Anglican chants became widely adopted particularly after their promotion in the *Parish Choir*, which started the distribution of a complete set in its second issue.¹¹⁴⁸ Prompted by a letter suggesting combining the role of schoolmaster and organist to save money,¹¹⁴⁹ Druitt wrote 'it is very desirable that the schoolmaster should be able to accompany the chant on a small organ, so that that horrible makeshift, the grinding organ, need not be thought of'.¹¹⁵⁰ Since chanting was taught in teacher training colleges, schoolteachers began to advertise their proficiency in this branch of church music, for example in 1847:

A SCHOOLMASTER [...] well acquainted with the National System of Elementary Education, is desirous of obtaining a SITUATION. He has [...] considerable experience in Church Psalmody and Chanting, and has a Music Diploma from J. Hullah.¹¹⁵¹

Chanting did not lend itself to performance by a barrel-organ operated and blown by one handle because of the impossibility of extending the length of the chanting note without loss of wind pressure. One brave, but anonymous, clergyman tried to pass on his hard-won knowledge of how to teach children to chant to a barrel-organ when he published his method in 1835. In the preface he explained:

The design of these few pages is to forward the introduction of congregational chanting; where the means to bring about that desirable practice are as humble as our own; – a Barrel Organ and Choir of children from the Parish Schools. We have just struggled through the difficulties of such an attempt, and are willing to spare others much of the trouble, by communicating the way in which those difficulties have been overcome.¹¹⁵²

But organ-builders took note of the difficulties involved. If the organ had separate handles to crank the barrel and blow the bellows, it would be possible to sustain the chanting note, and advertisements began to reflect this. In 1839 Flight advertised:

¹¹⁴⁷ Temperley, *Parish Church*, pp. 260-1.

¹¹⁴⁸ Rainbow, *Choral Revival*, p. 102.

¹¹⁴⁹ *Parish Choir* (Nov. 1846), p. 79; Rainbow, *Choral Revival*, p. 51.

¹¹⁵⁰ *Parish Choir* (July 1847), pp. 154-5.

¹¹⁵¹ *Ecclesiastical Gazette* (10 Aug. 1847), p. 50.

¹¹⁵² *The Canticles in the Morning and evening prayers of the Church arranged and marked for easy and distinct congregational chanting* (London, 1835).

Psalmodic Organs for Churches and Chapels, which, by the improvements effected in them, are made to execute Psalms, Responses, and Chants, in a manner quite equal to the performance on a Finger-organ.¹¹⁵³

Musical arrangers also took into account the large number of churches using a barrel-organ. In the Preface to Scott's *Psalms* he explained 'The whole of the Canticles have been arranged [...] for the convenience of rural parishes, and small chapels, where a barrel organ is employed to lead and accompany the choir'.¹¹⁵⁴

Nonetheless, even in churches with an existing barrel-organ capable of accompanying chanting it was still necessary to re-pin at least one of the barrels with chants. One offered for sale in the *Hertford Mercury* in 1849 drew attention to the fact that its barrels were 'newly marked',¹¹⁵⁵ and approximately half of surviving church barrel-organs are pinned with at least one Anglican chant, the most common being Lord Mornington's double chant, found on sixteen instruments.¹¹⁵⁶ In 1831 Mrs Gaussen, patron of North Mymms, paid Gray for repairs to the church organ, 'resetting both barrels' and 'resetting 2 tunes and altering chaunt',¹¹⁵⁷ while in December 1848 Rev. Morrice, perpetual curate of Hoddesdon, paid the organ-builders six guineas for 'Resetting barrel with 15 tunes'.¹¹⁵⁸ An alternative was to buy a new barrel, as at St Michael's, St Albans where in March 1833 the organ-builder J.C. Bishop provided a new barrel for six guineas, with a further 10s.6d. for resetting the tunes on the existing barrel.¹¹⁵⁹

¹¹⁵³ *Ecclesiastical Gazette* (12 Nov. 1839), p. 95.

¹¹⁵⁴ Scott, *Psalms*, Preface.

¹¹⁵⁵ *HM* (17 Mar. 1849), p. 1.

¹¹⁵⁶ Based on identification of repertoire from recordings of forty-two church barrel-organs.

¹¹⁵⁷ CRL, John Gray accounts, p. 89.

¹¹⁵⁸ CRL, Gray & Davison accounts, Vol. 4 (1842-48), p. 258.

¹¹⁵⁹ St Michael's, St Albans, Churchwardens' papers 4 (1831-40).

4.5. Church buildings

In 1838 Flaunden parish church was demolished and rebuilt nearer the village, largely at the expense of the incumbent, Samuel King, who commissioned his nephew George Gilbert Scott to build the church.¹¹⁶⁰ King explained the ruinous old church was two miles from the village, and furthermore the newly-built village Baptist chapel interfered with the attendance of parishioners at church. Plans submitted to the ICBS show children's seats on both sides of the west gallery which eventually housed a barrel-organ.¹¹⁶¹ Although this was Scott's first church, it was one of the last to be designed with a purpose-built gallery to house children and, later, an organ (see Figure 43).



Figure 43. West gallery by George Gilbert Scott, St Mary's, Flaunden.

¹¹⁶⁰ Cussans, *History*, III, p. 176.

¹¹⁶¹ LPL, ICBS/02154 Application (1837); *NPOR*, N14073.

The fascination with mediaeval architecture begun in the eighteenth century now reached its apogee, and Ecclesiologists wished to return churches to their pre-reformation state. From its foundation in 1839, the CCS actively promoted the 'restoration' of churches to provide idealized pre-reformation liturgical settings for worship, preferably in 'pointed gothic' style. According to Davies, Tractarians built in this style for four reasons. Firstly, during the Gothic era the church had been central to society, secondly it was diametrically opposed to the neo-classical style favoured in the recent apostasic era, thirdly it instilled an atmosphere of mysterious holiness, and lastly it harmonized with the status of the clergy.¹¹⁶² Knight has also argued that the choice of neo-Gothic architecture referred to a more idyllic pre-industrial age, again reflecting the Tractarian desire to overcome apostasy.¹¹⁶³ Most important of all, however, was the 'obsessionally anti-Protestant' influence of Pugin who referred to Gothic architecture as 'Christian architecture' to the exclusion of all other styles.¹¹⁶⁴

The CCS therefore strongly disapproved of galleries because they blocked arches and windows and had no pre-Reformation precedent. Although the High-Church *Oxford and Cambridge Review* did not concur with the Ecclesiologists' argument that galleries should be dismantled, they did object to their occupation by organs and children: 'Many country churches there are, we grieve to say, in which the old choir has been swept away to make place for that miscreated machine the grinding organ, and the twang twang of charity children'.¹¹⁶⁵ This displays an objection to what had been considered a desirable reform during a previous period, and highlights both the fact that several different approaches were adopted in the development of church music-making, and also that the ultimate goal of installing a finger organ was by no means ubiquitous.

¹¹⁶² Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England* (5 vols., London, 1961-75), 3, pp. 277-8.

¹¹⁶³ Frances Knight, *The Nineteenth-Century Church and English Society* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 61.

¹¹⁶⁴ A. Welby Pugin, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (London, 1841).

¹¹⁶⁵ *Oxford and Cambridge Review* (May 1846), p. 344.

4.5.1. Reform of seating

Because of the obligation for children to attend church, in many cases they found themselves crammed into cramped and uncomfortable gallery seating. In January 1832 Daniel Goodson Adey, incumbent of Markyate made a fresh application to the ICBS for funding. Annotating his plan of the seats in the gallery, which housed both children and barrel-organ, he noted: ‘a grown up person can hardly sit in them. It is now proposed to widen them to a proper size, and to make the stairs (at present little better than a ladder) to them more convenient’ (see Figure 30).¹¹⁶⁶ A cramped gallery at St Pauls Walden seated seventy children (see Figure 44),¹¹⁶⁷ and similar tiered seating for children survives at Kedington (Suffolk) and Stockbury (Kent).¹¹⁶⁸

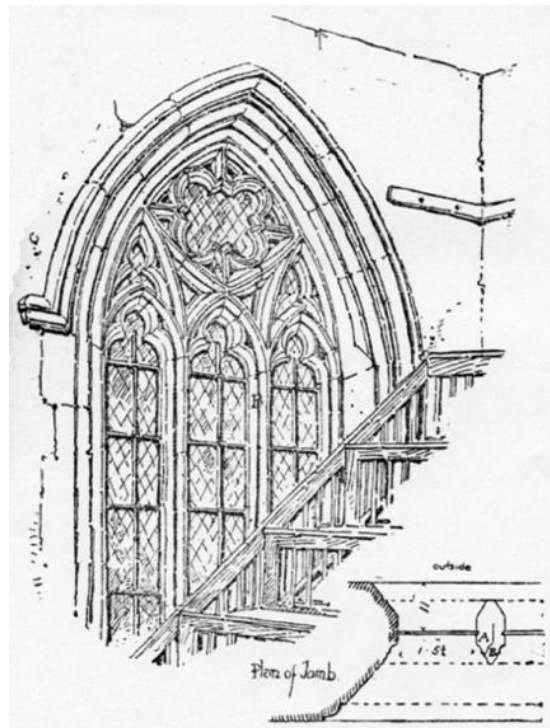


Figure 44. Children’s gallery in the south aisle of St Pauls Walden (1889).¹¹⁶⁹

¹¹⁶⁶ LPL, ICBS/01133 Application (1832).

¹¹⁶⁷ Burg, *Religion*, p. 149.

¹¹⁶⁸ Yates, *Buildings*, pp. 74 & 208.

¹¹⁶⁹ S. Flint Clarkson, ‘St Pauls Walden’, *Transactions 1888*, St Albans Architectural and Archaeological Society (1889), p. 27.

Correspondents to the *Ecclesiologist* now began to draw attention to unsuitable seating arrangements such as these. Perhaps it is cynical to suggest that members of the anti-gallery movement should suddenly show concern for the well-being of those obliged to sit in them. According to one correspondent, at St Andrew's, Headington (Oxon.):

From a large pen in the same church springs a small rough ladder, by which children ascend to the cill of the east window of the south Aisle. Here a bench is placed for their accommodation; and a crazy erection of laths in front serves the double purpose of supporting their books, and shielding the occupants of the inferior pen from the casual infliction of a falling child.¹¹⁷⁰

At least the Markyate children had backs to their seats; this wording implies that those in Headington had none. In July 1842 'Gamma' wrote to the editor:

In many churches, though pewed up to the very teeth, the children of the Sunday School are made to sit erect on backless forms; the only distinction between them and the rest of the congregation being that they are not able to remonstrate.¹¹⁷¹

Ecclesiologists also campaigned for the removal of all 'Pues or Pens', believing them to be 'puritanick nuisances', representing 'the intrusion of human pride, and selfishness, and indolence, into the worship of God'.¹¹⁷² A letter written by Horatio Nelson Dudding, vicar of St Peter's, St Albans to support an ICBS application stated: 'The church does not accommodate the people, partly on account of high square pews, which make it a church for the rich, and not for the poor'.¹¹⁷³

The *Ecclesiologist* now published the 'Suggestions and Instructions' drawn up by the ICBS for the enlargement, building, and repairing of churches and chapels, two of which had a significant effect on music-making. The first concerned seats:

Much accommodation is gained by the adoption, instead of pews, of open seats with backs [...] Twenty inches in length must be allowed for each adult, and fourteen for a child. Seats intended exclusively for children may be twenty-four inches from back to front.¹¹⁷⁴

¹¹⁷⁰ *Ecclesiologist* (Feb. 1843), p. 107.

¹¹⁷¹ *ibid.* (July 1842), p. 170.

¹¹⁷² *ibid.* (Feb. 1843), p. 101; Yates, *Buildings*, p. 159.

¹¹⁷³ LPL, ICBS/03917 Application (1845).

¹¹⁷⁴ *Ecclesiologist* (July 1842), pp. 152-3.

This resulted in the introduction of a new style of ICBS application form.¹¹⁷⁵ In addition to pre-existing questions regarding the present and proposed number of appropriated and free seats, the form now asked applicants to specify how many were for adults and how many exclusively for children, but an estimate was acceptable if there were no existing designated children's seats.

4.5.2. Galleries

In 1842 the CCS finally drew attention to the use of two, or even three tiers of church galleries (see Section 3.5.2):

Another evil, which is now becoming more common, and reaching even to country parishes, is the use of double or even triple galleries, one above the other. The upper tier is often given to the charity-children or national schools: or sometimes these are put behind the organ. Neither of these places is a good one for the children, and the first quite spoils a church besides.¹¹⁷⁶

It was perhaps inevitable that the second 1842 ICBS instruction concerned galleries:

The Society will not sanction any plan involving the erection of a gallery, unless in cases where it is distinctly shown that no room is unnecessarily sacrificed, by inconvenient arrangements, on the floor.¹¹⁷⁷

The new ICBS application form continued to ask whether or not the church had galleries, but discouraged the building of new ones. Although children's seating on platforms was permitted:

In no case should the platform approach in height to any thing like that of a gallery [...] when the seats begin to assume an undue height, the child's mind becomes disturbed by its elevated position.¹¹⁷⁸

When a barrel-and-finger organ was presented to Braughing during the 1840s it was erected on a 'platform' in the south-west corner of the church, with four tiers of benches in front to seat the choir and schoolgirls.¹¹⁷⁹ The plan, however, shows the organ 'gallery', suggesting the word platform may have been chosen to circumvent ecclesiological opposition.

¹¹⁷⁵ LPL, ICBS/03425 Application (1846).

¹¹⁷⁶ CCS, *Country Parishes*, p. 16.

¹¹⁷⁷ *Ecclesiologist* (July 1842), pp. 152-3.

¹¹⁷⁸ *Church Builder*, no. IX (1864), p. 26.

¹¹⁷⁹ P.G. Ward, *A History of Braughing Church and its Benefactors* (1888), pp. 17 & 24.

The CCS initially advised both that the best place for a church organ was in a shallow 'projection' at the west end rather than gallery, and that the chancel should be reserved for the clergy.¹¹⁸⁰ A similar arrangement was proposed at Ardeley. Here, the vicar from 1828 to 1835 was Edward Garrard Marsh, son of John Marsh (see p. 103), from whom he had inherited a chamber organ,¹¹⁸¹ but this was used in the vicarage rather than the church, and he took it with him when he became rector of Waltham (Lincs.) in 1835. Marsh's successor promptly established a National School and provided seats in church for the children, and when William Wyndham Malet was appointed vicar in 1839 he quickly set about raising funds for an organ. Clearly a Tractarian, he was described by Upton as 'Decidedly Puseyite', and by Cussans as 'an ultra Ritualist [wearing] all the vestments of a Roman Catholic priest'.¹¹⁸² Finding that more room was required for the National School children, in 1844 Malet applied to the ICBS for funding to increase their seating by providing 'school seats in rows', and to relocate the organ from the ground to a gallery. He explained 'The organ will be got at by a door way from the ringers loft & I propose having some 2 or 3 boys to sing on each side' (see Figure 45).

¹¹⁸⁰ CCS, *A Few Words to Church Builders* (Cambridge, 1841), pp. 10 & 23; *Country Parishes* (Cambridge, 1842), p. 12.

¹¹⁸¹ 'Farewell to Bleasby': Rev. J.W. Marsh's farewell address, Bleasby Local History Society, booklet no. 6 (1995), p. 3. I am indebted to David Shuker for drawing this to my attention.

¹¹⁸² Burg, *Religion*, p. 6; Audrey Deacon & Peter Walne (eds.), 'A professional Hertfordshire tramp': John Edwin Cussans, Hertfordshire Record Society, Vol. III (Ware, 1987), pp. 104-5.

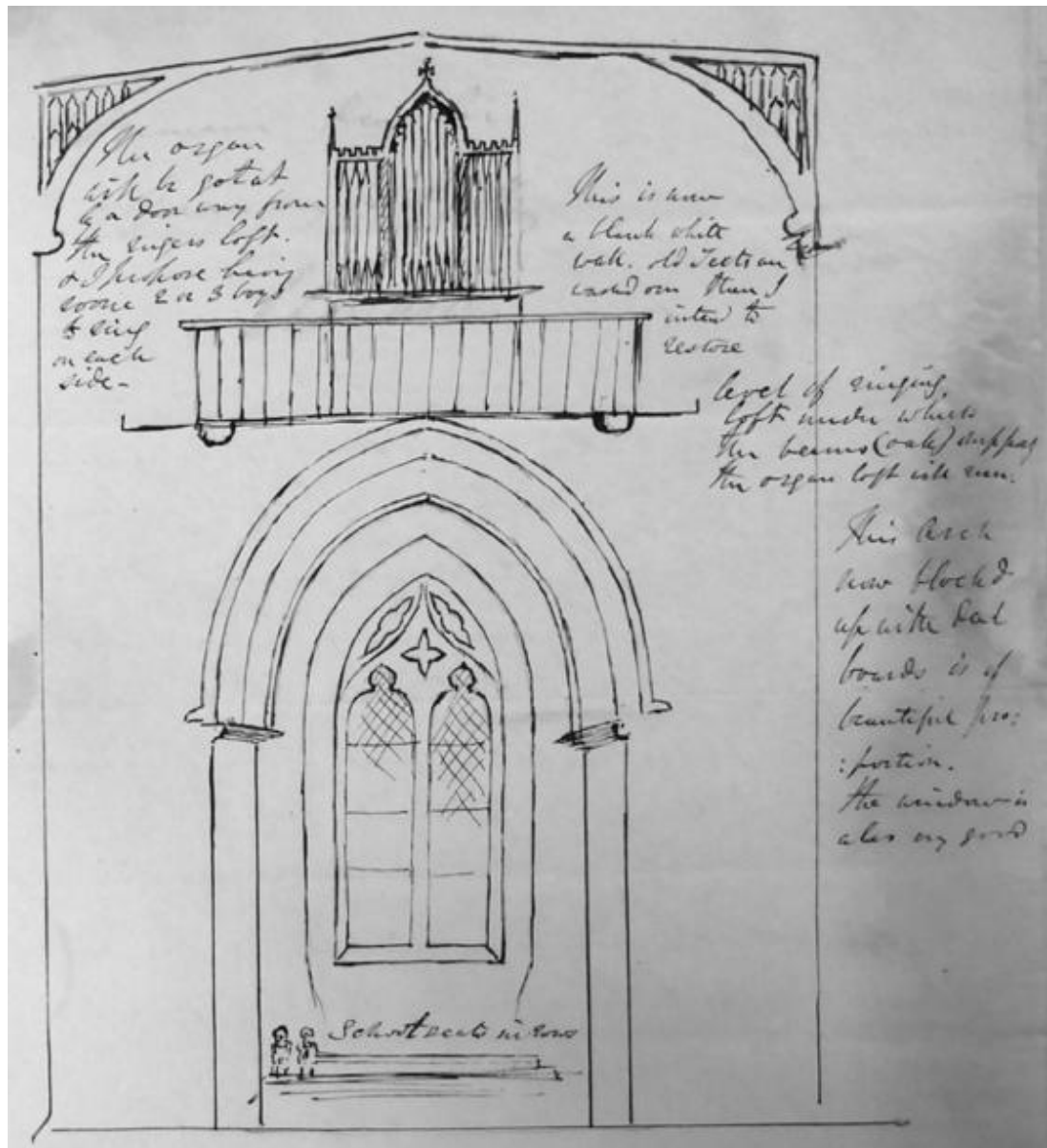


Figure 45. W.W. Malet, Proposed relocation of organ at St Lawrence's, Ardeley (1844).¹¹⁸³

But many proposals and counter-proposals were made for other organ locations, so that by 1843 the CCS stated 'few things give more trouble to church-arrangers or church-builders than the position of the organ', and found fault with all suggested solutions.¹¹⁸⁴ Although they concluded the choir should be seated in the

¹¹⁸³ LPL, ICBS/03466.

¹¹⁸⁴ *Ecclesiologist* (Sept. 1843), pp. 1-4.

chancel since they were taking part in the performance of Divine Service, they continued to argue that the organ should not be placed there, since such an arrangement 'offends all rules concerning Aisles, Chapels, Transepts, or Sacristies', concluding illogically as an afterthought 'it is a bad place for the organ any way, since it is too near the Choir'.¹¹⁸⁵

In the face of varying degrees of opposition to organs and galleries, from the 1840s onwards fewer organs were placed in the west gallery. By 1845 the CCS reluctantly conceded that if a church already had an organ 'we can see no place where it can stand without offence, except at the west end of the nave or aisles, on the ground'.¹¹⁸⁶ In those churches where children had been seated in a gallery next to an organ, a new location had to be found for both children and organ, and a clear example of ecclesiological influence comes from Widford. Plans drawn up as late as 1868 by the architect Pritchett show children seated next to the organ in a west gallery before restoration, but in dedicated children's seating next to the organ on the ground at the west end after restoration (see Figures 46 & 51).

Yet many galleries that predated the ICBS 1842 directive survived until the architectural reorderings of the 1860s (see Section 5.6).

¹¹⁸⁵ *ibid.*

¹¹⁸⁶ *ibid.* (Jan. 1845), p. 5.

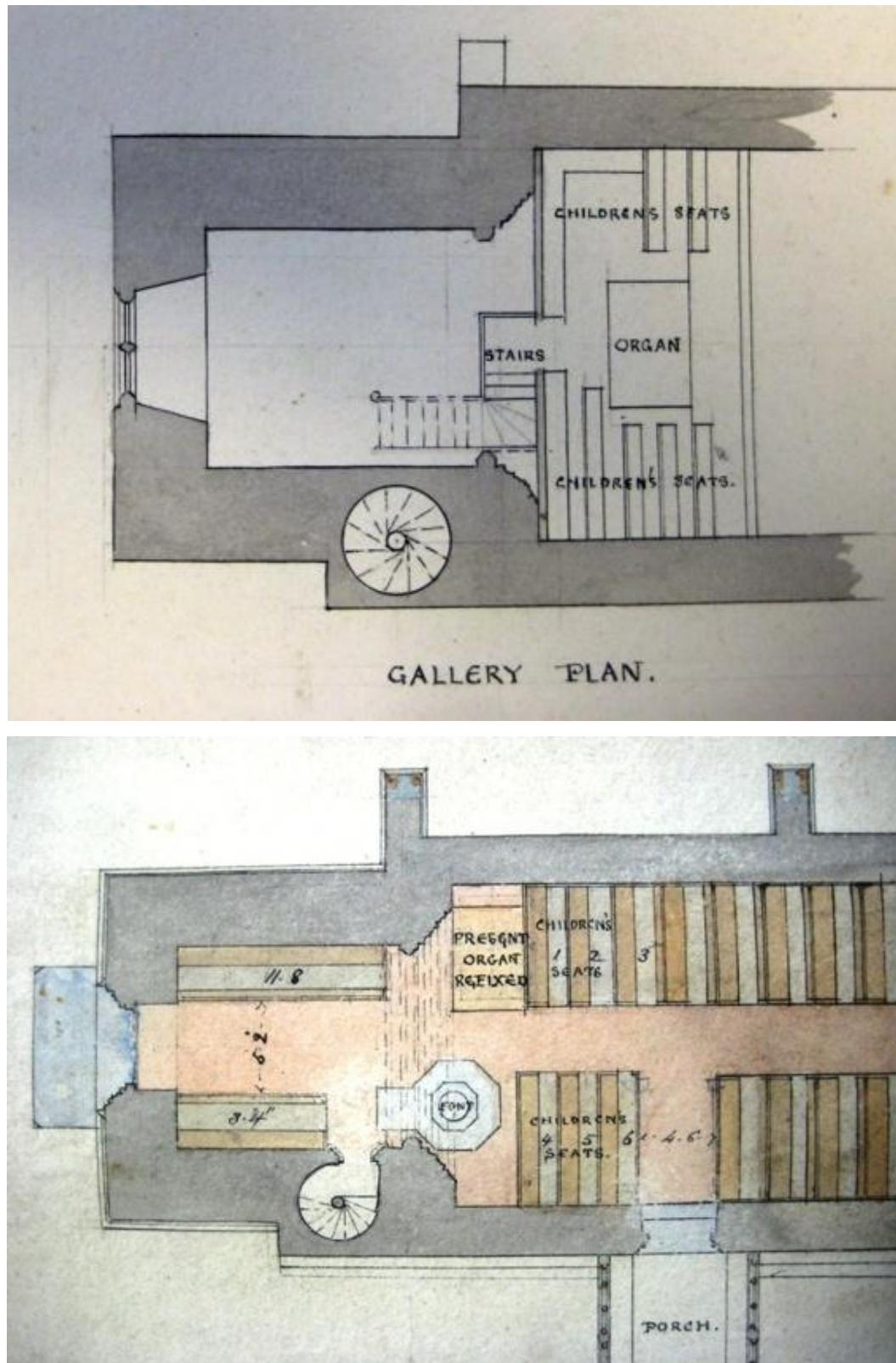


Figure 46. G.E. Pritchett, *Detailed plans of Widford Church* (1868).¹¹⁸⁷
Above: before re-ordering; below: after.

¹¹⁸⁷ HALS, DP123/6/1 G.E. Pritchett, Plans (1868).

4.6. Summary

The improvement of congregational singing continued to be an important objective during the 1830s-40s. Yet because of the increasing availability and democratization of reading matter, and their greater degree of residence, incumbents and more ordinary parishioners were able to become involved in decision-making, and church music-making was no longer so subject to the local landowners' personal taste.

Widely-publicized church rate disputes led to their escalation in town parishes. These were driven by nonconformists but also by those who objected to High Church innovations, and resulted in difficulties funding existing arrangements for church music-making, and in subscribers being dissuaded from contributing towards the installation and upkeep of organs. A lack of funds to pay organists resulted in the use of church barrel-organs becoming even more widespread. Although some landowners and patrons continued to purchase them, fund-raising approaches attempted in other parishes were not always successful, and the clergy and their families often funded new organs themselves. But the disadvantages of using barrel-organs became more apparent, including mechanical issues, limited and unsuitable repertoire and the difficulties associated with their use to accompany newly-introduced chanting. Furthermore, as barrel-organs became more common, more people encountered them and became irritated by them.

The newly-emerging Tractarian movement opposed the use of choir-band instruments, indicating that they were still common during the 1830s-40s. But initially Tractarians were also opposed to organs, therefore rather than being 'suppressed' by barrel-organs, many choir-bands were disbanded as a result of the Tractarian insistence on unaccompanied singing and the ecclesiological drive to remove galleries.

The church accommodation of children in particular continued to be a problem, but the building of new galleries was now actively discouraged by the ICBS, with the result that in many churches both children and organs were relocated to the

ground. In a new development, students attending the National School training colleges initiated during this period were given singing classes in order to learn how to teach their pupils to sing, again with a view to improving congregational psalmody. Adults also began to attend singing classes, many of which were established with the same objective. This developed into the mid-century singing craze discussed in the next chapter.

5. 1850s to 1860s: Church Choirs and 'Restoration'

5.1. Introduction

In February 1852 the Tory *Herts Guardian* was launched to rival the Liberal *Hertford Mercury* and support the Conservative cause at the approaching election. The proprietor and editor until 1890 was William Pollard. Described as 'ever ready to plead the cause of the workers', he consequently had a large working class following 'amongst whom he was held in high respect'.¹¹⁸⁸ The editorial office was in the parish of St Andrew's, Hertford and evidence presented in this chapter reveals that rivalry with the Liberal *Hertford Mercury* was not limited to party politics, but also found expression in editorial comments concerning the funding and nature of church music-making, particularly in their local churches.

As will be seen in Section 5.3, although the use of children's voices to lead congregational singing was still promoted at the beginning of this period, safety, comfort and aesthetic concerns led to the continuing removal of galleries and provision of less uncomfortable seating for children, with some at least seated near the organ newly-located on the ground. This took up more space and contributed further to the accommodation shortage and consequent need for rebuilding works discussed in Section 5.6.

Attempts to use children's voices to lead the congregation continued to be problematic, and finally dwindled. A major problem was the high pitch at which children sang, with contemporary references to their squalling and chirping voices. Some adult sopranos remained silent to avoid drawing attention to themselves, as did tenors singing an octave lower, but many altos and basses found it impossible to sing with the children at all. Furthermore, some children found attending church to be an unpleasant experience and therefore chose not to attend when they reached adulthood.

¹¹⁸⁸ *HM* (11 July 1896), p. 5.

Changing tastes, the quest for reverential music-making and the formation of singing classes and choirs created a demand for what Temperley has termed 'a torrent of hymns and hymn tunes', appealing to all church parties.¹¹⁸⁹ Section 5.4 considers the growing mid-century craze for singing classes which made a significant contribution towards the drive to restore or rebuild churches discussed in Section 5.6. Collegiate-style seating for the choir was now almost always installed in the chancel, even if the church had no choir of its own and the seating was only used for the grand opening services, which continued to be popular. There were many new choral initiatives, some now with a diocesan rather than county emphasis. But these had a poor retention rate, and under Tractarian influence were rejected in favour of choirs of boys and men.

The declining use of children's voices was accompanied by a declining use of barrel-organs. Section 5.5 considers how they became associated with the secular world, were too limited in their repertoire, deemed entirely unsuitable for church use, and very quickly forgotten. Instead, the installation of a finger organ was now seen to be an essential part of rebuilding or restoration work, even if there were no funds to pay for upkeep or an organist. With continuing church rate disputes this resulted in a heavy reliance on voluntary organists, many of whom are likely to have been women.

In 1862 the ICBS finally began to publish its own journal, *The Church Builder* 'to set forth in a popular form the progress of Church Extension in connexion with Church Building', publishing accounts of model church 'restorations' and carrying advertisements from suppliers of church fittings to encourage other parishes to follow suit.¹¹⁹⁰ In anticipation of popular support the editors added: 'we hope to find it on the drawing-room table of the rich, as well as the cottage shelf of the poor'. In Section 5.6 it will be seen that rather than being largely dependent upon the elite, this approach now resulted in more numerous, but not necessarily sizeable, financial contributions from all levels of society.

¹¹⁸⁹ Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 296.

¹¹⁹⁰ *Church Builder*, no. I (1862), p. 2.

5.2. Organists

5.2.1. Church rates

In August 1853 the Liberal *Hertford Mercury* reported that the House of Lords had finally settled the sixteen-year-long Braintree church rate dispute, announcing that churchwardens would no longer be permitted to impose a church rate, so unless the majority of the vestry agreed, no rate could be made.¹¹⁹¹ Dissenters and non-churchgoers were now able to block both the payment of specific items from the church rate and the setting of the rate itself, and from this date onwards disputes are said to have multiplied fivefold, partly because many had been awaiting the verdict.¹¹⁹² Perhaps unsurprisingly, many disputes related to church music-making, and in June 1855 the Tory *Herts Guardian* reported:

The Wheathamstead parish organ is, we hear, again to be played upon shortly – after many years inglorious repose: it stopped for the want of funds to repair it. We have church rates for the repairs of the parish clock, and why not for the repairs of the parish organ?¹¹⁹³

Although payments to the organist of Ware parish church had resumed for a while, by October 1858 the churchwardens were unable to collect a church rate at all:

Accordingly the organ did not play, for there were no means of paying the organist and the organ blower; the bells no longer chimed because there was no money to pay the ringers, the clock had stopped, because there was no funds to pay the person who wound it up.¹¹⁹⁴

As seen in Section 4.2, many church organists already found themselves in a very difficult position financially, and the 1853 ruling made a bad situation worse. In 1854 over ninety parishioners attended the Abbey Church vestry to hear the churchwardens propose a rate of 6d. in the pound.¹¹⁹⁵ Immediately a motion was proposed 'that no rate be made', and following an inconclusive vote the entire parish was polled. 179 votes were cast for the rate, but 189 against, so there was no funding to cover £30 for the organist John Brooks and 11 shillings for the singing boys.

¹¹⁹¹ *HM* (20 Aug. 1853), pp. 5-6.

¹¹⁹² Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, p. 158.

¹¹⁹³ *HG* (16 June 1855), p. 5.

¹¹⁹⁴ *HM* (30 Oct. 1858), pp. 2-3.

¹¹⁹⁵ HALS, DP90/8/1-3.

Brooks had taken over from his brother Thomas as Abbey Church organist (see Section 4.2), but now resigned to become organist of St Mary's, Watford.¹¹⁹⁶ He assured the vestry he was not leaving because he anticipated losing his salary, believing:

those parishioners who attend the church service would gladly continue to do what they had recently done, subscribe sufficient to pay an organist, in addition to the other expenses, rather than have the musical portion of the service abridged.¹¹⁹⁷

Unfortunately for Brooks, the Watford dispute (see p. 226) was by no means settled by the time he took up his new appointment. Although initially provoked by matters of principle and financial considerations, as at Ware the introduction of ritualism fanned the smouldering flames of discontent, and in November 1856 the vestry expressed:

its deep regret and concern that they have felt themselves call'd upon to withhold a church rate for this parish [...] to mark their sense of the unhappy feeling of discord which has recently been introduced amongst them, by the extreme and altered mode of conducting the Church Services, which have proved detrimental to the moral well being of the parishioners.¹¹⁹⁸

The consequence was that in April 1857 the organist, sexton, parish clerk, beadle and vestry clerk lost their salaries 'by the discontinuance of the church rate'.¹¹⁹⁹ Brooks attempted to supplement his income by teaching and giving concerts, but on Whit Monday 1859 was arrested in Watford High Street for non-payment of a trifling debt.¹²⁰⁰ When he explained to the Sheriff's officer that he was on his way to play at St Mary's and would lose his job if detained, the officer agreed to go and sit with him while he played the organ. After the service Brooks spent five days in Hertford gaol, was declared insolvent, and then left Watford because of the damage to his reputation.

In September 1862 the Watford vestry resolved to dispose of the organ itself, but were thwarted when the churchwarden stated, perhaps with a hint of irony, that no

¹¹⁹⁶ *HM* (5 May 1855), p. 3.

¹¹⁹⁷ *ibid.*

¹¹⁹⁸ HALS, DP117/8/1-3.

¹¹⁹⁹ *HM* (25 Apr. 1857), p. 3.

¹²⁰⁰ *HM* (9 July 1859), p. 5.

funds were available to pay for its removal.¹²⁰¹ The Cheshunt vestry was more successful in this respect, and in April 1857 resolved to discontinue the salaries of the parish clerk, organist, organ-blower, beadle and pew opener 'upon the principle that those persons only who require their services should contribute to their support'.¹²⁰² Since no-one was willing to pay the organist, the organ became surplus to requirements and was removed. However, funding must have become available within a few months, because in September the organ-builders Bishop and Starr were paid £20 for 'Removing, stowing away, cleaning and subsequently re-erecting' the organ.¹²⁰³

Archdeacon Grant summarized the *status quo* during his 1859 visitation held at All Saints, Hertford. He advised churchwardens to be careful not to admit into their accounts 'any item which cannot legally be charged upon that fund', warning this would invalidate a rate if contested, and the organist's salary was among those items considered 'lawful where assented to by a majority of the vestry, though not compulsory'.¹²⁰⁴

5.2.2. Schoolmasters

In 1847 the *Parish Choir* commented on the growing phenomenon of 'the union of the offices of organist and schoolmaster' (see p. 264). This was seen as an economical catch-all method of replacing choir-bands, organists and barrel-organs alike.¹²⁰⁵ An 1854 advertisement for National School teachers at Essendon stated 'either master or mistress must be able to teach Psalmody',¹²⁰⁶ but being an organist was not a requirement, since a barrel-organ had been given to the church in 1851. Prior to this appointment it had been the duty of the Essendon parish clerk to teach the children psalmody,¹²⁰⁷ and payments were made for 'attending organ' to both the

¹²⁰¹ HALS, DP117/8/1-3.

¹²⁰² HALS, DP29/8/53-54 Vestry minutes & churchwardens' accounts (1840-49).

¹²⁰³ *ibid.*

¹²⁰⁴ *HG* (9 July 1859), p. 5.

¹²⁰⁵ *Parish Choir* (July 1847), pp. 154-5.

¹²⁰⁶ National Society, *Monthly Paper* (Feb. 1854), p. 64.

¹²⁰⁷ *Musical Opinion*, Vol. 29 (Mar. 1906), p. 217.

parish clerk and John Kersey, a gardener at Bedwell Park,¹²⁰⁸ suggesting it may have required two persons to operate it.

Schoolmasters and schoolmistresses were expected to sit with their pupils in church, and a plan of the Barkway gallery includes a seat captioned 'Schoolmaster's and mistress's – right of office'.¹²⁰⁹ When an organ was also located in the gallery, as at Essendon, Barkway and many other churches, the seat would have been conveniently placed for the schoolteacher to operate the barrel-organ or play the finger organ. However, if the organ was located at a distance from the children, or the teacher led or sang with a choir of adults, it could result in a lack of supervision. This may have been the case at Aston, where the National Schoolmaster sought a new appointment in 1854, saying: 'He has lived seven years in the place he now holds, has some knowledge of music, and would be happy to assist the choir'.¹²¹⁰ In Carlton Bruce's 1834 short story about the distribution of Palm Sunday pax cakes and ale at Sellack church (Herefordshire):

The old schoolmaster was teaching some half dozen children their catechism near the communion, but he soon left them to join the choir. [...] During the service, the young rogues near the communion were left to themselves, the schoolmaster being engaged in the choir.¹²¹¹

When Smith examined 256 advertisements for elementary schoolteachers in the National Society's *Monthly Paper* for 1853 he found that almost a third required Sunday work as organist, choirmaster, Sunday schoolmaster, parish clerk and occasionally sexton.¹²¹² By 1855 this had risen to a half.¹²¹³ During the 1830s their duties may have included operating a barrel-organ, but by the 1850s the ability and willingness of college-trained teachers to play a finger organ would have exacerbated

¹²⁰⁸ 1851 Census HO107/1712/f.5/p.3.

¹²⁰⁹ HALS, DP13/25/6 Rough sketch plan of the old pews in Barkway Church (c.1863).

¹²¹⁰ National Society, *Monthly Paper* (Apr. 1854), p. 142.

¹²¹¹ Carlton Bruce, 'Palm Sunday', *Mirth and Morality: A Collection of Original, Entertaining, and Instructive Tales* (London, 1834), pp. 75-6.

¹²¹² Smith, 'Parson's Fag', p. 7.

¹²¹³ *ibid.*, p. 9.

the pressure on organists' salaries caused by church rate disputes. In 1850 the *Musical World* commented:

It is a certain fact, that whereas ten years ago, nobody, in the engagement of a schoolmaster, ever thought of inquiring about his musical capacity, men defective in this point, but otherwise of unexceptionable character and attainments, find it next to impossible to obtain employment.¹²¹⁴

Miller's 1791 recommendation to appoint musical teachers (see p. 93) had clearly been forgotten long since, and the National Society's statement suggests the sheer number of trained organists during the 1850s meant that non-organists were at a distinct disadvantage when applying for a position. An illustration of the attendant difficulties comes from Watford, again, where in 1863 the National Schoolmaster Charles Lawrence was appointed organist of St Mary's. Calling attention to his Hullah training, he innocently advertised:

Mr C. Lawrence (organist of the parish church, Watford) begs respectfully to inform the inhabitants of Watford and its vicinity that he is prepared to instruct pupils on the organ, pianoforte, or harmonium, upon the following terms: In Watford 10s.6d. per quarter; Elsewhere 1 guinea per quarter; Mr Lawrence (formerly a pupil of Hullah) will also teach vocal music upon the same terms.¹²¹⁵

Lawrence appears to have been blissfully unaware of the financial arguments that beset his immediate predecessors at Watford. Almost inevitably, objections were raised when it became apparent some of his pupils had no connection with the parish church, and were seen to be taking advantage of assets to which they had not contributed. The correspondent 'FAIR PLAY' sent an anonymous letter to the editor of the *Watford Observer* in 1864:

¹²¹⁴ *Musical World* (24 Aug. 1850), p. 539.

¹²¹⁵ *Watford Observer* (22 Aug. 1863), p. 1; 1861 Census RG9/833/f.29/p.12.

Sir, Some time since an effort was made to provide a better organ for our noble old church, or to improve the present instrument. That effort, however, failed as most such things do in 'money-getting Watford'. Under these circumstances it is obvious that some care should be taken of the old organ, inasmuch as among the persons who have access to the organ, and are regularly receiving lessons and 'grinding' upon it, will be found the organist of a baptist chapel, and a member of the choir of a popular church in this neighbourhood (both chapel and church being bitterly opposed to our parish church and its services). Surely these aspirants for musical fame ought to practice upon the organs in their own places of worship, instead of availing themselves of a privilege which they have not the courtesy to reciprocate.¹²¹⁶

By the time of the 1871 census Lawrence and his wife had found new teaching posts in Wales.¹²¹⁷

5.2.3. Women

Leppert asserted that prior to the mid nineteenth century, 'societal conventions' limited public music-making by a woman, partly because it was deemed improper, but also to avoid the risk that her father or husband would be considered lacking in authority over her.¹²¹⁸ By contrast, the present study has found little evidence of disapproval prior to the mid-1800s and, instead, it may have been women organists themselves who found cause for censure. As seen in Section 3.5.1, until the mid nineteenth century many church organs were installed in the west gallery, often originally erected to accommodate the poor and or children. Male and female servants were often seated separately, for example at Rickmansworth and North Mymms,¹²¹⁹ but there does not appear to have been any impropriety attached to a *lady* organist having to sit with those beneath her station, although she herself may have found it objectionable. The vicar of Kirmington (Lincs.), wrote to his bishop in 1840 explaining that a west gallery had been built some six years previously 'for the accommodation of farmers' servants and labourers, with whom, I am happy to say, it is frequently

¹²¹⁶ *ibid.* (25 June 1864), p. 1.

¹²¹⁷ 1871 Wales Census RG10/5336/f.52/p.6.

¹²¹⁸ Richard Leppert, *Music and Image. Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-cultural Formation in Eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 40.

¹²¹⁹ HALS, DE/X840/7/13; St Mary's, North Mymms, Seating plan (1858).

filled'.¹²²⁰ Having acquired an organ, he was at a loss to find a proper and convenient place for it. The organ-builder had advised the west gallery was too damp for the instrument to stay in tune, 'and besides, my lord, the lady who acts as organist objects to sitting amongst the men servants'.

Ecclesiologists sought mediaeval precedents for the liturgical and architectural reorderings they introduced. As seen in Section 4.4.2 they argued against both organs and galleries, and since there was no precedent for the involvement of women in church music-making, this provided the prominent Ecclesiologist Neale with further ammunition:

where women-singers are allowed [...] the notice which they attract from their station in front of the gallery might well enough befit a theatre, but is highly indecorous in the House of God.¹²²¹

It could be argued that this would not necessarily have applied to women organists since they would have been hidden behind the curtain normally hung around the organ console, but their very presence may have caused unease to Neale and his associates. Ecclesiologists initially argued that the chancel should be reserved for the clergy, but when they reluctantly agreed that choristers should be seated there, they stipulated they should be male and, in High Churches, surpliced as in cathedrals.¹²²² Since women were not permitted to wear surplices they were therefore automatically disqualified from churches where the organist was required to process with the clergy and choristers,¹²²³ and Hillsman argued 'with the growth of musical professionalism and the influence of the High-Church movement [women] sank even further in the realm of church music'.¹²²⁴

Barger asserted that discrimination against the appointment of women organists first became apparent in 1853 following an item in *Punch* drawing attention

¹²²⁰ R.W. Ambler (ed.), *Lincolnshire parish correspondence of John Kaye, Bishop of Lincoln, 1827-53*, Lincoln Record Society, Vol.94 (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 220.

¹²²¹ John Mason Neale, *Church Enlargement and Church Arrangement* (Cambridge, 1843), p. 15.

¹²²² James F. White, *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival* (Cambridge, 1962), p. 38.

¹²²³ Hillsman, 'Women', p. 450.

¹²²⁴ Hillsman, *Trends*, p. 136.

to it.¹²²⁵ Yet as early as 1837 when Christchurch, Spitalfields advertised for an organist they stated: 'N.B. No female or blind person may apply'.¹²²⁶ Discriminatory advertisements continued throughout the mid-1800s, and in Hertfordshire the vicar of Great Amwell advertised in 1865: 'WANTED a YOUNG PERSON (Male) capable of Playing the HARMONIUM in a VILLAGE'.¹²²⁷ A typical advertisement from 1854 sought a 'Trained and Certificated' schoolmistress: 'It is most probable that one would be preferred whose Husband or Brother could manage the Boys or act as Organist'.¹²²⁸ This suggests either that the parish did not expect her to be able to play – or would prefer her not to. It also implies that women found it difficult to control boys, and in 1857 'PEDAL' argued women were 'not able even to properly control a pack of national schoolboys, much less a choir of men'.¹²²⁹ Nonetheless, the *Lady's Companion* suggested that to exclude women organists from the organ-loft on the grounds that they were 'incompetent to instruct the children in psalmody, or to conduct a choir' was mendacious 'when we remember the expensive and rigidly engrossing musical education by which ladies are prepared for the profession, and which too often leaves them inadequately fitted for any other'.¹²³⁰ Again, it would appear the incapability of women to teach psalmody or lead a choir was not regarded as a valid argument against their employment. In Hertfordshire, the rector's wife Mrs Ewing, and afterwards her daughter, led the choir of men, women and children in the west gallery at Westmill equipped only with a pitch-pipe during the 1850s,¹²³¹ and Elizabeth Neave had been so successful at turning the barrel-organ and teaching the children to sing at East Barnet

¹²²⁵ *Punch*, Vol. 25 (1853), p. 238, cited by Barger, *Stirling*, p. 39.

¹²²⁶ *Morning Post* (4 Apr. 1837), p. 1.

¹²²⁷ *HG* (3 June 1865), p. 1.

¹²²⁸ National Society, *Monthly Paper* (June 1854) p. 210.

¹²²⁹ *Musical World* (12 Sept. 1857), pp. 585-6.

¹²³⁰ *Lady's Companion* (Aug. 1854), p. 100.

¹²³¹ Ewing, *Westmill*, p. 95.

during the 1820s that she was employed to do the same in neighbouring Chipping Barnet.¹²³²

It seems very likely that consciously or subconsciously many objections to women organists had their origins in financial considerations. Barger suggested that in the early nineteenth century some churches preferred women organists because they demanded a small salary, or sometimes none at all.¹²³³ During the 1840s, Sarah Wood was rechosen organist of Cheshunt at successive Easter vestries 'on condition of her teaching the children psalmody'.¹²³⁴ It might therefore be anticipated that this was because she could be paid a lower salary, but this was not the case, and she received £30 annually throughout the period of her employment, suggesting she was elected on merit alone. Like Wood, many women organists were spinsters. Although some resigned on marriage, in London there are many instances of them continuing.¹²³⁵ Although Wood was replaced in 1843, in 1850 she was reappointed, by which time she was married with three children,¹²³⁶ indicating no insuperable prejudice against the employment of married women.

When arguing against the rejection of women organists the *Lady's Companion* asked:

Is it manly, charitable, or Christian-like, to obstruct her path – already thorny and difficult – to virtuous independence? Or, to put it in another light – for the benefit of rate-payers and economical parish authorities – is it justice, is it wisdom?¹²³⁷

By paying an otherwise unprovided-for woman a small salary as organist she would be less of a drain on the parish charities or poor rate. As early as 1821 Whitaker drew attention to this practice in his *Seraph* (see p. 175). Criticizing the singing of charity children in certain churches, he attached part of the blame to the charitable motive behind the appointment of the organist:

¹²³² HALS, DP16/5/2; DP15/5/2.

¹²³³ Barger, *Stirling*, p. 46.

¹²³⁴ HALS, DP29/8/53-54.

¹²³⁵ Dawe, *Organists*, p. 4.

¹²³⁶ 1851 Census H0107/1500/f.509/p.14.

¹²³⁷ *Lady's Companion* (Aug. 1854), p. 100.

[...] to heighten the effect, they have been accompanied on a fine and powerful organ by a miserable performer, who has been selected more as an object of charity than as a person of talent.¹²³⁸

Playing the organ was also considered a suitable occupation for trained blind persons, and again, some may have been employed for charitable motives.¹²³⁹ At Bengoe, 20-year-old Lydia Hawkes was the first organist when the organ was installed in the newly-rebuilt church in May 1860, and the *Herts Guardian* reported 'The organist is blind, but she plays very nicely'.¹²⁴⁰ Similarly, when in 1858 a finger organ replaced the barrel-organ in Broxbourne parish church, the first organist was Joseph George Barkwith of Woolwich, who had trained as an organist after an accident left him blind.¹²⁴¹ So while it would seem there may have been an element of truth behind PEDAL's argument that some organists were appointed 'out of charity' to provide maintenance, this applied equally to men and women.¹²⁴² Indeed, when campaigning against the debarment of women from church organist's posts in 1854 *The Lady's Companion* argued:

Nearly every suitable and remunerative employment is barred from women; and this exclusion once in requisition, robs her of another recognized means of self-dependence.¹²⁴³

Furthermore, the magazine stated this was 'one of the few appointments open to women of education', often sought 'to maintain respectably the slenderly remunerated visiting governess; or the humble annuitant, whose means without such assistance would be inadequate to her support'. One such was Martha Finnette Jones, 'governess and organist' of Berkhamsted.¹²⁴⁴

¹²³⁸ Whitaker, *Seraph*, p. 2.

¹²³⁹ See David Shuker, 'An early training scheme for organists: music teaching in blind schools in late-Georgian and early-Victorian England', *Organists' Review* (Sept. 2013), pp. 38-41.

¹²⁴⁰ *HG* (26 May 1860), p. 5.

¹²⁴¹ HALS, DP24/6/4 Papers relating to repairs and restoration of the church (1858-59); 1871 Census RG10/1349/fol.29/p.16.

¹²⁴² *Musical Standard* (15 Apr. 1863), pp. 258-9.

¹²⁴³ *Lady's Companion* (Aug. 1854), p. 100.

¹²⁴⁴ 1881 Census RG11/1446/f.159/p.14.

In London, Dawe found that low salaries attracted few candidates, and in those circumstances 'parish clerk's daughters were appointed without opposition'.¹²⁴⁵ Perhaps nobody else was willing to play. Temperley stated that the vicar's wife or daughter was sometimes the organist in country parishes, arguing this was only because 'a professional player was unlikely to reside within easy distance of the church'.¹²⁴⁶ But again, a more compelling argument is that they were able and often willing to work for little or nothing. In 1857 *The Church of England Quarterly Review* stated 'the wives and sisters of the clergy form an excellent staff of organists, where there are no funds to secure professional help'.¹²⁴⁷ With no payments involved, the incidence of women organists is under-recorded, and census returns, personal testimony and contemporary accounts form the core of the evidence for their involvement. As early as 1831 Ellen Olive wrote that she took organ lessons prior to her marriage to the rector of Ayot St Lawrence 'so as to be able to perform in his church', because 'If she did not play the organ, nobody else would'.¹²⁴⁸ As seen above, this was a barrel-and-finger organ, so may have been used in her absence if anyone could operate it. Sophia, wife of William Wollaston Pym, vicar of Willian, played the barrel-organ during the 1830s.¹²⁴⁹ She was unpaid, but as seen above (see Table 2), by the 1850s the Willian blacksmith was paid to undertake this duty, indicative of the fall in status of barrel-organs. It also suggests that some barrel-organs thought to have been introduced during this period may have been introduced slightly earlier than indicated by the first known payments to their 'organists'.

A memorial window to Emily Ryley at Sarratt depicts a female organist (see Figure 47). Unusually no reference is made to St Cecilia, so it may be concluded the window refers to Mrs Ryley herself, who had married the vicar in 1864 and became the

¹²⁴⁵ Dawe, *Organists*, p. 2.

¹²⁴⁶ Temperley, *Parish Church*, pp. 234 & 301.

¹²⁴⁷ *Church of England Quarterly Review* (Apr. 1857), p. 465.

¹²⁴⁸ Carola Oman, *Ayot Rectory. A Family Memoir* (London, 1965), pp. 125 & 144.

¹²⁴⁹ Peter Harkness, *All Saints ... and Sinners* (1999), p. 41.

church organist when an organ was installed shortly afterwards. According to the 1911 census she had 11 children, of whom 10 survived.¹²⁵⁰



Figure 47. Memorial window to Emily Ryley at Holy Cross, Sarratt (c.1919).

Since barrel-and-finger organs were advertised for use when no organist was available they may have come into their own in churches with women organists faced with similar child-rearing duties, or an inability or disinclination to play regularly. At Stanmer (Sussex) 'The organ was played by the honorable Ladies at the mansion; when they left home [the congregation] fell back on the wretched barrel'.¹²⁵¹

The editor of *The Musical World* probably came nearest to the root of the problem in 1857 by attributing the prejudice against women to an oversupply of organists.¹²⁵² If ladies were declared ineligible, not only would there be enough places for men, but they would also receive more reasonable remuneration. But because the oversupply of organists coincided with the period of church rate disputes, opposition towards women organists did not resolve financial issues.

¹²⁵⁰ 1911 Census RG14/7731/9.

¹²⁵¹ MacDermott, *Sussex*, p. 11.

¹²⁵² *Musical World* (18 Sept. 1857).

By the 1860s the oversupply was clearly seen in Hertfordshire, and when the post of organist at Hemel Hempstead church was advertised in October 1863 fifty candidates applied and six auditioned, coming from such geographically diverse places as London, Kent, Chipping Norton, Sheffield and Liverpool.¹²⁵³ In 1864 Dickens alluded to such situations in a fictitious account of Grumbleton, where the vicar was swamped with applications after advertising for 'a trained and certified schoolmistress, for a mixed rural school, to teach singing and play the organ'.¹²⁵⁴ This throws into sharp focus the fact that money, rather than impropriety or incompetence, was probably the root of much of the antipathy felt towards women organists.

Since women were willing to work for a lower salary, the wages offered to both men and women dwindled, and in many more churches posts became voluntary. In 1862 Victoria Snelling took the vicar of North Mymms to court, unsuccessfully claiming £6.5s. for a quarter's salary as organist.¹²⁵⁵ The defendant said that on the illness of the regular organist, Miss Snelling had kindly offered to deputize gratuitously: 'It was very friendly of Miss Snelling to offer to help them in an emergency, but it was quite impossible to engage her as organist'.¹²⁵⁶

But Barger argued that the real issue may have been the unwillingness of male choir members to take directions from a female.¹²⁵⁷ Certainly when a new organ was installed at St Michael's, St Albans in 1867 the *Hertford Mercury* reported: 'Miss Hughes is the organist, and Mr B. Agutter, of St Augustine's, Hereford-square [South Kensington], is choirmaster'.¹²⁵⁸ This suggests that the appointment of a male choirmaster may have been considered preferable to leaving Miss Hughes in charge, even if he had to travel a considerable distance to undertake his duties.

¹²⁵³ *HM* (31 Oct. 1863), p. 3.

¹²⁵⁴ Charles Dickens, *All the Year Round* (26 Mar. 1864), pp. 154-6.

¹²⁵⁵ *HM* (5 Apr. 1862), p. 4.

¹²⁵⁶ *ibid.*

¹²⁵⁷ Barger, *Stirling*, p. 65.

¹²⁵⁸ *HM* (30 Mar. 1867), p. 3.

5.3. Children

By 1850 little progress appears to have been made in 'regulating' choir-bands.

The *Parish Choir* asked of the clergyman:

Supposing utmost care has failed to win the confidence of his choir. If the flute, fife, clarionet, and bassoon are huffed, and combine with the vocalists to revenge his interference by withdrawing their assistance, how shall he act?¹²⁵⁹

Once again, the obvious solution presented itself:

The way is open – let him turn to his Sunday-school. There are rich materials for forming a choir. There he will have fewer tempers to contend with. There he will discover a mine of vocal beauty; for no finer voices exist whether for leading or swelling a chorus, than those of children.¹²⁶⁰

Perhaps suggesting that disposing of singers was something akin to shooing wasps: 'the petty vexation for the time would be unpleasant', the article assured any doubters 'a more favourable event could hardly happen to a country clergyman than to be deserted by his singers and thrown upon the resources of his Sunday-school'. In Hertfordshire, subscriptions were initiated at Hatfield in 1851 for both the National School and a finger organ for the church, indicating the two were still firmly linked.¹²⁶¹ Ninety-one subscribed to the school, thirty-four to the organ and a further twenty-eight contributed to both school and organ.

But the efforts of the National Society to encourage congregational singing seem to have had limited success. In January 1852 Novello advertised his *169 Psalm and Hymn tunes* thus:

At the request of many friends and others connected with churches where the singing is confined to Treble voices, or to the children, the whole of the 169 Psalm and Hymn tunes have been adapted for one, two or three treble voices'.¹²⁶²

The evidence suggests this was still the case in October 1856, when G.W.O. wrote in the *Society's Monthly Paper*:

¹²⁵⁹ *Parish Choir* (June 1850), pp. 31-2.

¹²⁶⁰ *ibid.*

¹²⁶¹ HALS, RDC/7/69/35 List of subscribers (1851).

¹²⁶² *Musical Times* (1 Jan. 1852), p. 323.

It is frequently to be observed, that where school children are placed together at church, and required [...] to form a choir, the adult members of such congregations are generally disposed to praise their Almighty Creator by deputy, and to accept the services of our scholars as such. Disperse these children amongst the people; enjoin them [...] to take their part in singing; they will then afford an example worthy of imitation, and one that can scarcely fail to promote congregational worship.¹²⁶³

Consciously or unconsciously, G.W.O. was repeating a complaint which had been made repeatedly since the late eighteenth century (for example see pp. 84 & 253).

But by the early 1860s, the 'novelty' of teaching children to lead congregational singing appears to have worn thin. From December 1860 onwards the newly-published *Oxford Parochial Magazine* ran a three-part guide to 'Things to be Said or Sung' in church. In the first part, the anonymous contributor commented:

Of all long-suffering generations that ever existed there have been none certainly so patient as those which have listened for these many years past to the execrable stuff foisted upon them as devotional music in their Churches. Turn into a town Church, for instance, and what does one hear? Fifty charity children squalling their little windpipes to pieces in uninstructed efforts to sing a psalm tune or hymn tune which no effort in the world could make singable by the congregation at large.¹²⁶⁴

Prior to the 1880 Education Act which made it compulsory for all children aged between five and ten to attend school, it was common for able-bodied poor children to be expected to work all week. Reports from the 1867 Parliamentary Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture gave an indication of the extent of their workload.¹²⁶⁵ Several Hertfordshire respondents were the very clergymen eager to promote children's attendance and singing at the parish church on Sunday, yet few saw a real problem with the age children started work, nor the working hours, chiefly because their families were reliant on their wages. Boys often worked a twelve-hour day bird-scaring or weeding, sometimes longer, while girls were usually straw-plaiting at home or in a plaiting school. Walter Wortham, vicar of Shephall, wrote that boys generally started work at

¹²⁶³ National Society, *Monthly Paper* (Oct. 1856), p. 277.

¹²⁶⁴ *Oxford Parochial Magazine* (Dec. 1860), pp. 31-3; (Feb. 1861), pp. 113-7.

¹²⁶⁵ PP 1868-69 [4202] [4202-I] *Royal Com. on Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture, Second Report*, Appendix.

the age of ten,¹²⁶⁶ and the harsh reality was that boys were not employed on the land at an even younger age simply because their work would not have been productive. C.H. Lattimore of Wheathampstead wrote:

I think boys ought not to work on land under 9 to 10 years of age, as they are unable to earn anything by work; still they get an insight and acquaintance with the rudiments of their occupation by a moderately early contact with it.¹²⁶⁷

As soon as children of the Hertfordshire poor were able to earn a living they were obliged to go wherever the work took them. Recalling his late 1860s childhood, during his seventies Edwin Grey remembered several Harpenden boys hired by farmers at the age of nine or ten because it meant more sleeping room at home for the younger children, and they only returned home for occasional Sunday visits.¹²⁶⁸ Hugh Rayner, a Wallington landowner, wrote: 'How is the parent to maintain the children if they remain at home till 11 or 12 years of age? They must begin early, otherwise they are not fitted for agricultural labourers'.¹²⁶⁹

The *status quo* in Hertfordshire during the 1860s was pithily appraised by an anonymous Watford resident when a local lecture on church music prompted him or her to write to the *Watford Observer*. He or she commented that although 'more than common attention' was now being given to the subject of church music:

While our congregations are satisfied to listen to a few poor children singing because they are compelled, poor things, no improvement can possibly take place.¹²⁷⁰

The contributor argued that congregations were unable to join in because the range or arrangements of the tunes made them unsingable, saying:

¹²⁶⁶ *ibid.*

¹²⁶⁷ *ibid.*

¹²⁶⁸ Edwin Grey, *Cottage Life in a Hertfordshire Village* (Harpenden, 1977), pp. 57-8.

¹²⁶⁹ 1868-69 [4202] [4202-I]; 1871 Census RG10/1358/f.61/p.3.

¹²⁷⁰ *Watford Observer* (27 Feb. 1864), p. 1.

The majority of the congregation do not sing because it is impossible to do so. The arrangements very often seem to be made as if it were intended that they should not sing. Even the few who are disposed to join in the singing cannot do so. The tunes are selected which require a great compass of voice. Even the sopranos among the ladies, and tenors among the men, cannot reach the upper notes without drawing the attention of the congregation upon them, and so they remain silent. In the case of the contralto and bass voices, they find it simply impossible, and they give it up as hopeless.¹²⁷¹

and clearly sympathized with the children:

In this way silence is the rule in our churches, and the singing is left to a few poor children frequently those who are engaged in work all the week, and whose only attendance at church is on Sundays when they are mercilessly criticised by the listening congregations, whose educated ears are offended by the attempts to do what they would rather let quite alone.¹²⁷²

In 1851 for the first and last time two additional censuses were held on the same March weekend as the population census, at the instigation of the Registrar General, Major George Graham. These were the Census of Education and the Religious Census, both organized by the civil servant Horace Mann, held in an attempt to discover whether educational and religious provision had kept pace with the increasing population and its changing distribution.¹²⁷³ In the preface to his Census of Education report, Mann noted the number of dissenters was far higher than should have been expected had National School children continued to attend church as adults:

[It] is the curious fact, that – while for many years past at least four fifths of all the children who have passed through public schools must have been instructed in the schools of the Church of England – concurrently with this, a very considerable augmentation has (according to the tables of Religious Worship) been proceeding in the number of Dissenters; so that now they number very nearly half of the total population.¹²⁷⁴

Mann suggested this could be attributed either to some laxity on the part of the established church or the superior persuasiveness of the dissenting influence.¹²⁷⁵

As seen in Section 3.3.2, the teaching of nonconformist hymns to National School

¹²⁷¹ *ibid.*

¹²⁷² *ibid.*

¹²⁷³ David M. Thompson, 'The Religious Census of 1851', in: Richard Lawton (ed.), *The Census and Social Structure* (London, 1978), p. 241.

¹²⁷⁴ Horace Mann, *Census of Great Britain, 1851. Education in Great Britain, the official report of H. Mann* (London, 1854), p. 50.

¹²⁷⁵ *ibid.*

children may have also been a contributory factor. But a further, more uncomfortable, conclusion that Mann did not consider presents itself, namely that by compelling children to sing psalms and attend church in the few hours each week when they were not required to work, the established church had actually managed to dissuade children from attending as adults. During the 1860s most Harpenden children attended the Sunday school attached to St Nicholas', where classes were held for two hours until it was time to process to the church for the 11 a.m. service, just as charity children had during the eighteenth century. The more daring boys seized this opportunity to run away across the common rather than be trapped in church for another hour and a half.¹²⁷⁶ The Berkhamsted businessman Henry Nash reminisced about the 'dismal' atmosphere of St Mary's when he had attended Sunday school during this period:

The children were sent as a duty by their parents without much regard as to the kind of instruction they received; they were expected to assemble at nine o'clock in the morning, when they were kept standing on the cold stones for two hours, then required to remain for the service, which kept them nearly two hours more through a dreary service that had no meaning to them. The prayers were long and monotonous; the singing, accompanied by a barrel-organ, was of such a dismal character, that it would not be tolerated in a ragged school today. It is not surprising, therefore, that those who had to pass through this ordeal should have forsaken the church altogether.¹²⁷⁷

Perhaps as a result of his experience at Sunday school, in adulthood Nash was willing to have his goods seized rather than pay the church rate.¹²⁷⁸

By 1856 letters to the National Society began to acknowledge that unwilling compulsory church attendance as children was not conducive to willing voluntary attendance as adults. In 1856 G.W.O. described as mischievous 'The fashion of marching our school children to church on a Sunday'.¹²⁷⁹ Since, as at Harpenden and Berkhamsted, children who attended National Schools were required to meet at the

¹²⁷⁶ Grey, *Cottage Life*, p. 142.

¹²⁷⁷ Henry Nash, *Reminiscences of Berkhamsted* (Berkhamsted, 1890), p. 56. Not to be confused with Henry Nash of Frogmore paper mill (see Section 3.3.2).

¹²⁷⁸ *HM* (30 July 1887), p. 4.

¹²⁷⁹ National Society, *Monthly Paper* (Oct. 1856), pp. 275-7.

schoolroom to 'proceed to church' in a body, the parents were deprived of both the pleasure and pride of escorting their children to church and sitting with them:

They may often be seen after the services of the day, with evident sentiments of parental pride, [...] but not having been allowed to accompany [their children] to the house of God, have themselves refrained from going thither. In many instances, it may be feared, they seek at a Dissenting conventicle a substitute for the enjoyment of taking their own children to a place of worship, which our pernicious though well-intended school regulations have refused them in connection with that church in which their fathers assembled to adore their fathers' God in the beauty of holiness. Thus are we unwisely alienating our respectable poor from our church, and contributing to swell the ranks of Dissent.¹²⁸⁰

5.4. Choirs and Hymns

5.4.1. *Singing classes*

According to the *Herts Guardian*, the popularity of efforts made by the Government in the early 1840s to establish singing classes 'in every part of the kingdom' had confounded the suggestion that 'the English are an unmusical people'.¹²⁸¹ But classes had been very short-lived owing to over-ambitious expectations, leaving towns and villages in the same position as before.¹²⁸² Some recipients of this tuition had joined their local church choir, but with little commitment. 'A Churchman who likes Music' was so disappointed by the music-making at All Saints, Hertford on Christmas Day 1850 that he complained to the *Hertford Mercury*:

I have no doubt that most of the parishioners who attend All Saints' Church are obliged to the gentlemen amateurs who assist so regularly in the singing portion of the service [...] but in common with many others, I have to express my surprise and regret that on Christmas Day, one of the highest festivals of our Church, not one singer attended, and consequently the Te Deum was performed in all its parts by the boys and the organ only, as well as the chaunts and other musical parts of the service.¹²⁸³

In 1850 the *Parish Choir* reported the recent formation of the Cheadle Association for Promoting Church Music in Staffordshire, established to encourage good congregational singing. A correspondent urged other clergymen to follow this

¹²⁸⁰ *ibid.*

¹²⁸¹ *HG* (11 Feb. 1854), p. 8.

¹²⁸² *ibid.*

¹²⁸³ *HM* (4 Jan. 1851), p. 2.

example,¹²⁸⁴ and the Hertfordshire clergyman Lowther Barrington was among the first to take up the challenge. Foremost among the London bankers who had made their home locally was the Hertfordshire MP Abel Smith who inherited the family seat of Woodhall Park in 1834. With close family ties to many prominent Evangelicals, Smith used part of his immense wealth to improve the county's social fabric by endowing schools, purchasing advowsons, building and renovating churches and providing organs. In 1850 he installed Barrington as rector of Watton-at-Stone. Shortly afterwards Barrington was introduced to George William Martin of St Paul's Cathedral, music teacher, composer, organist and resident music master of the National Society's Battersea training college.¹²⁸⁵ Having taken on work in various teacher-training colleges and as schoolmaster in several villages, Martin now aimed 'to prove that music, as a most powerful agent in cultivating the intellect and improving the moral condition of our working population, can be successfully cultivated in our towns and villages'.¹²⁸⁶

Barrington suggested Martin should test his theory at Watton-at-Stone, and undertook to pay his expenses.¹²⁸⁷ The weekly class soon comprised sixty men, women and boys 'all from the humbler classes', and reporting its success the *Herts Guardian* concluded singing should be made an essential element of instruction for the poor:

it is very common to meet with mere children belonging to this class who have made extraordinary progress in sight singing; moreover amongst the members are men accustomed to field work, who possess score copies of some of the Oratorios, and are able by merely looking at the scores to form a correct idea of the beauties and difficulties of those parts which they have never heard.¹²⁸⁸

In 1855 Martin began a second singing class at Newgate Street, in the parish of Hatfield, 'for the purpose of affording a rational recreation to the inhabitants of the hamlet, and also of furthering congregational singing in the Church'.¹²⁸⁹ This time it was funded by the landowner Thomas Mills MP who had already built the Newgate Street

¹²⁸⁴ Adelman, *Contribution*, p. 205.

¹²⁸⁵ National Society, *Monthly Paper* (Sep. 1848), p. 43.

¹²⁸⁶ *HG* (11 Feb. 1854), p. 8.

¹²⁸⁷ *ibid.*

¹²⁸⁸ *ibid.*

¹²⁸⁹ *HM* (8 Aug. 1857), p. 3.

schools and chapel-of-ease, to which he had given not one but two successive barrel-organs. The incumbent, Robert Prichard Davies, said:

If such singing may be heard amongst a population which cannot number more than 100, what might we not hear in some of our larger villages: All that is wanted is a little of that support and encouragement on the part of our gentry which Mr Mills appears to have given in this case.¹²⁹⁰

In 1858 Martin lectured on singing at Cheshunt 'with a view to form classes for the improvement of Church Psalmody' at the request of James Grantham Faithfull, vicar and Davies's brother-in-law, who 'thought considerable improvement was needed in the singing at the church'.¹²⁹¹ Martin went on to establish singing classes in many other Hertfordshire parishes. Drawing on this experience, in 1860 Martin established the National Choral Society and his influence on the county continued until a slow decline attributed to intemperance led to his death in 1881.¹²⁹²

5.4.2. Choral societies

Although Hullah's method continued to be taught until the early 1860s, by this time schoolteachers had become increasingly disillusioned by its inflexibility, and most preferred to use the tonic sol-fa method. Such was its success that the 'Tonic Sol-fa Association for the Promotion of Vocal Music in Schools, Homes, and Congregations' was established in 1853. The *Herts Guardian* reported that by teaching both sacred and secular music to people from all walks of life the Association was 'patiently hoping for its reward, in that gradual improvement of psalmody, which is its chief aim'.¹²⁹³ In September 1857 a massed choir of some three thousand tonic sol-fa educated schoolchildren assembled at Crystal Palace 'recalling the meetings of the charity children at St Paul's Cathedral', as noted by Rainbow.¹²⁹⁴

¹²⁹⁰ *ibid.*

¹²⁹¹ *HM* (16 Oct. 1858), p. 3.

¹²⁹² J.C. Hadden, 'Martin, George William (1825-1881)', rev. David J. Golby, *ODNB*.

¹²⁹³ *HG* (30 July 1853), p. 6.

¹²⁹⁴ Bernarr Rainbow, *Bernarr Rainbow on Music: Memoirs and Selected Writings* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 111-2.

Although both children and adults used the system very widely, it found its greatest success in the late nineteenth century, which lies outside the scope of the present study. But the Tonic Sol-fa Association was just one symptom of the mid-century singing craze described by Rainbow as 'one of the most remarkable social phenomena of early Victorian England'.¹²⁹⁵ A plethora of locally-organized singing associations, societies, unions and festivals sprang up, many concerned with parish music-making. In 1856 the first diocesan choral festival was held in Lichfield cathedral, and by 1864 seventeen other English and Welsh cathedrals held them,¹²⁹⁶ but Hertfordshire had no cathedral until 1877 when the Abbey Church became the cathedral of the new St Albans diocese. George Becher Blomfield, rector of Stevenage and brother of the Bishop of London, therefore took the lead in October 1861 when he chaired a meeting in his parish 'to consider the propriety of forming a Church Choral Association for the encouragement of music and promotion of congregational singing in the county of Hertford'.¹²⁹⁷ The meeting proposed:

that the association should offer to those parishes joining it, instruction in music and singing [...] with the understanding that there shall be no interference with the existing choirs, or the order of Divine service in any church without the consent of the clergyman.¹²⁹⁸

With Earl Cowper as its president, the committee members included Canon Blomfield together with the Hon. & Rev. Hertfordshire incumbents Lowther Barrington, Godolphin Hastings (Hertingfordbury), Lewis William Denman (Willian), William Whitworth Chetwynd-Talbot (Hatfield) and Brooke William Robert Boothby (Welwyn).¹²⁹⁹ In addition, a number of major landowning MPs served on the committee, including Thomas Mills, William Wilshere of Welwyn and Christopher William Giles-Puller of Standon. The social standing of the committee members indicates the continuing involvement of the elite in church music-making.

¹²⁹⁵ Bernarr Rainbow, 'The Rise of Popular Music Education in 19th-century England', *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 30 (Autumn 1986), p. 35.

¹²⁹⁶ Adelman, *Contribution*, pp. 205-7.

¹²⁹⁷ *HM* (5 Oct. 1861), p. 3.

¹²⁹⁸ *ibid.*

¹²⁹⁹ *HM* (30 Nov. 1861), p. 2.

The Association engaged a singing master to teach a weekly evening class in the committee members' parishes for a one-off fee of a guinea per parish, plus a small weekly charge for each lesson, depending on the number of attendees. The first members were choirs 'chiefly composed of members of the congregation' from these and a handful of other parishes.¹³⁰⁰ Their first annual festival, held at Hitchin, came to the attention of the *Musical Standard* which reported 'upwards of 750 have been and are under the training given by the three choir masters constantly employed', and praised the encouragement of an 'improvement in the standard of knowledge and good taste on the part of the present and rising generation of churchmen'.¹³⁰¹ As with the opening of a new organ or consecration of a restored church, the event attracted a very large congregation, so large in this instance that with a congregation of nearly two thousand persons 'the Great Northern Railway Company kindly provided a special train to convey the [singing] classes to their respective homes'.¹³⁰² Earlier that month a Grand Musical Festival with a large local festival choir had been held in the Abbey Church on the anniversary of the opening of the new organ 'with a view to the improvement of church music', raising funds for 'the maintenance of an efficient choir' and 'the ultimate completion of the organ according to the original specifications of the builders'.¹³⁰³ The appearance of the town signified the day's importance:

The Union Jack floated from the top of the massive tower of the Abbey, and the 'College Youths'¹³⁰⁴ rang out a merry peal from the bells of old St Albans. About two o'clock the principal shops in the town were closed, and the streets began to throng with carriages, and well-dressed people on foot hastened in the direction of the Abbey.¹³⁰⁵

As at Hitchin, a special train brought in a large number of visitors, this time from Watford, so that the church was filled with an estimated crowd of at least three thousand, of whom approximately three-quarters were ladies. The *Hertford Mercury*

¹³⁰⁰ *HG* (22 July 1862), p. 3.

¹³⁰¹ *Musical Standard* (15 Aug. 1862), pp. 16-7.

¹³⁰² *ibid.*

¹³⁰³ *HM* (12 July 1862), p. 3.

¹³⁰⁴ The prestigious London change-ringing society.

¹³⁰⁵ *HM* (12 July 1862), p. 3.

attributed the popularity of this event to 'the spread of a practical knowledge of music amongst the masses' which had led 'not only to the holding of monster Handel Festivals in the Crystal Palace, but also to humbler musical celebrations in almost every town in the kingdom'.¹³⁰⁶ It is therefore apparent that many people were musically aware during this period, in many cases as a result of an early grounding in music received at school, but although willing and able to participate in and enjoy music festivals the congregation's reluctance to sing in church continued.

Singing festivals were not restricted to market towns such as Hitchin and St Albans. In May 1863 Herts Church Choral Association choirs trained by Martin from Westmill, Standon, Hornead, Little Munden and Braughing, numbering some hundred and seventy voices, came together for a choral festival at the newly-restored church in the little village of Westmill.¹³⁰⁷ The choice of music clearly reflected the Tractarian influence of the Association, since the choir chanted the Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis and psalms, and sang Keble's hymn 'Sun of my soul' after the sermon. Perhaps making a virtue out of a necessity, the singing throughout was 'unaccompanied by any instrument'. Although this might have reflected the Tractarians' early stance that no organs should be used (see Section 4.4.2), it may have had as much to do with the impossibility of using the church's barrel-organ to support this repertoire. Indeed, only one of the participating parishes is known to have had a finger organ at this date.

Although the aim of these societies was to promote congregational singing, in some instances their members went on to form or supplement the church choir itself. When St Mary's, Ware re-opened in July 1849 several local gentlemen and ladies assisted in leading the singing 'taking up their positions in the neighbourhood of the organ for that purpose',¹³⁰⁸ and at a special service held at Ardeley in April 1864 'The village choir of 24 singers, accompanied by Mr S. Hart, schoolmaster and organist,

¹³⁰⁶ *ibid.*

¹³⁰⁷ *HG* (16 May 1863), p. 5.

¹³⁰⁸ *HM* (7 July 1849), p. 3.

assisted in the choral service'.¹³⁰⁹ The activities of the Hertfordshire Church Choral Association were initially reported avidly in the local papers, and in January 1862 the *Hertford Mercury* detected a discernible improvement in congregational singing which it attributed to the class held at Baldock.¹³¹⁰ When the Association's annual festival was held in 1864 Blomfield praised their efforts in replacing the often less than satisfactory children's voices, saying:

the diffusion of a musical knowledge in general, thereby fitting the congregation to take their share in those exercises of praise which are too often either left to the feeble efforts of a few children, or are given in a style which compels the people to be mute listeners, instead of being the principal performers, while the praises of God are sung¹³¹¹

But he closed with an earnest appeal on behalf of the Association 'in danger of being crippled in its usefulness through want of adequate support from the county at large'. A journal kept by Samuel Pryer Field, vicar of Sawbridgeworth and secretary of the Association, provides a candid insider's assessment of its progress. In 1861 he recorded the initial struggle finding the minimum number of thirty parishioners stipulated per singing class, and persuading eight lapsed choir members to join 'knowing the independent disposition of many of my parishioners, and how delusive enthusiasm, exhibited hastily at the first, often proves to be – especially in Sawbridgeworth'.¹³¹²

In 1864 a period of conflict was unwittingly entered into when a choir of men and women was formed at St Andrew's, Hertford under the direction of John Marchant, Honorary Secretary of the Local Educational Board, suggesting a strong didactic motive. The object was 'to improve and encourage congregational singing in St Andrew's church, Hertford; and also to familiarise its members with the practice of singing in sacred and secular harmony'.¹³¹³ A list of choir members was given in a letter from Marchant to the *Herts Guardian*. Census returns indicate both that they were all

¹³⁰⁹ *HG* (2 Apr. 1864), p. 3.

¹³¹⁰ *HM* (25 Jan. 1862), p. 3.

¹³¹¹ *HM* (6 Aug. 1864), p. 3.

¹³¹² HALS, DP98/29/5 Rev. S.P. Field, Memoranda (1864).

¹³¹³ *HG* (25 June 1864), p. 8.

middle-class, and that half the ladies had been born outside Hertfordshire, which may perhaps have led to some resentment of outside interference among locally-born parishioners (see Table 7). It is also apparent that this choir attracted members from a wide age range, the youngest being thirteen and the eldest sixty-three.

The new choir adopted a new hymnal, namely William Mercer's *The Church Psalter and Hymn Book*.¹³¹⁴ Mercer suggested that tunes appointed for the following Sunday could be taught in National Schools, and addressed clergymen's doubts 'whether the music can be of any use to the poorer members of their flocks'. He argued:

the poor are as partial to the music as to the Hymns; and even assuming that many of the present generation of adult poor can benefit but little by it, yet their children will. By being familiarized from their infancy, in the Church and in the school, to the sight of a given number of notes, they will gradually acquire the use of them, and so be enabled to take a more intelligent part in the choral praises of the congregation.¹³¹⁵

But, as demonstrated throughout this dissertation, despite the fact that children were taught to sing there is little indication they continued to do so as adult members of the congregation, a pattern repeated every generation from the mid eighteenth to mid nineteenth centuries.

1871 census returns reveal the transitory nature of St Andrew's choir: two of the young ladies had married and moved away, and four choir members had died, including Marchant himself.¹³¹⁶ This problem was not unique to Hertford. Martin's choir had quickly dwindled at Watton-at-Stone and the *Hertford Mercury* observed:

The great thing to contend against in societies of this kind is the secession of individuals through marriage and change of residence, or other causes which often frustrate the attempt to improve the taste for music in general, and to animate the too-often dull Psalmody of our village churches.¹³¹⁷

¹³¹⁴ William Mercer, *The Church Psalter and Hymn Book* (London, 1855).

¹³¹⁵ Mercer, *Church Psalter*, Preface.

¹³¹⁶ England & Wales, National Probate Calendar (Index of Wills and Administrations), 1858-1966; 1871 Census RG10/1373/f.18/p.31.

¹³¹⁷ *HM* (21 Jan. 1865), p. 3.

	Age in 1864	Occupation in 1861	Place of birth	Notes
Female	17	Lodging house keeper's daughter	Hertford	
	17	Widow's daughter	Hertford	1871 living in Hants.
	18	Daughter of Stephen Austin, proprietor and editor of the <i>Hertford Mercury</i>	Hertford	
	18	Pupil teacher	Hertford	1871 living in Kent
	19	Tax collector's niece	London	
	19	Rector's daughter	Derbys.	
	20	Solicitor's daughter, brother Captain in Indian Army [Marchant's sister-in-law]	Hertford	
	25	Victualler's daughter	Essendon	
	37	Brewer's wife	London	
	40	Coal merchant's wife	London	
	56	Rector's wife	London	1871 living in Gloucs.
	63	Town councillor's wife [Marchant's mother]	Yorks.	d.1866
Male	13	Rector's son	Isle of Wight	1871 serving in the Navy
	24	Hairdresser	Hertford	
	25	Compositor, market gardener's son	Baldock	
	28	Mason	Ware	d.1868
	33	Solicitor [John Marchant]	Ware	d.1868
	41	Ostler	Bengeo	d.1868
	45	Classics master, Christ's Hospital	Essex	

Table 7. Members of St Andrew's, Hertford church choir (1864).¹³¹⁸

¹³¹⁸ *HG* (25 June 1864), p. 8; 1861 Census RG9/655/fo.138/p.5, RG9/805/fo.5/p.5, RG9/823/fo.98/p.10, RG9/823/fo.101/p.16, RG9/824/fo.5/p.3, RG9/824/fo.10/pp.13-14, RG9/824/fo.15/p.24, RG9/824/fo.21/p.35, RG9/824/fo.24/p.42, RG9/824/fo.25/p.44, RG9/824/fo.26/p.45, RG9/824/fo.42/p.24, RG9/824/fo.49/p.38, RG9/824/fo.62/p.11; 1871 Census RG10/875/fo.9/p.10, RG10/1126/fo.74/p.16, RG10/1372/fo.50/p.49, RG10/1372/fo.103/p.8, RG10/1372/fo.116/p.33, RG10/1372/fo.134/p.13, RG10/1372/fo.139/p.24, RG10/1372/fo.150/p.46, RG10/1372/fo.151/p.50, RG10/1372/fo.152/p.51, RG10/1373/fo.9/p.13, RG10/1373/fo.28/p.1, RG10/2680/fo.46/p.8.

In October 1863 the *Choir and Musical Record* reprinted a letter from 'A Working Man' to the *Hertfordshire Express* outlining the merits of the singing classes.¹³¹⁹ Describing himself as 'deeply interested in the improvement of Church Psalmody' he explained his vicar had invited the congregation 'to attend once a month at the National Schools and practice with the choir the psalms, hymns, and chants appointed to be sung in the church'. Many members of the congregation readily accepted the invitation, and the clergy were also present 'not as spectators merely, but as genuine working members'. The correspondent argued that improved congregational singing would:

avoid on the one hand the high style (if I may be permitted so to call it), such as anthems with solos in them, the canticles set to services of such a character as would place the choir in a false position, as not being leaders of the congregation in singing the praises of God: and, on the other, the low style, such as falling back to the "good old times" of the gallery with its company of wind and stringed instruments, to wit, the melancholy trombone, the irate clarionet, and the scraping fiddle. These, Sir, are the two extremes. The latter there is happily little fear of our falling back to: but the ambition to aspire to the former is by no means uncommon.¹³²⁰

It is perhaps uncharitable to suggest the vicar may have penned the letter himself.

By 1862 Rev. Field, former secretary of the Hertfordshire Church Choral Association, had set up a new group of clergymen with existing church choirs 'with a view to increase congregational singing and to promote the love and practice of good church music'.¹³²¹ With a more ambitious diocesan rather than county emphasis this was called the 'Church Choral Union in the Diocese of Rochester'. Rule 3 detailed the major point of difference from the Association, namely "That the choirs enrolled consist only of men and boys'. Choirs from Harlow (Essex), High Wych, Sawbridgeworth, Hatfield and Hockerill training college immediately enrolled in the Union, again with G.W. Martin as its choirmaster, and the Union endured for at least two years.¹³²²

¹³¹⁹ *Choir and Musical Record* (31 Oct. 1863), p. 190.

¹³²⁰ *ibid.*

¹³²¹ HALS, DP98/29/5.

¹³²² *HM* (4 June 1864), p. 3.

With the exclusion of women and girls from at least some of its church choirs, it would appear that by 1867 the greatest contribution many women made to Hertfordshire church music-making was to show off the men to good effect. Reporting on a service held in the Abbey Church the *Herts Advertiser* commented:

The sun shone in at the great west window upon a vast congregation, and the variety and beauty of the ladies costumes were pleasantly contrasted with the white robes of the choristers, and of the clergy and church dignitaries beyond.¹³²³

Although the exclusion of women from the Union's choirs suggests an adherence to ecclesiological principles and a desire to emulate cathedral service, an additional motive may have been to encourage boys to continue to attend church. In 1860 Joseph Wigram was appointed Bishop of Rochester, and in his 1864 visitation asked whether any measures were taken to retain young people in the Sunday school after leaving the daily school, to which Field replied 'The church choir keeps a few together'.¹³²⁴ But excluding women from church choirs reignited the old complaint that the gentry and middle-classes disassociated themselves from church music-making. When an organ fund-raising concert was given by the Church Choral Class at Bengoe, assisted by a few ladies and gentlemen of the neighbourhood, the *Hertford Mercury* commented:

We have often thought it a matter of regret that musical talent and ability of the superior order and the high cultivation sometimes to be met with in private society, should so rarely find scope beyond the comparatively limited circle of the drawing-room.¹³²⁵

Similarly, 'A Lover of Music' wrote to the *Hertfordshire Express*:

I cannot allow the week to pass without having a say about our Church Choir singing, which on Sunday morning was most execrable. Could not something be done to induce members of a choral class to join and improve the church choir – is it from a little over nicety on the parts of the ladies: Surely no stigma can attach thereto.¹³²⁶

¹³²³ *Herts Advertiser* (3 Aug. 1867), p. 2.

¹³²⁴ HALS, DP98/29/5.

¹³²⁵ *HM* (5 Aug. 1865), p. 2.

¹³²⁶ *Hertfordshire Express* (26 Nov. 1864), p. 3.

5.5. Organs

5.5.1. Barrel-organs

New hymnals introduced during this period, most notably *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, contained a much larger number of tunes than it would have been possible to pin on a barrel-organ. The only practical means of playing them was to replace the instrument with a keyboard and organist, but many churches with a barrel-organ attempted to avoid this expense in one of three ways. The first and most economical method was to only sing hymns that fitted the existing tunes pinned on the barrels, as at Witton (Norfolk), where the thirty tunes on the barrel-organ are annotated with the numbers from *Ancient and Modern* that could be sung to them.¹³²⁷ Secondly, barrels could be re-pinned. This was expensive, not always practical, and by the 1860s may have been seen as throwing good money after bad, but another Norfolk barrel-organ, at Woodrising, has three tunes from *Ancient and Modern* pinned in place of old ones. Thirdly, and most expensively, the church could buy a new barrel, as seen in Section 4.4.5. Churches adopting the second and third methods were willing both to extend their repertoire and invest in the existing technology despite new developments in instrument-making, mainly because of financial constraints. But such modifications were not always well-received. In 1841 the trustees of Epping charity school in Essex complained that the incumbent, Richard Sale, had asked John Maynard, a local organ tuner, to introduce a new barrel and to repin some of the tunes on an existing barrel. In a letter to Sale the chairman of the trustees complained: 'I must take the liberty of saying it is no part of your duty to alter the organ, and Maynard is employed for no other purpose than to teach the Charity Children to sing'.¹³²⁸

In many churches barrel-organs continued to be used through the 1850s and 1860s, and in Hertfordshire at least fourteen of the fifty-seven newly-installed organs

¹³²⁷ NRO, PD70/54 Manuscript book of hymn and psalm tunes (19th century).

¹³²⁸ ERO, D/Q 19/42 Papers about organ (1841).

had some sort of barrel mechanism.¹³²⁹ Far from being restricted to removals from domestic to ecclesiastical surroundings, the quest for better or more suitable instruments had resulted in the removal of organs from one church to another ever since the Restoration, and the market for second-hand barrel-organs was brisk. Although this might suggest a triumph of hope over experience, it is more likely to have been the result of a desire for a change of repertoire, lack of funds and the willingness of certain churches to part with their instruments for a pittance or nothing at all as the use of finger organs or reed organs became increasingly desirable. When a new Robson organ was installed at Aspenden in 1856 only £12 was allowed for the old Bryceson barrel-organ which had cost £75 in 1821.¹³³⁰ In 1858 J.W. Walker supplied a new finger organ to Broxbourne, taking the old barrel-organ in part-exchange, but he ruefully observed to Mrs Bosanquet, one of the main subscribers, 'I fear the old organ will stay by me – I was very liberal in my allowance for it'.¹³³¹

In May 1853 the Bovingdon churchwardens purchased a second-hand barrel-organ from Stanmore (Middx.),¹³³² presumably unaware of a report that appeared in *The Musical World* the previous summer:

Last Sunday week we visited the church of St John the Evangelist, Great Stanmore [...] when we state that the concluding voluntary was not a chorus of Handel's, or a fugue of Sebastian Bach's, but two verses of the Psalm tune Abingdon, ground on a barrel organ by the village schoolmaster, we cannot imagine that it is what it ought to be in the nineteenth century, nor is it at all in character with the style of the building, which throughout is decorated Gothic.¹³³³

Stanmore church had just been rebuilt at large expense, and yet the old barrel-organ had been brought from the old church 'where it had remained silent for some years' and now accompanied a few charity children, apparently to the satisfaction of the local gentry, and indicating there were no local singing classes at this date.

¹³²⁹ See Appendix 3.

¹³³⁰ HALS, DP8/8/3 Lists of subscribers to a new organ (1856).

¹³³¹ HALS, DP24/6/4.

¹³³² CRL, Gray & Davison accounts, Vol. 5 (1849-57), p. 155.

¹³³³ *Musical World* (June 1852), p. 373.

Perhaps as a compromise, a finger organ and dumb organist were installed in the west gallery at St Pauls Walden in 1850. The Ecclesiologist Henry Dryden may have reluctantly approved, since in 1854 he wrote somewhat despairingly:

I may just remark that you may as well try to make a silk purse out of a sow's ear as to get good singing with a grinding organ; and, therefore, don't throw away your spare cash on a grinder, if you wish it for accompaniment. If, in default of vocal music, you wish to have voluntaries, a grinder with the spiral-axled barrels may do your turn; but I would advise you never to get a grinder only – get a finger organ with grinding machinery, called "dumb organist" added.¹³³⁴

But a dramatic fall in the acquisition of church barrel-organs followed their association by the public with barrel-reed-organs and barrel-pianos used by street musicians such as those in Weybourne, Norfolk (see Figure 5). In 1831 Latrobe had complained: 'What town or village in the country resounds not with the most absurd tunes ground out of these musical boxes [...] borne by strolling minstrels from place to place!'.¹³³⁵ The twin nuisances of incessant noise and blocked thoroughfares caused by organ-grinders was seen to be a middle-class problem, since servants and the poor positively encouraged them, whereas the wealthy could either escape to the country or move to a quieter part of their house.¹³³⁶ Barrel-organs caused problems in towns and cities nationally, but especially in London where a campaign against the 'organ nuisance' had started in the 1840s in *The Times*. Matters culminated in the reading of the 'Suppression of Barrel Organs' bill in Parliament in 1858. Although the bill was rejected amid claims of anti-Italian racism, the parliamentary proceedings were reported in great detail in *The Times* and many local newspapers including the *Hertford Mercury*, and the problem continued (see Figure 48).¹³³⁷

¹³³⁴ *Ecclesiologist* (Apr. 1854), p. 100.

¹³³⁵ Latrobe, *Music of the Church*, p. 355.

¹³³⁶ Lucio Sponza, *Italian Immigrants in Nineteenth Century Britain: Realities and Images* (Leicester, 1988), p. 170.

¹³³⁷ *The Times* (30 Apr. 1858), p. 8; *HM* (1 May 1858), p. 2.



Figure 48. William Harcourt Hooper after John Leech, 'The organ grinding nuisance, no.1', *Punch's Almanack* (1864).¹³³⁸

The Church of England wished to distance itself from the secular world, and this was perhaps the final stage in the fall of barrel-organs from the elevated position they once held. Wealthy Hertfordshire parishes seemed to be almost constantly fundraising in their quest for a suitable, if not perfect, church organ during the latter part of the nineteenth century. It could be argued that as a consequence barrel-organs were no longer considered appropriate and quickly forgotten as an embarrassing episode in the church's music-making before their replacement with a harmonium or finger organ.

¹³³⁸ British Museum, *Collection Online*, 1912,1227.49, accessed at www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx.

5.5.2. *Reed organs*

New developments in keyboard instrument manufacture during the nineteenth century led to the availability of relatively cheap instruments. The small upright 'cottage piano' invented in the early nineteenth century was even affordable by tradesmen and became increasingly popular, resulting in what Spencer Curwen described as a 'multiplication of pianists'.¹³³⁹ Various free-reed organs were also invented 1830-56, including the (Royal) Seraphine, the harmonium and the American Organ.¹³⁴⁰ These were much cheaper to manufacture than pipe organs, and many churches now considered widening their musical repertoire since firms often sold them on 'hire-purchase' agreements, as had been the case with choir-band instruments (see Section 3.2.1.1).

There is little evidence of Seraphine use in Hertfordshire churches, and this instrument was too quiet to make a significant contribution to music-making. The enterprising clerk and leader of the singers John Godman made a Seraphine for use at St Stephen's, St Albans c.1840,¹³⁴¹ and when one was used at the consecration of a new chapel-of-ease at Wareside the *Hertford Mercury* reported:

The musical portion of the service was under the superintendence of Mr Luppino, who acquitted himself in a very creditable manner, notwithstanding the obvious defects of the instrument (a Seraphine).¹³⁴²

As with barrel-organs, harmoniums were first used in a domestic setting but later used in many churches. In Hertfordshire, the earliest recorded instances of church use come from Kings Langley and Kensworth during the mid-1850s.¹³⁴³ While on long vacation from Oxford in 1859 Arthur Stanton, later known as 'Father Stanton', joined his family at Aldbury and introduced a harmonium to assist the singing at St Mary's.¹³⁴⁴

¹³³⁹ John Spencer Curwen, *Studies in Church Music* (London, 1880).

¹³⁴⁰ Arthur W.J.G. Ord-Hume, *The History of the Reed Organ and its Makers* (London, 1986), p. 85.

¹³⁴¹ HALS, DP94/8/1 Vestry minutes (1841); DP94/29/4 Frederick Henshaw, ms history of St Stephens (1935).

¹³⁴² *HM* (4 Sept. 1841), p. 2.

¹³⁴³ HALS, DP64/5/6; BARS, P34/5/1-3.

¹³⁴⁴ HALS, DE/X840/7/1 Sir James Craufurd, 'Aldbury Church, Hertfordshire' (1961).

Since harmoniums are relatively easy to move, particularly the smaller models, not only could they be used in the church on a short-term basis, but also be moved from site to site as required, and sometimes used outdoors. At Lilley the choir-band was replaced during the late 1860s by a young man paid £1 per annum to play a harmonium which was moved to the church every Sunday.¹³⁴⁵ This also gave the church the opportunity to take its music-making to the people, rather than waiting for them to come to church. In 1859 a harmonium was used at Sandon temperance Harvest cricket match to support singing led by the schoolmistress and children, while at Hitchin one was used in 1863 both in the schoolroom for a Christmas treat and outdoors at the consecration of the new burial ground.¹³⁴⁶ Yet at Little Gaddesden, a suggestion that the school's harmonium could be used in church on Sundays to support chanting was considered inappropriate in a village church by the High-Church rector Rev. Jenks, and the west gallery barrel-organ therefore continued in use until his death in 1870.¹³⁴⁷ At Caddington the west gallery was considered an appropriate location for the harmonium, where it was first played by the schoolmaster, then the blacksmith and lastly the vicar's wife (see Figure 49).¹³⁴⁸ Presumably the choir-band had previously been located there, but harmoniums were usually positioned at ground level, as were organs relocated during this period.

¹³⁴⁵ Matthew Feakes, 'St Peter's Church, Lilley', *Transactions*, East Herts Archaeological Society, Vol.IV part II (Hertford, 1910), pp. 188-9.

¹³⁴⁶ *HM* (31 Jan. 1863), p. 3; (25 July 1863), p. 3.

¹³⁴⁷ Howard Senar, *Little Gaddesden and Ashridge* (Chichester, 1983), p. 165.

¹³⁴⁸ Horace Montagu Prescott, *Notes on Caddington Church* (Luton, 1937), p. 34.

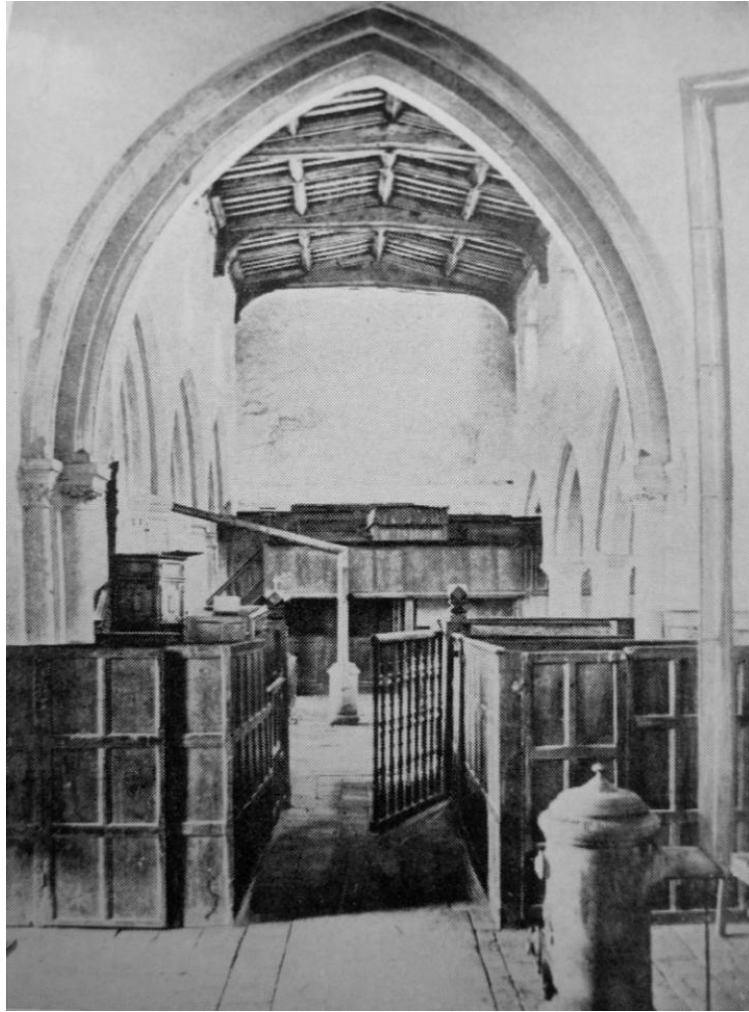


Figure 49. Harmonium in the west gallery of All Saints, Caddington (1874).¹³⁴⁹

A newly-introduced harmonium was often played by a woman, as at Albury where the men's choir formed in 1856 to replace the choir-band was accompanied by Mrs Bayliff.¹³⁵⁰ Few harmonium players were paid, an enduring consequence of the rise in voluntary organists (see p. 291). Despite championing the cause of schoolmistresses, as early as 1847 the *Parish Choir* observed:

It must often happen in country places, that were it not for the zeal of some good churchwoman, there would be no organ played; but where there is a large organ and a salary can be given, it is surely best on every account, to have a man as organist and choir-master.¹³⁵¹

¹³⁴⁹ Prescott, *Caddington*, n.p.

¹³⁵⁰ HALS, DP1/29/2 ms history of the parish of Albury (1939).

¹³⁵¹ *Parish Choir* (Sept. 1847), p. 88.

This appears to be a further example of the anti-women organist journalism discussed in Section 5.2.3, but if their involvement was as fleeting as that displayed by the elite in Merton (Norfolk) then this attitude is perhaps more understandable. After giving a harmonium to the church 'Lady Walsingham played the Harmonium in her pew the first two Sundays', but after the novelty wore off Miss Woods, the schoolmistress played it in the chancel.¹³⁵² A comparable situation was found in many Hertfordshire churches. At Little Munden Miss Surtees gave a harmonium to the church during the 1860s and taught the newly-formed choir, but having married and left the parish her sisters were left to do 'the best they could to supply her place'.¹³⁵³ At Radwell church the situation was perhaps worse still. In 1837 'a very neat and sweet-toned' barrel-organ had been presented by Miss Horsefall of Radwell House.¹³⁵⁴ The instrument played '33 very nice tunes', but when a new family took up residence at Radwell House they considered a harmonium more appropriate, and placed one in the chancel where it was played by a young lady.¹³⁵⁵ But the family left and took the harmonium with them, leaving the barrel-organ to be operated by a gardener who had never played it before. Turning the barrel erratically he 'left the congregation quite behind', which 'excited the risibilities of the young ladies, the volatile properties of whose minds exploded in a suppressed laugh'.¹³⁵⁶ 'An Observer' commented: 'If people will forego their office, and have novices to officiate and ladies to do as they please with the singing, what must they expect but that the service of God will be ridiculed'.¹³⁵⁷

It is commonly stated that when Tractarian reformers replaced choir-bands with organs and organists there was often an 'intermediate stage' with a barrel-organ

¹³⁵² NRO, PD532/32 Geo. Crabbe, 'Annals of Merton' (1870).

¹³⁵³ *HM* (10 Sept. 1864), p. 3.

¹³⁵⁴ *HM* (31 Oct. 1837), p. 3.

¹³⁵⁵ *Hertfordshire Express* (30 Sept. 1865), p. 3.

¹³⁵⁶ *ibid.* (11 Nov. 1865), p. 3.

¹³⁵⁷ *ibid.*

or harmonium.¹³⁵⁸ Yet rural Hertfordshire parishes such as Caldecote, Clothall and others with dispersed settlements and small congregations appear to have never had pipe organs since the Restoration, still only possessing reed organs.

5.6. Church Buildings

5.6.1. *Childrens' seating*

In 1856 G.W.O. commented on the problems associated with children's attendance at church and reminisced about his own more privileged childhood (see Section 5.3). Although he had sat with his family in the family pew, he had seen 'the National school children in the gallery – boys on one side of the organ, and girls on the other; the workhouse children arranged on forms under the gallery'.¹³⁵⁹ G.W.O. argued children should sit with their families rather than in segregated seating, and that this would draw the congregation back from dissenting places of worship. In many churches this would have led to a further requirement for increased accommodation, the *raison d'être* for the founding of the ICBS. When the recently-appointed Rev. Vaughan applied for ICBS funding to rebuild Harpenden parish church in 1861 he said that because of the lack of accommodation 'many have been driven, almost against their will, into the ranks of dissent, and a very large number (especially of the working men) are, it is to be feared, worshippers neither in church nor chapel'.¹³⁶⁰ Frederic Spackman, the local doctor who played a prominent part in the village's well-being, added 'I am very desirous that the seats in the South Transept should be devoted to family sittings'. In June 1855 All Saints, Hertford vestry stated 'A great want of accommodation prevails [...] for mechanics and artisans, a class of persons who [...] are

¹³⁵⁸ Obelkevich, *Religion*, p. 147; Peter Edward Goodwin, *Worship in the Anglican Country Parishes from the Restoration to the Nineteenth Century: its Music and Architectural Setting, with Particular Reference to Selected Churches within the Present Diocese of Chelmsford* (Goldsmiths College, London Univ. M.Phil thesis, 1999), p. 124.

¹³⁵⁹ National Society, *Monthly Paper* (Oct. 1856), pp. 275-7.

¹³⁶⁰ LPL, ICBS/05754 Application (1862).

deterred from attending divine worship',¹³⁶¹ which they attributed to having to sit in free seating with the poor rather than pews with the gentry. The obligation for National School children to attend church, and to sing there, was a major contributory factor to these problems.

Although the ICBS no longer provided grants for galleries or cramped children's seating, in many churches they remained. Figure 50 shows an 1862 drawing of Bobbingworth church (Essex),¹³⁶² by Alice Mary Oliver, the rector's daughter. The schoolmaster and school children can be seen standing in front of the barrel-organ at the back of the west gallery, behind three standing figures. The gentry are seated in appropriated pews with their backs firmly turned towards both the clergyman and the gallery while the Capel Cure family, local landowners, are shown into their pew near the pulpit. It is very likely this organ was introduced while Henry Soames was curate (see p. 189), since a girls' school and Sunday school had been established here in 1822 under the patronage of the Capel Cure family.¹³⁶³

¹³⁶¹ HALS, DP48/8/4 Vestry minutes (1855).

¹³⁶² Also known as Bovinger.

¹³⁶³ PP 1835 (62) *Abstract of Answers and Returns on State of Education in England and Wales* (3 vols.), I, p. 271.

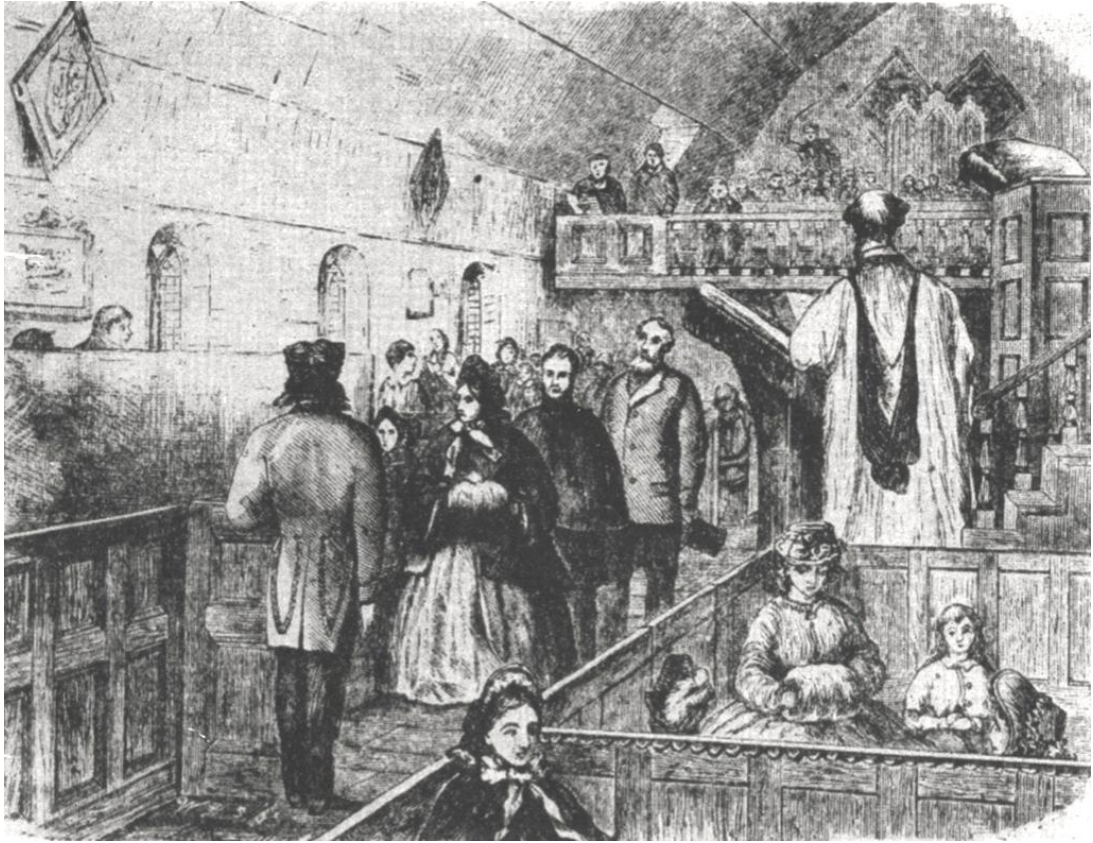


Figure 50. Alice Mary Oliver, *Bovinger church, Essex* (1862).¹³⁶⁴

Among the earliest items published in the ICBS's *Church Builder* was an announcement that rules regarding children's seating were to be further modified: the distance from back to front was increased to 'at least twenty-six inches', and for the first time there was a requirement for their seats to have backs (see Section 4.5.1).¹³⁶⁵ 'J.C.' reported that the future Prime Minister William Gladstone had himself drawn attention to the defective and 'in many respects highly mischievous' arrangements under which schoolchildren attended church, inspiring 'a rooted and very intelligible disinclination to attendance at church'.¹³⁶⁶ His main concerns were the stuffy conditions in and below their galleries 'commonly the worst in the church' and length

¹³⁶⁴ *St Germain's Bobbingworth* [Church guide] (n.d.).

¹³⁶⁵ *Church Builder*, no. VIII (1863), p. 165.

¹³⁶⁶ *ibid.*, no. IX (1864), pp. 24-7.

of time spent there. As early as 1848 Dickens described such a circumstance when relating the experience of 'Rob the Grinder', a 'clothed' charity school boy. His:

[...] reverence for the inspired writings, under the admirable system of the Grinders' School, had been developed [...] by the parading of him at six years old in leather breeches, three times a Sunday, very high up, in a very hot church, with a great organ buzzing against his drowsy head, like an exceedingly busy bee.¹³⁶⁷

This too illustrates the continuing importance attached to the display of charity children, as at St Paul's and countless other churches. J.C.'s article included illustrations of seating specifically designed for children (see Figure 51), with the expectation they should comprise 'one-fifth to one-fourth' of the whole number of seats in the church, depending on circumstances.¹³⁶⁸ Although this might seem a large fraction, during this extended period of high population growth children formed a considerable proportion of the parish, as noted in Section 1.3.1. Furthermore, as seen at Wigginton (see p. 243) in some churches the fraction was even greater.

In 1866 All Saints, Hertford was 'restored', but the *Herts Guardian* considered the work incomplete until something was done to address the poor ventilation caused by the 'excessive space occupied by galleries'.¹³⁶⁹ The scare-mongering article referred its readership to a recent case in Wisbech (Cambs.) where a woman seated in a gallery was asphyxiated 'by the foul atmosphere which arose from the body of the church, and was pent up between the galleries and the roof'. Since warm air rises, those seated in galleries were in the stuffiest part of the church. Although they may have frozen in winter, during the summer the heat was probably as unbearable as it had been for 'Rob the Grinder'.

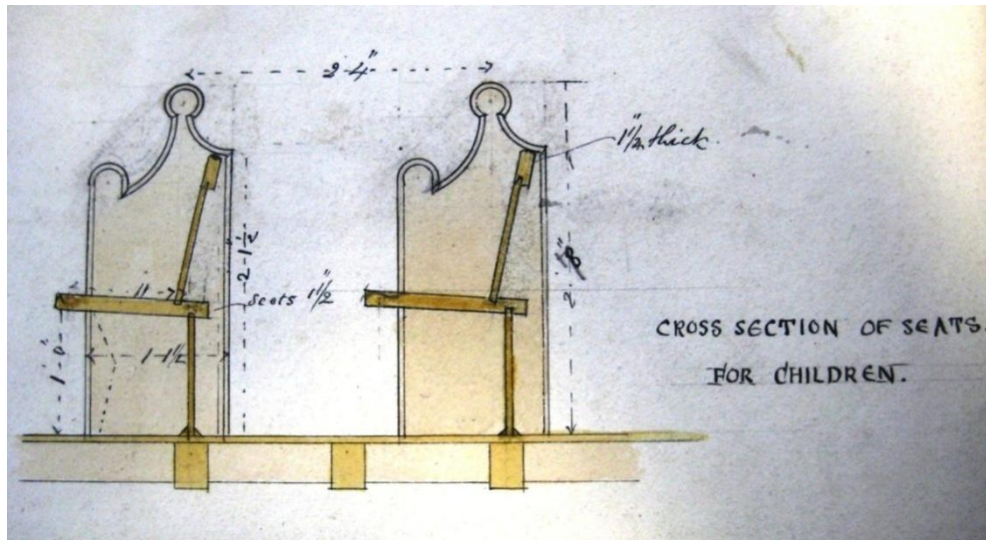
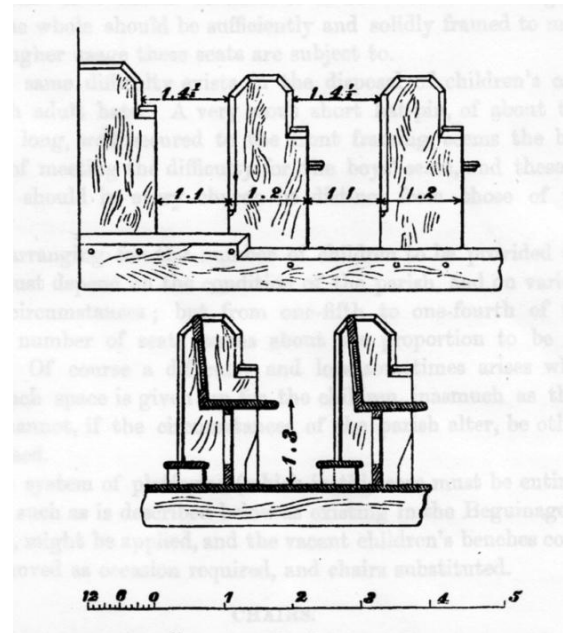
¹³⁶⁷ Charles Dickens, *Dombey and Son* (London, 1848), p. 386.

¹³⁶⁸ *Church Builder*, no. IX (1864), pp. 24-7.

¹³⁶⁹ *HG* (28 Aug. 1866) p. 3.

Figure 51. Children's seats.

From top:

Church Builder (1864);¹³⁷⁰G.E. Pritchett, Proposed seats at St
Luke's, Widford (1868);¹³⁷¹Seats by J.P. Seddon at St Peter's,
Ayot St Peter (1874).¹³⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p. 26.¹³⁷¹ HALS, DP123/6/1.

Gladstone also highlighted the discomfort, sometimes amounting to suffering, of being confined to cramped seating, and the difficulties faced by the preacher attempting to address both adults and children. 'J.C.' was pleased to report to the *Church Builder's* readers that:

From the gradual extinction of galleries; the unbecoming sight of the singing children forming the front row, and singing for the congregation, has happily almost passed away, and the position and duties of the choir are now as well defined as any other portion of the service.¹³⁷²

This provides a further example of how one generation's reforming efforts were considered by the next to be abhorrent.

5.6.2. 'Restoration', rebuilding and relocation

Between 1840 and 1875 nearly eighty per cent of all old English parish churches were restored, rebuilt or enlarged, with the majority of 'restoration' work undertaken 1856-74,¹³⁷³ and almost all conforming to ecclesiological principles.¹³⁷⁴ Those Hertfordshire parishes with no shortage of gentry, wealthy incomers, and or ladies susceptible to the fund-raising efforts of young clergymen saw a surge in church rebuilding and restoration. As the century progressed, such work was thought incomplete without the installation of an organ, and organ-builders became essential members of the architectural and ecclesiastical supply industry. When Holy Trinity, Bengeo was built in 1855 to replace the old parish church of St Leonard's, the work was considered unfinished until a finger organ was finally acquired in 1860 'so that the arrangements of this beautiful edifice for sacred worship are now nearly all complete'.¹³⁷⁵ If funds did not stretch to the immediate provision of an organ then space was allocated for one. At Sawbridgeworth, both west galleries were removed during 1859 restoration work and space allowed for an organ:

¹³⁷² *Church Builder*, no. IX (1864), pp. 24-7.

¹³⁷³ Miele, 'interest and habit', p. 156.

¹³⁷⁴ Yates, *Buildings*, p. 151.

¹³⁷⁵ *HG* (3 July 1855), p. 3; (24 Mar. 1860), p. 5.

A very elegant arch between the chancel and south aisle, for many years blocked up by a colossal monument of late date, has been thrown open, and repaired space has thus been gained for an organ, and its position is well adapted for leading a choir in the chancel.¹³⁷⁶

Yet the positioning of church organs continued to be a contentious issue. At Leeds parish church the High Churchman John Jebb had placed the choir in the chancel with the organ to one side of it, and in 1843 argued that this was the only proper place for the choir.¹³⁷⁷ In Hertfordshire, the 1851 ICBS application from Aston was the first to show Jebb's arrangement, with an organ located in a newly-built organ chamber off the chancel and therefore near the choir,¹³⁷⁸ and at Standon the west gallery organ was taken down in 1864 and a new organ chamber built next to the chancel.¹³⁷⁹ This arrangement allowed organs to be located adjacent to chancels not originally designed to hold them, and had the added benefit of allowing the organist to be discreetly hidden behind a curtain or other screen. Although this became usual in the later nineteenth century, it was by no means the only arrangement. William Spark, deputy organist of Leeds parish church, disagreed with Jebb and in 1852 gave a paper to the Yorkshire Architectural Society entitled 'Choirs and Organs: Their Proper Position in Churches', which received widespread coverage when reprinted in full in the *Musical Times*.¹³⁸⁰ Spark contended that there was no historical precedent for 'any uniform rule for our guidance in the locating of organs and choirs'.¹³⁸¹

Consequently the answer to the question of where to locate a new organ, especially following the removal of one or more galleries, was not obvious. A new Bishop, Starr & Richardson organ was purchased by subscription at St Andrew's, Hertford in 1861 and placed in the west gallery, but the *Hertford Mercury* objected 'the organ appears to us to be placed too far back and too high up in the gallery of the

¹³⁷⁶ *HG* (22 Nov. 1859), p. 3.

¹³⁷⁷ Temperley, *Parish Church*, p. 257.

¹³⁷⁸ LPL, ICBS/04358 Application (1851).

¹³⁷⁹ *Hertfordshire Almanac* (24 Dec. 1864), pp. 102-3.

¹³⁸⁰ William Spark, 'Choirs and Organs: Their Proper Position in Churches' Pt I, *Musical Times*, (Oct. 1853), pp. 259-262; Pt II, (Nov. 1853), pp. 275-8.

¹³⁸¹ Spark, 'Choirs and Organs', p. 278.

church, which is not well adapted for the conveyance of sound'.¹³⁸² In 1859 the Hemel Hempstead vestry agreed that as part of restoration work the 'organ and west gallery remain in the same position for the present'.¹³⁸³ Yet the following year they discussed removing both on the grounds that 'the interior of the church would be much improved thereby' and 'the organ be placed in the north transept'. However the vicar protested against placing the organ in the transept, 'because it would sacrifice many seats, and also be illegal unless the consent of the Bishop was first obtained'.¹³⁸⁴ The following vestry rescinded the resolution, and decided the organ should be 'placed in the chamber on the north side of the chancel end of the church'.¹³⁸⁵

When the ICBS's *Church Builder* began publication in 1862 it contained advertisements for harmoniums and organs, often now described as 'chancel organs'.¹³⁸⁶ And yet, when the organ-builder Bevington advertised his 'chancel organs' in 1863 the question of where to locate an organ was by no means settled, since he stated they were 'Suitable for the Chancel or Gallery of Church or Chapel'.¹³⁸⁷ Likewise, although he emphasized their 'Mediaeval Cases' in ecclesiological style, few Tractarians would have been tempted to purchase the 'BARREL ATTACHMENT, PLAYING EIGHT TUNES' offered for an additional eight guineas.

The acquisition of a new organ continued to provide the opportunity for a grand opening ceremony. This was not only a means of celebration, but also allowed the church to assert its position in the face of nonconformity, attract additional fundraising and emphasize the donors' or subscribers' good taste and philanthropic motives. But in addition it gave politicians an opportunity to win or retain support by showcasing their concern for local causes. When a new organ was installed at Aspenden in May 1856 the Tory *Herts Guardian* reported 'Several of the nobility and

¹³⁸² *HM* (11 May 1861), p. 2.

¹³⁸³ *HALS*, DP47/8/4 Vestry minutes (1858-61).

¹³⁸⁴ *ibid.*

¹³⁸⁵ *ibid.*

¹³⁸⁶ *Church Builder*, no. III (1862), p. 7.

¹³⁸⁷ *Choir and Musical Record* (25 July 1863).

nearly all who have any property and interest in the parish have subscribed liberally – nor must it be forgotten that our three county members assisted us with their handsome donations'.¹³⁸⁸

In 1862 the *Hertford Mercury* commented that the diocese of Rochester had 'certainly not been backward' in efforts to provide for the spiritual wants of the population: 'Very frequently, of late, has it been our pleasing duty to chronicle in these columns, the erection of new churches, or the restoration and enlargement of old churches'.¹³⁸⁹ How much more of an impression could be made by the opening of a newly-built or rebuilt church complete with an organ from the start. When Harpenden parish church was restored in 1862 a new organ was installed ready for the re-opening by the Bishop of Rochester in November.¹³⁹⁰ At Tring the organ was rebuilt, enlarged and placed near the east end of the north aisle, so that when the church was re-opened by the Bishop on New Year's Day 1863 'the whole congregation took their part well both in the chanting and singing'.¹³⁹¹ And yet an even grander impression could be made if an existing choir could also be found to fill the new choirstalls, and at Aspenden the new organ was opened by Mr Limpus, organist of St Michael's, Cornhill, supported by 'several members of his own choir'.¹³⁹² In 1853 the remotely-situated St Mary's, Thundridge was demolished and a new parish church built nearer the village by the local landowner Robert Hanbury.¹³⁹³ He managed to secure the offices of G.W. Martin as organist on the brand-new £200 Bishop organ for the grand opening, together with a choir of girls from the village school he had also funded, supplemented by the increasingly-renowned Watton-at-Stone choir to fill the new choirstalls (see Section 5.4.1).¹³⁹⁴ As a token of his appreciation he presented the choir with the music

¹³⁸⁸ *HG* (27 May 1856), p. 3.

¹³⁸⁹ *HM* (15 Nov. 1862), p. 3.

¹³⁹⁰ *ibid.*

¹³⁹¹ *HG* (3 Jan. 1863), p. 2.

¹³⁹² *HG* (27 May 1856), p. 3.

¹³⁹³ Cussans, *History*, I, p. 160.

¹³⁹⁴ *HM* (12 Nov. 1853), p. 3.

cupboard which still stands in the church at Watton, long after the departure of the choir (see Figure 52).



Figure 52. Watton-at-Stone choir music cupboard.

The opening of the new Hill organ in the Abbey Church in August 1861 attracted an estimated congregation of two to three thousand, with many more turned away at the door owing to lack of space.¹³⁹⁵ The sermon was preached by Rev. Gee who had strong Tractarian principles (see p. 248), and according to the *Hertford Mercury*:

He did not say that an organ was altogether indispensable, but there could be no question that if there were an organ, it should be a good one. The gentleman's house is not thought to be furnished unless it has a good and costly instrument, and in purchasing an organ for the worship of God, it would not be an extravagant suggestion that its cost should bear some proportion to the total cost of the instruments belonging to the worshippers.¹³⁹⁶

This intriguing statement suggests that although numerous barrel-organs had been disposed of, chamber organs and other costly instruments were still commonplace in the gentry households with which Gee was familiar, much as they had been in the eighteenth century.

¹³⁹⁵ *HM* (10 Aug. 1861), p. 3.

¹³⁹⁶ *ibid.*

St Helen's, Wheathampstead, said to be in 'a state of grievous decay', was transformed by a restoration costing in excess of £3000, with its newly-gleaming exterior said to be 'almost startling'.¹³⁹⁷ A photographer was hired to record the grand procession of clergy and choristers brought in by the Rev. Davys for the reopening on 24 April 1866, singing Gregorian chant as they entered the church (see Figure 53).



Figure 53. Re-opening of St Helen's, Wheathampstead (1866).¹³⁹⁸

In contrast to the girls, men and women's voices heard at Thundridge, the choir at Wheathampstead comprised men and boys only (see Figure 54), and the use of Gregorian chant provides a further indication of Tractarianism. Moreover, the description of the finger organ installed in place of the old west gallery barrel-organ suggests its suitably reverential appearance was just as important, perhaps more so, than its speaking tone. On the anniversary of the church's re-opening the *Herts Guardian* reported:

¹³⁹⁷ *HM* (28 Apr. 1866), p. 3.

¹³⁹⁸ Wheathampstead vestry.

The organ was suspended on the north side the chancel, in accordance with the paper recently read by the Rev. gentleman at St Albans Archaeological Society, on the 'Choral arrangement of Churches'. The pipes of the organ are very beautifully ornamented: there is variety of colours, but they blend in perfection, and the combined effect of windows, organ, and ceiling is rich beyond description.¹³⁹⁹



Figure 54. Choir of men and boys at Wheathampstead (c.1866).¹⁴⁰⁰

Davys' paper received wider attention when it was published some three years later (see pp. 142-3).¹⁴⁰¹ He explained why he felt provision for music-making should now be an integral part of any church rebuilding or restoration work:

[...] there has grown up a desire that the living church should prosper as well as the material building, so that we seldom see a church restored without seeing decency and order restored in its services; and since good music is so generally esteemed as a needful part of an orderly worship, it is not surprising that church choirs, and how to organise, train, and arrange them should have become a very popular subject for enquiry and discussion. This is indeed, a comparatively new subject, for the time is not long since the best arrangement possible for many a so-called choir was to remove it as far as possible from the inside of a building.¹⁴⁰²

¹³⁹⁹ *HG* (11 May 1867), p. 5.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Wheathampstead vestry.

¹⁴⁰¹ Davys, 'Choral Arrangement'.

¹⁴⁰² *ibid.*, p. 262.

Davys was son of George Davys, Bishop of Peterborough who as a vicar had been so strongly in favour of teaching children to sing in order to lead the congregation (see p. 181). The bishop's son stated that 'till very lately', in most churches choirs were located in a gallery at the west end, but as this 'singing loft' was now generally condemned, they should now be placed 'in accordance with the true principles of choral arrangement', modestly echoing Pugin's *True Principles*. He stated:

I will suppose that you have a choir composed, as the model choirs of the Church of England are composed, of men and boys, that you have got them clothed in the surplice, which has ever been recognised in the Church of England as the appropriate dress for those, whether lay, or clerical, who minister in her services, and that, having done all this, you are about to lead your choir into church, and want to know where to place them.¹⁴⁰³

After arguing that the proper place for them was 'undoubtedly' the 'constructive choir' or chancel, he drew attention to those churches where such an arrangement was disallowed by the patron, stating that in such cases the choir should be situated west of the chancel arch: 'This plan has been adopted by Mr Scott with excellent effect in the choral arrangements of St Michael's church, near St Albans'.¹⁴⁰⁴ This was a far cry from Scott's first church at Flaunden, built with a gallery to seat singing children and a barrel-organ (see Figure 43). Furthermore this example clearly illustrates how the approach to reform music-making had dramatically altered over the course of one generation. George Davys had promoted children's singing, whereas his son promoted a choir of men and boys.

Davys instigated the building work within five years of his appointment, as had Rev. King at Flaunden and Rev. Vaughan at Harpenden (see pp. 266 & 316). This supports Miele's findings of a close temporal relationship between the arrival of a new incumbent and the initiation of restoration or rebuilding, with two-thirds of restorations started within five years of a clerical appointment.¹⁴⁰⁵ But a development of his argument is the correlation between the appointment of a new incumbent and

¹⁴⁰³ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁰⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁰⁵ Miele, 'interest and habit', pp. 169-170.

the installation of a finger organ during this period, as at Wheathampstead and Abbots Langley where the young Rev. Gee organized a subscription to replace the barrel-organ soon after his appointment in 1850.¹⁴⁰⁶ Likewise in 1860 the 28-year-old Harry Holdsworth Minchin was appointed rector of Wormley and promptly arranged a vestry to consider disposing of the west gallery barrel-organ, obtaining a new organ, and to 'determine the most convenient part of the church to place it'.¹⁴⁰⁷ The vestry agreed to sell the old organ to the local Lady Huntingdon's Chapel, and the new Henry Willis organ was placed near the chancel (see Figure 55).



Figure 55. Anon., Interior of St Laurence's, Wormley (c.1860).¹⁴⁰⁸

¹⁴⁰⁶ CRL, Gray & Davison accounts, Vol. 5, p. 199; Raymond Stewart Wilkinson, *The Church and Parish of Abbots Langley* (Abbots Langley, 1959), pp. 91-2.

¹⁴⁰⁷ HALS, DP126/8/2.

¹⁴⁰⁸ *ibid.*

As envisaged by Davys, it began to be the norm for congregational singing to be led by a choir of men and boys given collegiate-style seating in the chancel. Although the organ was now usually well-positioned to be heard by singers in the chancel it was expected to be unobtrusive, and when the new organ was inaugurated at Bengo in 1860 it was 'never permitted to drown the voices of the singers'.¹⁴⁰⁹ Although attention was drawn to the organ in High Wych chapel-of-ease with the words 'Praise him with organs', at Ayot St Peter the doctrinal emphasis on singing rather than organ-playing was given prominence in the decorated ceiling above the organ, with the words 'O come let us sing unto the Lord' (see Figure 56).

¹⁴⁰⁹ *HM* (2 June 1860), p. 3.



Figure 56. Organ chamber decoration. Above: St James', High Wych (1860); below: St Peter's, Ayot St Peter (c.1861).

And yet the importance attached by Ecclesiologists to suitable liturgical and architectural settings for worship, and the desire to support a more ambitious choral repertoire, resulted in a demand for more versatile and powerful organs. According to Thistlethwaite, organs now needed to be 'more flexible tonally and (an inevitable consequence) physically larger at just the moment when their accommodation was proving a major difficulty'.¹⁴¹⁰ Following the 1846 church restoration at Monken Hadley, a Middlesex parish adjoining Chipping Barnet, a Walker organ 'of great beauty and power' was installed in place of 'a smaller one which had taken the place of a barrel organ patronized by the late rector'.¹⁴¹¹

In April 1865 the newly-formed choir of St Andrew's, Hertford appear to have decided to blame the tools, or organ, with which they had been provided.¹⁴¹² Not content with the change in hymn-book noted in Section 5.4.2, the ladies of the choir now started a subscription list for another replacement organ, with the incentive that:

the power and character of the instrument will depend upon the amount raised in a given time. Failing the collection of an adequate sum for the above purpose the fund will be expended in improving the present very imperfect instrument.¹⁴¹³

This fund-raising was therefore partly a consequence of the obsession with singing classes discussed in Section 5.4.1.¹⁴¹⁴ Much Hadham was another church notable for the constant reappraisal of its organs, upgrading from a variety of barrel-organs to finger organs, acquiring its fourth organ by 1859.¹⁴¹⁵ This was probably attributable to their well-connected rector (see p. 27). These examples support Obelkevich's observation that 'affluent congregations replaced their organ three or four times in the course of the century'.¹⁴¹⁶ Obelkevich argued this was because organs became status symbols as the nineteenth century progressed, and the St Andrew's

¹⁴¹⁰ Thistlethwaite, *Victorian Organ*, p. 311.

¹⁴¹¹ *HG* (5 Aug. 1854), p. 8.

¹⁴¹² *HM* (15 Apr. 1865), p. 4.

¹⁴¹³ *HG* (29 Apr. 1865), p. 5.

¹⁴¹⁴ *HG* (20 July 1867), p. 4.

¹⁴¹⁵ *HM* (26 Nov. 1859), p. 3.

¹⁴¹⁶ Obelkevich, 'Music', p. 552.

choir ladies' warning that 'the power and character' of the instrument would depend on how quickly the money could be raised certainly suggests this. But Hertfordshire evidence suggests organs had been status symbols since the eighteenth century, and earlier, so this was nothing new. Instead, the quickening pace of change in both repertoire and architecture as the nineteenth century progressed meant that organs considered suitable one year were no longer suitable the next. Rather than it just being a question of replacing barrel-organs with finger organs, it was often considered necessary to replace unobtrusive organs with more powerful instruments. However, with ongoing accommodation and restoration issues there now arose a question of priorities, and at St Andrew's, opinion divided as to whether or not money should be raised for a new organ. 'A Parishioner' wrote:

[I] am disposed to think that the church itself has a prior claim; for if an organ be obtained to suit the present building, it is not likely to suit a new or enlarged church; and knowing the difficulty of resisting the entreaties of ladies, I really think they could and would, by their gentle persuasion, work as successfully for a church as for an organ. Some, I know would double their subscriptions promised a year or two back to the church, rather than subscribe to an organ separately.¹⁴¹⁷

Those outside the parish were perhaps even more forthright. 'A Non-Parishioner', perhaps from All Saints, observed that the young ladies of the choir 'whose fascinations it is difficult to withstand' were soliciting subscriptions, and hoped that this time an organ would be selected 'suitable to the requirements of a larger church', and of 'the present excellent choir', a tactful remark made in deference to the editor whose daughter was a choir member.¹⁴¹⁸ However, he then argued that partially or completely rebuilding the church should take priority over purchasing a new organ, and that there was no shortage of locals able to supply the means to do so.¹⁴¹⁹ The editor added: 'We think it possible to do both things. A new church is urgently wanted, but that is no reason why a new organ should not be procured, and at once; only it should be suitable to a somewhat larger building'. The choirmaster John Marchant

¹⁴¹⁷ *HM* (13 May 1865), p. 2.

¹⁴¹⁸ *HG* (29 Apr. 1865), p. 8; *HM* (13 May 1865), p. 2.

¹⁴¹⁹ *ibid.*

acted as treasurer to the new organ fund, and subscribers' names were regularly published, both to give them credit for their munificence and to encourage others. A total of 213 people subscribed towards the new organ, compared with only forty in 1861 (see p. 322). The amounts subscribed were generally far smaller, suggesting many of the poorer parishioners now supported the scheme (see Figure 57). Although this appears to demonstrate how successful the choir's fund-raising had been, opponents later suggested that a significant proportion of the monies were subscribed on the misapprehension they were supporting the new church building, for which funds were being raised separately.

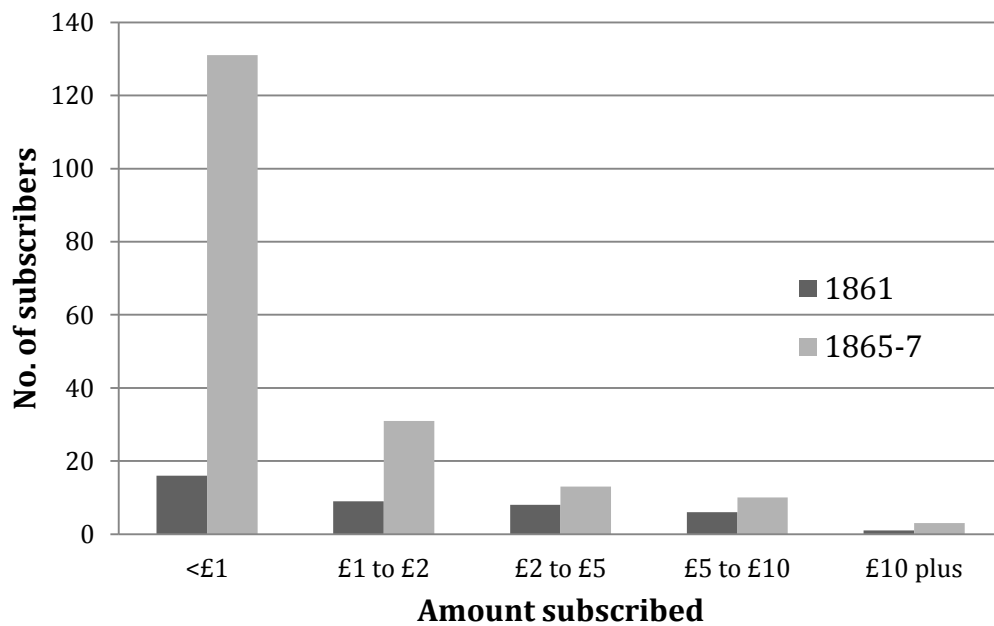


Figure 57. Subscriptions to organ funds at St Andrew's, Hertford in 1861 and 1865-7.¹⁴²⁰

¹⁴²⁰ HG (1861-67).

By 1867 enough money had been promised, and Marchant announced his intention of purchasing a new organ immediately: 'The new instrument will be built of sufficient power for present purposes, and large enough in all necessary parts to admit of the addition of such stops as may be found requisite for a larger building'.¹⁴²¹ Following the death of Bishop Wigram in 1866 the *Herts Guardian* revealed the added incentive that 'It is rumoured that the new Bishop of Rochester [Thomas Legh Claughton] will probably preach when the organ is opened'.¹⁴²² But a telling vestry minute reveals that not all went to plan, and Marchant explained:

in consequence of the contracted space in the Organ Gallery it had been found impracticable to place the new organ there, but that there was a position at the end of the South Aisle in every way adapted for the instrument, and that the Organ Builder had inspected the site and reported that it was the best that could be obtained in the church.¹⁴²³

This reveals an astonishing lack of foresight: rather than making a deliberate decision to relocate the organ from the gallery to the body of the church the committee had simply ordered too large an organ, on the assumption it would be suitable for an as-yet-undesigned new church. Not only this, but its presence would exacerbate the church's lack of accommodation. Marchant was obliged to explain that 'the parishioners who occupied seats at the end of the South Aisle had consented to give up their sittings on condition that others were provided for them in some other part of the church'.¹⁴²⁴ The vestry apparently had little option but to give the committee permission to place the organ 'at the end of the South Aisle or in the Gallery'.¹⁴²⁵

The new Holdich organ was inaugurated in August 1867.¹⁴²⁶ The following month Pollard wrote to the *Musical Standard* complaining about the new organ's inappropriate registration, with 'screaming treble pipes', its casework and location:

¹⁴²¹ *HM* (9 Feb. 1867), p. 2.

¹⁴²² *HG* (20 Jul. 1867), p. 4. Claughton became the first Bishop of St Albans in 1877.

¹⁴²³ HALS, DP49/8/2-5.

¹⁴²⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁴²⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁴²⁶ *HG* (10 Aug. 1867), p. 4.

The appearance of the new one, blocking up light from one window and hiding another, was an object of wonder and surprise, and the dismantling of seven pews to make room for it, without leave from the Bishop, was a matter of regret to all who knew how deficient the church is of proper accommodation.¹⁴²⁷

So to compound other errors, no faculty had been obtained for the installation.

Summarizing his litany of complaints, Pollard highlighted the inherent conflict of interests:

This is the fourth organ within about six years at our Parish Church. It is very seldom indeed that a subscription can be obtained in any parish as readily as this has been, and it is very lamentable that the best has not been made of the money. Moreover, the funds would have been much better applied toward the enlargement of our church. [...] The present [organ] is too large for the church as it is, and we are told not good enough for the church as it ought to be when restored and enlarged [...] to demolish seven pews, at the same time that subscriptions are being received for additional pew room, is a proceeding more worthy of Ireland than of England.¹⁴²⁸

The case of St Andrew's, Hertford illustrates some of the ramifications associated with the introduction of 'improvements' to music-making in churches during the 1860s.

5.7. Summary

During the 1850s to 1860s continued attempts were made to improve congregational singing. The removal of galleries continued, with the result that more room had to be found in the body of the church for both organs and children, and the ever-growing accommodation shortage led to a new development, namely the drive to rebuild or restore churches.

The availability of cheap second-hand barrel-organs resulted in their continuing use at the beginning of this period, but they now became associated with the secular world, were deemed entirely unsuitable for church use, and by the end of the nineteenth century had usually been forgotten. Attempts to use children's voices alone to lead congregational singing continued to cause problems and were abandoned.

¹⁴²⁷ *Musical Standard* (14 Sept. 1867), p. 162.

¹⁴²⁸ *ibid.*

Furthermore, many of those children who had found compulsory attendance at church to be an unpleasant experience did not attend when they attained adulthood.

The mid-century singing craze among adults continued to grow, and led to the formation of choral societies and mixed church choirs. Coupled with the ecclesiological desire to provide choir seating in what was considered to be an appropriate setting, this also fuelled the growing drive to restore or rebuild churches. By the 1860s it had therefore become increasingly common for collegiate-style seating for the choir to be provided in the chancel even if the church had no choir of its own. Yet mixed voice choirs had a poor retention rate, and together with the Tractarian disapproval of surplice-wearing women, this now led to the emergence of all-male choirs and a declining visible involvement of females in music-making.

By the 1860s the installation of a finger organ was usually seen to be an essential part of rebuilding or restoration work, even if there were no funds to pay an organist. In wealthy parishes a desire for increasingly powerful church organs had expensive repercussions in terms of their constant modification or replacement, but parishioners and visitors may have felt less conspicuous singing with these more powerful instruments. The coming of the railways facilitated the attendance of vast crowds at consecration and opening ceremonies of both churches and organs, which once more became prominent events in the social calendar.

Conclusion

This dissertation has demonstrated that constant attempts were made to improve parochial congregational singing throughout the whole period between the 1760s and 1860s. In theory the entire congregation was expected to join in singing psalmody, but in practice few sang. Little improvement can be detected throughout the period, so that the modern idea of the singing congregation was certainly not a feature of the first half of the nineteenth century. Just when the practice of widespread congregational singing did emerge would be a suitable topic for future research.

The use of charity children's voices to promote congregational psalmody was repeatedly attempted following continuing episcopal guidance and encouragement, and they were taught to sing by elite patrons, organists, choir-band members, parish clerks and schoolteachers. Although a variety of different teaching methods were adopted, the most widespread and enduring support for their singing came from church barrel-organs. Although attempts to use children's voices to improve psalmody met with disappointment time after time, they were not finally abandoned until the 1860s.

During the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries charity and Sunday schools and their choirs were enthusiastically promoted by the elite, aware of episcopal and lay concern regarding the state of congregational psalmody through their shared cultural experience and exclusive access to reading matter. Many advantages were anticipated, including encouraging children to continue to attend church as singing adults, attracting their parents to church, retaining worshippers in the face of nonconformity, and saving the expense of paying adult musicians. The metropolitan fashion of placing choirs of charity children in a gallery where their singing was supported by an organ was of significant and enduring influence, resulting in the adoption of this practice in rural parishes even if the instrument was a barrel-organ. But elite members of the congregation did not sing with schoolchildren because they

did not wish to be associated with the objects of their charity. The need to accommodate poor children, whether or not they sang, meant that in many churches, particularly in towns, despite the building of galleries, most seating was appropriated to the elite or to schoolchildren. The charity children's own families were therefore unable to sing in their parish church because there was insufficient available space to accommodate them.

The significant influence of the elite on church music-making also found expression in parish churches with no organ, and perhaps even no charity school. The introduction of wind instruments to choir-bands during the Napoleonic Wars was in some cases influenced by their use in military bands and, as was the case with organs, initially allied to their use in polite music-making favoured by the gentry.

The founding of the National Society in 1811 was of particular significance both for the development of music-making and for church architecture. This is because following the incorporation of an existing charity, Sunday or new school into the Society it was a continuing requirement for children to attend church, and an organ, usually a barrel-organ, was often introduced to support their singing. The growing number of children attending church resulted in yet more galleries being built until the mid nineteenth century. But some children on reaching adulthood preferred to sing the hymn-tunes learnt as school children instead of the psalm-tunes used in church. Since these hymn-tunes were often used in nonconformist places of worship, they served as an attraction towards the chapel and away from the parish church.

During the 1830s to 1840s central discussions on the improvement of church music-making shifted from the elite to the clergy, part of a discernible trend from the lay-dominated eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to the more clerically-dominated late nineteenth century. The *Ecclesiastical Gazette* was sent to every church and encouraged the clergy to purchase barrel-organs, but with waning financial support for the church mid-century the clergy often paid for them themselves.

Long-running church rate disputes ensured that these instruments remained in use long after the beginnings of Tractarian influence, which was initially opposed to the use of any instruments in church.

By the 1850s to 1860s local newspapers and publications such as the *Church Builder* engaged a wider, democratic readership and encouraged the support of all in ambitious schemes which included the extension or rebuilding of parish churches. As additional accommodation was made available for the poor, some of the artisan class with no appropriated seats were unwilling to share unappropriated sittings with the poor, refused to attend church and consequently did not sing there. Those adults able to find seats found it difficult or impossible to sing in the same range as children, whose voices were described as shrieking, chirping, screaming, strained, squalling, shouting, noisy and generally 'most unsatisfactory'. Others associated the church with their own unpleasant childhood experience of compulsory attendance, and so may not have attended any place of worship.

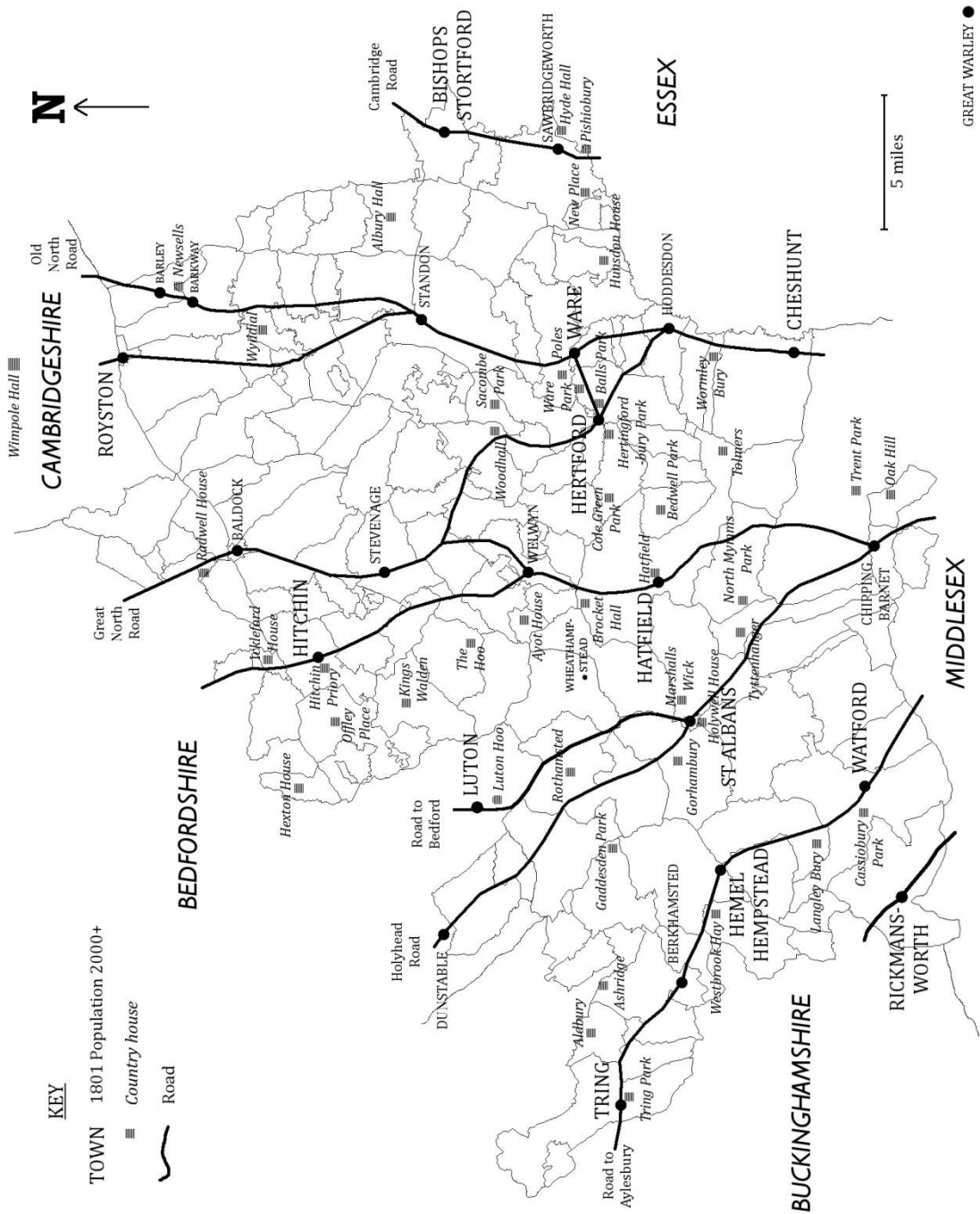
Time and again one period's reform became the next period's appalling abuse. The fashionable barrel-organs introduced to improve congregational singing in the late 1700s became the grinding organs abominated in the 1860s. During the 1760s a gallery had been considered a desirable location for organs and choirs of children, and an acceptable location for church band instrumentalists and singers. But by the 1860s the building of galleries in parish churches had been forbidden, and any remaining galleries were considered objectionable. An adult singing craze, often transitory, had led to collegiate-style choir seating being placed in the chancel, often with an organ close by. This became the typical church layout, still found in perhaps the majority of English parish churches in the early twenty-first century.

Although this dissertation is concerned with music-making in the English parish church, it also casts light on some more general features of the Church of England itself. On the one hand, it has provided an example of the effectiveness of

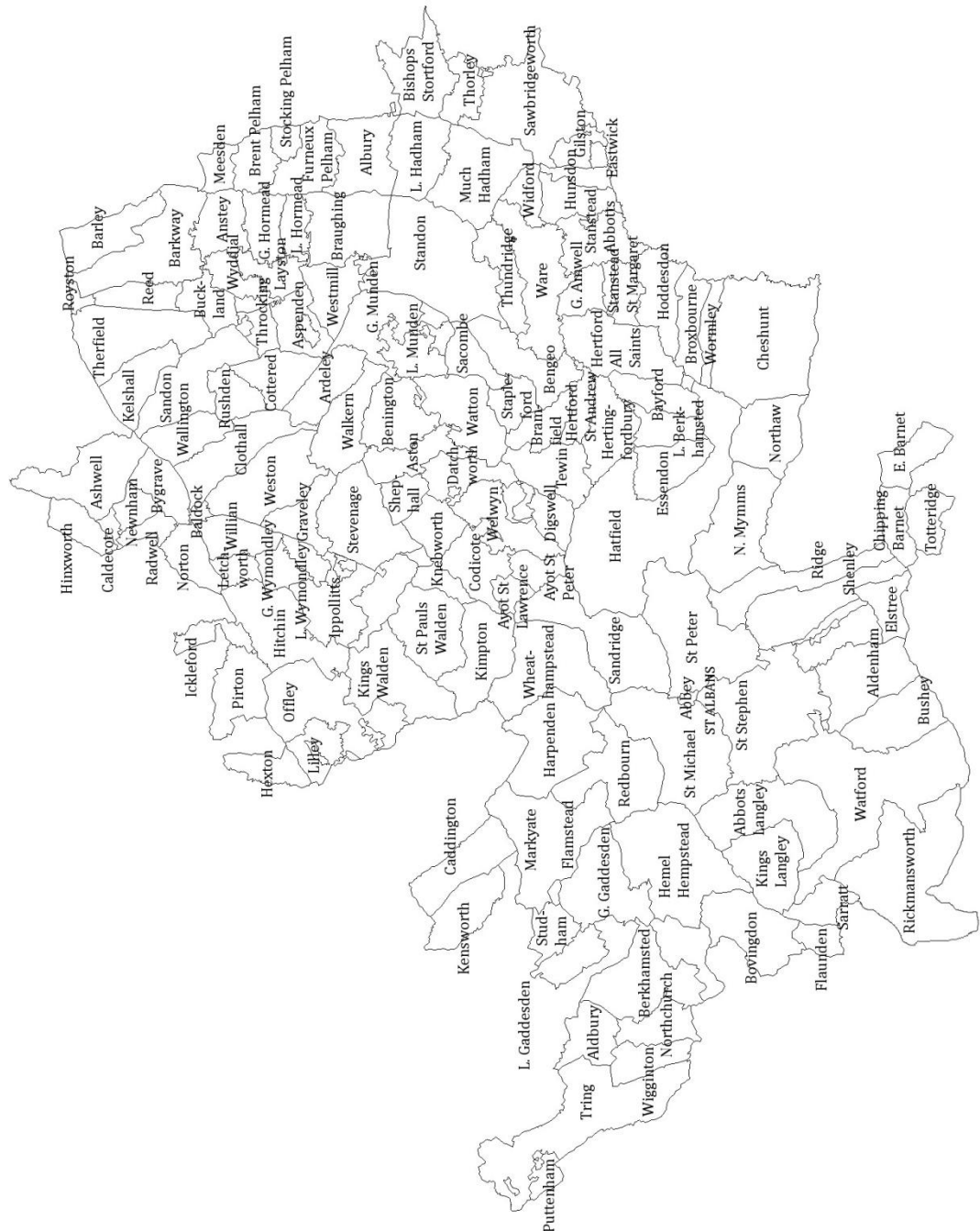
bishops in promoting their agendas, which in this case was the improvement of congregational psalmody. Their success in making their guidance known, and the extent to which it influenced both their clergy and certain elite parishioners, has been underappreciated in the historiography. Channels of communication, including the SPCK, National Society and ICBS proved to be an increasingly effective network for the dissemination of both clerical guidance and information, in terms of encouraging singing by charity and Sunday school children, and providing guidelines for suitable church architecture in which to do so. But on the other hand, this study has also highlighted the Church of England's shortcomings with regard to its ability to learn from experience, seen for example in the persistent efforts to use children's voices to lead congregational singing. Its repeated attempts to improve music-making reflect a broader picture in which there was change, but no change.

Appendix 1. Map of Hertfordshire c.1800 showing major routes, towns and selected country houses

See Figure 11 for North Mymms area.



Appendix 2. Map of Hertfordshire parishes included in study



Appendix 3. Known acquisition of Hertfordshire church organs 1760-1860

* indicates previous evidence of singing (see Appendix 5).

Where the use of a barrel rather than finger organ is inferred rather than explicit, it is indicated in square brackets: [Barrel-]organ.

Parish church	First known use	Organ (and builder)	Funding
*Abbots Langley ¹⁴²⁹	1840	Barrel-organ (Gray & Son)	Probably Sir John Filmer, patron and formerly vicar (Langley Bury)
	1850	Finger organ (Gray & Davison)	Subscription and part-exchange
*Aldbury ¹⁴³⁰	1866	Finger organ (Gray & Davison)	Richard Mountford Wood, vicar
*Aldenham ¹⁴³¹	c.1820	Barrel-organ (Gray)	Caleb Lomax, vicar
	1853	Barrel-and-finger organ (Gray & Davison)	Part-exchange
	1866	Finger organ (Gray & Davison)	
Ardeley ¹⁴³²	1840	Barrel-organ	Subscription
Ashwell ¹⁴³³	1868	Finger organ (J.W. Walker)	
Aspenden ¹⁴³⁴	1821	Barrel-organ (H. Bryceson)	Subscription
	1856	Finger organ (T.J.F. Robson)	Subscription and part-exchange
Ayot St Lawrence ¹⁴³⁵	c.1780	Barrel-and-finger organ	Probably Lionel Lyde, patron
*Baldock ¹⁴³⁶	1835	Second-hand chamber organ with added barrel mechanism	John Smith, rector

¹⁴²⁹ Wilkinson, *Abbots Langley*, pp. 91-2.

¹⁴³⁰ CRL, Gray & Davison accounts, Vol. 8A, pp. 89 & 310; *NPOR*, N14010.

¹⁴³¹ CRL, Gray & Davison accounts, Vol. 5, p. 199; HALS, DP3/29/17; Kenneth F. Gibbs, *The Parish Registers of Aldenham* (St Albans, 1902), p. 204; Langwill & Boston, *Barrel-organs*, p. 79; *NPOR*, D02601.

¹⁴³² *HM* (21 Dec. 1850), p. 1.

¹⁴³³ HALS, DP7/6/1 Invoice for church organ (1868); *NPOR*, N14014.

¹⁴³⁴ HALS, DP8/1/3; *HG* (27 May 1856), p. 3; *NPOR*, N13144.

¹⁴³⁵ Langwill & Boston, *Barrel-organs*, p. 79; Pevsner & Cherry, *Hertfordshire*, p. 79.

¹⁴³⁶ CRL, John Gray accounts, p. 129; *NPOR*, D02272.

Parish church	First known use	Organ (and builder)	Funding
*Barkway ¹⁴³⁷	1844	[Barrel-]organ	Probably Rev. & Mrs Leveson Vernon-Harcourt, patrons (Newsells)
Bengeo ¹⁴³⁸	1850	Improved barrel-organ (Bates & Son)	Joseph Woodward, churchwarden
	1860	Finger organ	Subscription
*Benington ¹⁴³⁹	1867	Finger organ (Bryceson)	
*Berkhamsted ¹⁴⁴⁰	1819	Barrel-organ	Subscription
	1850	Second-hand finger organ (H. Bryceson)	Subscription and part-exchange
*Bovingdon ¹⁴⁴¹	1853	Second-hand [Barrel-]organ	Probably Granville Dudley Ryder, patron (Westbrook Hay)
Bramfield ¹⁴⁴²	1842	[Barrel-]organ	Mrs. Lewis Deedes, rector's wife
*Braughing ¹⁴⁴³	1810	Barrel-organ (J.C. Bishop)	Probably Francis Edward Say, vicar
	c.1850	Barrel-and-finger organ	Miss Nixon, vicar's sister-in-law
Broxbourne ¹⁴⁴⁴	1804	Barrel-organ (?Allen)	Subscription
	1831	[Barrel-]organ (H.C. Lincoln)	
	1858	Finger organ (J.W. Walker)	Subscription and part-exchange
Chipping Barnet ¹⁴⁴⁵	1824	Barrel-organ (Flight & Robson)	Subscription
	1850	Finger organ (H. Bevington)	Part-exchange

¹⁴³⁷ HALS, DP13/5/2-3.

¹⁴³⁸ HALS, DP17/6/13; *HG* (24 Mar. 1860), p. 5.

¹⁴³⁹ HALS, DP18/5/3 Churchwardens' accounts (1867); *NPOR*, D04932.

¹⁴⁴⁰ HALS, DP19/6/11 Faculty for new pews and gallery (1819); DP19/6/1; CRL, Gray & Davison accounts, Vol. 5, p. 205; *HM* (28 Apr. 1849), p. 3; *NPOR*, C00939.

¹⁴⁴¹ CRL, Gray & Davison accounts, Vol. 5, p. 155.

¹⁴⁴² HALS, DP22/12/4 Vestry minutes (1842).

¹⁴⁴³ HALS, DP23/5/1 Churchwardens' accounts (1810); Ward, *Braughing*, p. 17.

¹⁴⁴⁴ HALS, DP24/5/2-14; DP24/6/4; DE/Hd/F3; *NPOR*, N14037.

¹⁴⁴⁵ HALS, DP15/5/2, DP15/12/5; Langwill & Boston, *Barrel-organs*, p. 79.

Parish church	First known use	Organ (and builder)	Funding
Cottered ¹⁴⁴⁶	1832	Barrel-organ (B. Flight & Sons)	Probably Henry Aldwin Soames, school patron
East Barnet ¹⁴⁴⁷	1824	Barrel-organ (Flight & Robson)	Sir Simon Haughton Clarke (Oak Hill)
	1862	Finger organ	Subscription
*Elstree ¹⁴⁴⁸	1826	Barrel-organ (George Parsons)	
	1854	Finger organ (Gray & Davison)	
*Essendon ¹⁴⁴⁹	1851	Barrel-organ (?William Pilcher)	Probably Sir Culling Eardley Eardley (Bedwell Park)
Flaunden ¹⁴⁵⁰	c.1838	Barrel-organ	Probably Samuel King, perpetual curate, also rebuilt church
*Great Amwell ¹⁴⁵¹	1825	Barrel-organ (William Allen)	Probably William Thomas Say, rector
	1866	Finger organ	
*Great Gaddesden ¹⁴⁵²	1850	Barrel-organ	Rev. John Fitzmoore Halsey, patron's husband (Gaddesden Park)
	1863	Finger organ & dumb organist (Samuel Parsons)	
Great Hormead ¹⁴⁵³	1855	[Barrel-]organ	
Great Wymondley ¹⁴⁵⁴	c.1844	Barrel-organ	Probably Thomas Henry Steel, vicar
*Harpenden ¹⁴⁵⁵	1862	Finger organ (T.J.F. Robson)	Sir John Lawes (Rothamsted Lodge)

¹⁴⁴⁶ H.T. Pollard, 'Cottered Church', *Transactions*, East Herts Archaeological Society, Vol. III part II (Hertford, 1907), p. 164; Cussans, *History*, I, p. 183; Langwill & Boston, *Barrel-organs*, p. 79; NPOR, D02016.

¹⁴⁴⁷ HM (15 Nov. 1862), p. 2; Cass, *East Barnet*, p. 182.

¹⁴⁴⁸ HALS, DP36/5/1; CRL, Gray & Davison accounts, Vol. 5, p. 254; Langwill & Boston, *Barrel-organs*, p. 79; NPOR, N14071.

¹⁴⁴⁹ HALS, DP37/5/4; Ord-Hume, *Barrel Organ*, p. 137.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Burg, *Religion*, p. 184; NPOR, N14073.

¹⁴⁵¹ HALS, DP4/5/1-8; *Hertfordshire Almanac* (27 July 1866), p. 94.

¹⁴⁵² BL, Add MS 47775A; HM (16 May 1863), p. 3; Langwill & Boston, *Barrel-organs*, p. 79; NPOR, N14076 & N14082.

¹⁴⁵³ HALS, DP55/5/1.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Langwill & Boston, *Barrel-organs*, p. 79.

¹⁴⁵⁵ HM (15 Nov. 1862), p. 3; NPOR, D05180.

Parish church	First known use	Organ (and builder)	Funding
*Hatfield ¹⁴⁵⁶	1851	Finger organ (James Eagles)	Subscription
Hemel Hempstead ¹⁴⁵⁷	c.1820	Finger organ (H.C. Lincoln)	Subscription
	1861	Finger organ (Gray & Davison)	Subscription and part-exchange
All Saints, Hertford ¹⁴⁵⁸	1840	Finger organ (Gray & Son)	Subscription and part-exchange
*St Andrew's, Hertford ¹⁴⁵⁹	1822	Finger organ (?Bishop)	
	1861	Finger organ (Bishop, Starr & Richardson)	Subscription and part-exchange
	1867	Finger organ (Holdich)	Subscription and part-exchange
Hertingfordbury ¹⁴⁶⁰	1842	[Barrel-]organ	
Hexton ¹⁴⁶¹	1826	Barrel-organ (Gray)	Joseph Andrew de Lautour, patron's husband (Hexton House)
*Hitchin ¹⁴⁶²	1805	Barrel-organ (Charles Green)	Emilius Henry Delmé Radcliffe (Hitchin Priory)
Hoddesdon ¹⁴⁶³	1805	Barrel-organ (?W.R. Keith)	Probably subscription
	1865	Finger organ (Henry Willis)	

¹⁴⁵⁶ HALS, RDC/7/69/35; *NPOR*, D08083.

¹⁴⁵⁷ LPL, ICBS/00291 Application (1820); HALS, DP47/8/4; CRL, Gray & Davison accounts, Vol. 6 (1857-62), p. 89; *NPOR*, K00690.

¹⁴⁵⁸ CRL, Gray & Davison accounts, Vol. 2, p. 219; HALS, DP48/6/2 Papers relating to new organ (1839-40); *NPOR*, K01249.

¹⁴⁵⁹ HALS, DP49/8/2-5; *HM* (11 May 1861), p. 2; *HG* (13 Aug. 1867), p. 3.

¹⁴⁶⁰ HALS, DP/50/8/3 Vestry minutes (1842).

¹⁴⁶¹ CRL, John Gray accounts, p. 35; Cussans, *History*, II, p. 10; E.E. Squires, 'St Faith's Church, Hexton', *Transactions*, East Herts Archaeological Society, Vol. IV part I (Hertford, 1909), p. 48; *NPOR*, N09431.

¹⁴⁶² HALS, DP53/8/2; DP53/29/9 Miscellaneous items (1805); DE/R/F220; *HM* (27 Feb. 1858), p. 3; *NPOR*, D03653.

¹⁴⁶³ HALS, DP24A/5/1-3; DP24A/6/10; DP24A/8/10; *HM* (4 Nov. 1865), p. 3; *NPOR*, D00018.

Parish church	First known use	Organ (and builder)	Funding
Hunsdon ¹⁴⁶⁴	1827	Barrel-organ (J. Walker)	Probably Nicholson Calvert, patron (Hunsdon House)
	1865	Finger organ (John Fincham)	
Ickleford ¹⁴⁶⁵	1849	Barrel-organ (Bates & Son)	Probably Frederick Dudley Ryder, school patron (Ickleford House)
	c.1860	Finger organ (Henry Willis)	Probably Marion Cockayne, lady of the manor
Ippollitts ¹⁴⁶⁶	1844	Barrel-organ	Probably Thomas Henry Steel, vicar
	1866	Finger organ (William Carling)	
Kimpton ¹⁴⁶⁷	c.1819	Barrel-organ	Probably Thomas Brand, patron, on his inheritance (The Hoo), also built school
*Kings Langley ¹⁴⁶⁸	1843	Barrel-organ (Gray & Davison)	
	1856	Finger organ (Gray & Davison)	Henry Wade Hodgson, vicar
Kings Walden ¹⁴⁶⁹	1869	Finger organ (J.W. Walker)	Probably Charles Cholmeley Hale, patron, also restored church
Little Berkhamsted ¹⁴⁷⁰	1857	Organ	Henry Walter Seawell, rector
*Little Gaddesden ¹⁴⁷¹	c.1849	Barrel-organ	Lady Marian Alford, patron's wife, probably on his acquiring advowson (Ashridge)
*Little Hadham ¹⁴⁷²	1868	Organ (Gray & Davison)	

¹⁴⁶⁴ HALS, DP57/5/2; J.E. Morris, 'Hunsdon Church', *Transactions*, East Herts Archaeological Society, Vol. II part I, pp. 50-1; *NPOR*, D02335.

¹⁴⁶⁵ HALS, DP58/5/1; Cussans, *History*, II, p. 29; *NPOR*, D07146.

¹⁴⁶⁶ HALS, DP59/5/2; *NPOR*, N01176.

¹⁴⁶⁷ HALS, DP61/1/2; John Pollington, *Kimpton Parish Church* (1978).

¹⁴⁶⁸ CRL, Gray & Davison accounts, Vol. 5, p. 295; Langwill & Boston, *Barrel-organs*, p. 79; *NPOR*, N14113.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Cussans, *History*, II, p. 123; *NPOR*, D07515.

¹⁴⁷⁰ CRL, Gray & Davison accounts, Vol. 5, p. 113.

¹⁴⁷¹ Senar, *Little Gaddesden*, pp. 86, 134 & 157; Bell, *Little Gaddesden*, p. 165.

¹⁴⁷² CRL, Gray & Davison accounts, Vol. 8A (1865-83), p. 339; *NPOR*, D02224.

Parish church	First known use	Organ (and builder)	Funding
Markyate ¹⁴⁷³	1830	Barrel-organ	
	1840	Barrel-organ (Gray & Son)	John Wheeldon, perpetual curate, and part-exchange
	1844	Barrel-organ (Gray & Davison)	Charles Vansittart, perpetual curate
*Much Hadham ¹⁴⁷⁴	1827	Barrel-organ	Probably Thomas Randolph, rector, son of former patron
	1844	Improved barrel-organ (Gray & Davison)	Part-exchange
	c.1856	Finger organ	
	1859	Finger organ (Gray & Davison)	Fourth organ in 15 years. Part-exchange
Newnham ¹⁴⁷⁵	c.1860	Finger organ (A.T. Miller)	Probably Thomas Mills, patron (Tolmers)
North Mymms ¹⁴⁷⁶	c.1784	Finger organ	Local landowners
	1820	Barrel-and-finger organ (?Gray)	Mrs Gaussen, patron (Brookmans Park)
*Northchurch ¹⁴⁷⁷	1836	Barrel-organ	Probably Sir John Hobart Culme Seymour, rector
Norton ¹⁴⁷⁸	1840	Improved barrel-organ (Gray & Son)	Joseph Burgess Watson, vicar
*Offley ¹⁴⁷⁹	1861	[Barrel-]organ	Probably Elizabeth Mary Salusbury, patron (Offley Place)
*Pirton ¹⁴⁸⁰	1854	[Barrel-]organ	Probably Frederick Dudley Ryder

¹⁴⁷³ LPL, ICBS/01133; CRL, Gray & Davison accounts, Vol. 2, p. 152 & Vol. 3 (1829-1941), p. 143.

¹⁴⁷⁴ HALS, DP44/5/1; CRL, Gray & Davison accounts, Vol. 2, p. 166 & Vol. 6 (1857-62), p. 249; *HM* (26 Nov. 1859), p. 3; Langwill & Boston, *Barrel-organs*, p. 79.

¹⁴⁷⁵ *NPOR*, H00062.

¹⁴⁷⁶ HALS, DP69/5/1; CRL, John Gray accounts, p. 89.

¹⁴⁷⁷ HALS, DP74/5/24 Churchwardens' accounts (1836).

¹⁴⁷⁸ CRL, Gray & Davison accounts, Vol. 3, p. 138; G. Aylott, 'Norton Manor and Church', *Transactions*, East Herts Archaeological Society, Vol. II part III (Hertford, 1904), p. 276.

¹⁴⁷⁹ HALS, DP76/5/1.

¹⁴⁸⁰ HALS, DP80/4/1-2.

Parish church	First known use	Organ (and builder)	Funding
Radwell ¹⁴⁸¹	1837	Barrel-organ (H. Bryceson)	Miss Horsefall (Radwell House)
*Redbourn ¹⁴⁸²	1848	Barrel-organ	Possibly family of Earl of Verulam, patron (Gorhambury)
*Rickmansworth ¹⁴⁸³	1828	Barrel-organ (H. Bryceson)	
Ridge ¹⁴⁸⁴	1851	[Barrel-]organ (H. Bevington)	
*Royston ¹⁴⁸⁵	c.1820	Barrel-organ	
Sacombe ¹⁴⁸⁶	c.1840	Barrel-organ (Bevington & Sons)	Probably Abel Smith d.1859, patron (Woodhall)
*Abbey Church, St Albans ¹⁴⁸⁷	1820	Finger organ (Father Smith)	Subscription
	1861	Finger organ (Hill)	Subscription
*St Michael's, St Albans ¹⁴⁸⁸	1833	Barrel-organ (?).C. Bishop)	Possibly family of Earl of Verulam, patron
	1867	Finger organ (Bevington)	
*St Stephen's, St Albans ¹⁴⁸⁹	1860	Organ (John Godman jnr.)	
*St Pauls Walden ¹⁴⁹⁰	1850	Finger organ & dumb organist	
*Sawbridgeworth ¹⁴⁹¹	1860	Finger organ (Gray & Davison)	Subscription

¹⁴⁸¹ *HM* (31 Oct. 1837), p. 3.

¹⁴⁸² LPL, ICBS/04042 Application (1848); Featherstone, *Redbourn's History*, p. 208.

¹⁴⁸³ HALS, DP85/5/1.

¹⁴⁸⁴ *Kelly's Post Office Directory of Hertfordshire* (1851), p. 215; HALS, DP86/5/2 Churchwardens' accounts (1854); *NPOR*, N14141.

¹⁴⁸⁵ CRL, Gray & Davison accounts, Vol. 6, p. 121; *NPOR*, N12427.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Langwill & Boston, *Barrel-organs*, p. 79; since 1939 in Hertford Museum, HETFM.3400.

¹⁴⁸⁷ HALS, DP90/3/1 Rector's correspondence (1820); *HM* (10 Aug. 1861), p. 3; *NPOR*, N14480 & N14482.

¹⁴⁸⁸ St Michael's, St Albans, Vestry order book 21 (1819-34); Churchwardens' papers 4 (1831-40); Correspondence with Mr F.F. Hill (1974); *HG* (30 Mar. 1867), p. 5; Langwill & Boston, *Barrel-organs*, p. 79; *NPOR*, N14495.

¹⁴⁸⁹ HALS, DP94/29/4.

¹⁴⁹⁰ BL, Add MS 47775A; Langwill & Boston, *Barrel-organs*, p. 79.

¹⁴⁹¹ CRL, Gray & Davison accounts, Vol. 6, pp. 77 & 142; HALS, DP98/29/5; *NPOR*, C00901.

Parish church	First known use	Organ (and builder)	Funding
Shenley ¹⁴⁹²	1839	Finger organ	Probably Newcombe family, patrons
*Standon ¹⁴⁹³	1859	Finger organ (G.M. Holdich)	Subscription
*Stanstead Abbots ¹⁴⁹⁴	c.1832	Barrel-organ (?Flight)	Probably William Henry Feilde, patron
	1867	Finger organ (Bevington)	Subscription
Stanstead St Margaret ¹⁴⁹⁵	1837	Chamber organ (W. Allen) with added barrel mechanism (John Gray)	Joseph Stephen Pratt, chaplain, patron's husband, also restored church
*Stevenage ¹⁴⁹⁶	1836	Barrel-and-finger organ (Gray)	Jellicoe Turner R.N.
Stocking Pelham ¹⁴⁹⁷	c.1848	Barrel-organ (T.C. Bates & Son)	Probably Francis Boyer Relton, patron
Studham ¹⁴⁹⁸	1842	Improved barrel-organ (Gray & Davison)	Thomas Wynter Mead, vicar
Therfield ¹⁴⁹⁹	1862	Organ (J.W. Walker)	Subscription
Thorley ¹⁵⁰⁰	1850	[Barrel-]organ	Probably Thomas Pennington, rector
Thundridge ¹⁵⁰¹	1849	[Barrel-]organ	Probably Robert Hanbury, patron (Poles)
	1853	Finger organ (Bishop & Sons)	As above
Totteridge ¹⁵⁰²	1823	Organ	

¹⁴⁹² *Pigot's & Co's Commercial Directory* (1839), p. 200; *NPOR*, N14151.

¹⁴⁹³ *HM* (12 Nov. 1859), p. 3; *Hertfordshire Almanac* (24 Dec. 1864), pp. 102-3; *NPOR*, D02222.

¹⁴⁹⁴ *HG* (2 Mar. 1867), p. 5; *NPOR*, N14153.

¹⁴⁹⁵ CRL, John Gray accounts, p. 141; Langwill & Boston, *Barrel-organs*, p. 80; *NPOR*, N14170; Still in the west gallery.

¹⁴⁹⁶ CRL, John Gray accounts, p. 132; HALS, DP105/3/3 Letter presenting organ (1836).

¹⁴⁹⁷ BL, Add MS 47775A; H.T. Pollard, 'Stocking Pelham Church', *Transactions*, East Herts Archaeological Society, Vol. II part I (Hertford 1906), p. 76; Langwill & Boston, *Barrel-organs*, p. 80.

¹⁴⁹⁸ CRL, Gray & Davison accounts, Vol. 2, p. 159.

¹⁴⁹⁹ *HM* (7 June 1862), p. 3; *NPOR*, N14159.

¹⁵⁰⁰ HALS, DP108/5/1 Churchwardens' bills & receipts (1850).

¹⁵⁰¹ HALS, DP110/8/2 Vestry minutes (1849); *HM* (12 Nov. 1853), p. 3; *NPOR*, P00153.

¹⁵⁰² HALS, DP46B/8/12; Cussans, *History*, II, p. 299.

Parish church	First known use	Organ (and builder)	Funding
*Tring ¹⁵⁰³	1832	Barrel-organ	Miss Smiths (Tring Park)
	1863	Finger organ (Hill & Son)	Henry Auber Harvey, perpetual curate
Walkern ¹⁵⁰⁴	1842	Barrel-organ	John Harding, rector
Ware ¹⁵⁰⁵	1812	Finger organ (J.C. Bishop)	Subscription
Watford ¹⁵⁰⁶	1766	Finger finger (Thomas Parker)	Subscription
	1840	Barrel-and-finger organ (J. Walker)	
Watton-at-Stone ¹⁵⁰⁷	1839	[Barrel-]organ (J.C. Bishop)	Subscription
*Welwyn ¹⁵⁰⁸	1854	Barrel-organ (Gray & Davison)	Sir Brooke William Robert Boothby, rector
Westmill ¹⁵⁰⁹	1829	Barrel-organ (H. Bryceson)	Subscription
Weston ¹⁵¹⁰	1842	Barrel & finger organ (?Hill)	
*Wheathampstead ¹⁵¹¹	1829	Barrel-organ (Allen)	Probably George Thomas Pretymen (rector)
	1866	Finger organ (J.W. Walker)	
Widford ¹⁵¹²	1868	Barrel-organ	

¹⁵⁰³ HALS, DP111/8/20; *HG* (13 Jan. 1863), p. 2; *NPOR*, D07357.

¹⁵⁰⁴ HALS, DP114/8/1.

¹⁵⁰⁵ *HM* (7 June 1836), p. 2; Forbes, *Artist*, p. 124.

¹⁵⁰⁶ HALS, DP117/8/1-3; DP117/5/1; Langwill & Boston, *Barrel-organs*, p. 80; *NPOR*, N14515.

¹⁵⁰⁷ HALS, DP118/8/13 Vestry minutes (1839); *HM* (18 Apr. 1840), p. 3; *NPOR*, N14172.

¹⁵⁰⁸ CRL, Gray & Davison ledger, Vol. 5 (1854), p. 272.

¹⁵⁰⁹ HALS, DP120/1/4; *NPOR*, N14175.

¹⁵¹⁰ CRL, Hill & Son estimate book, Vol. 1 (1838-61), p. 120; *NPOR*, D00528.

¹⁵¹¹ HALS, DP122/5/1 Churchwardens' accounts (1818-29); *HG* (11 May 1867), p. 5; HALS, DP122/29/9 Canon Owen Davys, Typescript of history and guide to church (1908); Langwill & Boston, *Barrel-organs*, p. 80; *NPOR*, N14177.

¹⁵¹² HALS, DP123/6/1.

Parish church	First known use	Organ (and builder)	Funding
Willian ¹⁵¹³	c.1831	Barrel-organ	
	1864	Finger organ (J.W. Walker)	Subscription, part-exchange and sale of cracked bell
Wormley ¹⁵¹⁴	1844	Barrel-organ	Probably John Hume Cust, patron, on inheriting advowson in 1838 (Ashridge)
	1861	Finger organ (Willis)	Subscription and part-exchange

¹⁵¹³ HALS, DP125/5/1; DP125/1/3 Register of baptisms (1864); Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of England* (4 vols., London, 1831), 4, p. 475; *HM* (12 Nov. 1864), p. 3; Harkness, *All Saints*, p. 41; *NPOR*, D00349.

¹⁵¹⁴ LPL, ICBS/03423 Application (1844); HALS, DP126/8/2; *VCH Herts*, 3, pp. 487-90.

Appendix 4. Hertfordshire children's singing teachers

Ordered by date.

Parish	Date	Teacher	Details of payment
Cheshunt ¹⁵¹⁵	1788-1814	Mr [Thomas] Leach, organist	1788: 'to teach the children in the Free School Psalmody' 1814: 'additional duty of teaching the Charity school boys Psalmody for half an hour before church service every Sunday morning'
Bishops Stortford ¹⁵¹⁶	1793	Robert Perry, organist	'teaching the Children of the Sunday School to sing Psalms'
Ware ¹⁵¹⁷	1794	Henry Tillcock, labourer	'teaching the children to sing'
St Peter's, St Albans ¹⁵¹⁸	1815-8	Thomas Fowler and Mr Castell, organists	'playing the organ and teaching boys to sing'
Abbey Church, St Albans ¹⁵¹⁹	1818	John Higdon, clarionet player	'instructing the Blue Coat boys to sing at the Abbey Church'
East Barnet ¹⁵²⁰	1824-9	Elizabeth Neave, school teacher	'teaching the children to sing' & 'turning the organ'
Little Gaddesden ¹⁵²¹	1824	John Osmond, ?clarinettist	'teaching boys & girls the art of singing'
St Andrew's, Hertford ¹⁵²²	1825	Mr Bridgeman, organist	'teaching the children of this parish to sing'
Bishops Stortford ¹⁵²³	1827	James Hyde	teaching children singing
Kings Langley ¹⁵²⁴	1827		'Proposed that some of the Girls should be instructed in singing in the Church'
Totteridge ¹⁵²⁵	1827	George Miller, organist	Appointed on condition he 'give instructions to the children in singing'

¹⁵¹⁵ HALS, DP29/8/48-52.

¹⁵¹⁶ HALS, DP21/5/10-11.

¹⁵¹⁷ HALS, DP116/5/1; HFHS, *Militia: Ware* (Hertford, 1999), p. 182.

¹⁵¹⁸ HALS, DP93/5/3-5.

¹⁵¹⁹ HALS, DP90/5/1; DP90/7.

¹⁵²⁰ HALS, DP16/5/2.

¹⁵²¹ Little Gaddesden, Churchwardens' bills & vouchers (1824); 1841 Census HO107/441/f.11/p.16.

¹⁵²² HALS, DP49/8/2-5.

¹⁵²³ HALS, DP21/5/5.

¹⁵²⁴ HALS, DP64/25/9-10.

¹⁵²⁵ HALS, DP46B/12/5.

Parish	Date	Teacher	Details of payment
Chipping Barnet ¹⁵²⁶	1829	William Easton	'to conduct the singing in church ... and to give necessary instructions to the children'
Abbey Church, St Albans ¹⁵²⁷	1831	Edwin Nicholls, organist	Appointed on condition 'he is to teach twelve of the boys belonging to the Blue Coat School at least one day in each week to sing'
Essendon ¹⁵²⁸	1835	John Bamford, parish clerk, smith	Duties included 'Teaching Singing children'
Hitchin ¹⁵²⁹	1838	Godwin, organist	Duties included 'teaching singers [including] 11 girls, 6 boys & 6 men'
Cheshunt ¹⁵³⁰	1840	Miss Wood, organist	Reappointed 'on condition of her teaching the charity children psalmody agreeably to her first appointment'
London Colney ¹⁵³¹	1860s	Markland Barnard, vicar, and his wife	Taught singing and chanting to the schoolchildren

¹⁵²⁶ HALS, DP15/8/3.

¹⁵²⁷ HALS, DP90/8/1-3.

¹⁵²⁸ HALS, DP37/5/4; 1841 Census H0107/444/f.26/p.3.

¹⁵²⁹ HALS, DP53/7/4.

¹⁵³⁰ HALS, DP29/8/53-54.

¹⁵³¹ *HG* (Feb. 1866), p. 5.

Appendix 5. Hertfordshire singers and choir-bands¹⁵³²

	Parish popn. 1811 ¹⁵³³	Singing	Singing gallery/pew	Purchase of music books	Pitch-pipe	Bassoon	Clarinet/ clarinet	Hautboy/ oboe	Flute	Bass viol/ cello	Fiddle/ violin	Unspecified instruments	Instruments
Abbots Langley ¹⁵³⁴	1331		1830s							1820			Y
Albury ¹⁵³⁵	519						n.d.			n.d.			Y
Aldbury ¹⁵³⁶	566	1764	n.d.	1764	1801	1813	1812						Y
Aldenham ¹⁵³⁷	1127						1825	c.1825		1825	1826		Y
Baldock ¹⁵³⁸	1438		1794	1830			1827			1829	1829		Y
Barkway ¹⁵³⁹	686	c.1803	1819	1825		1809	1809		1817	1827			Y
Barley ¹⁵⁴⁰	593		1833										
Bayford ¹⁵⁴¹	224	1812											
Benington ¹⁵⁴²	529	1782											
Berkhamsted ¹⁵⁴³	1963		1810			1813				1817			Y

¹⁵³² Dates of earliest known references are given.

¹⁵³³ PP 1831 (348); PP 1852-53 [1631].

¹⁵³⁴ HALS, ASA/17/17/1/2; Wilkinson, *Abbots Langley*, p. 17.

¹⁵³⁵ HALS, DP1/29/2.

¹⁵³⁶ HALS, DP2/5/2.

¹⁵³⁷ HALS, DP3/5/1; *English Church History Exhibition*, p. 187.

¹⁵³⁸ HALS, DP12/5/3; DP12/8/1.

¹⁵³⁹ HALS, DP13/5/2-3; DP13/8/21-30.

¹⁵⁴⁰ LPL, ICBS/01570 Application (1833).

¹⁵⁴¹ HALS, DP37A/5/1 Churchwardens' accounts (1812).

¹⁵⁴² HALS, DP18/29/7-12.

	Parish popn. 1811 ¹⁵³³	Singing	Singing gallery/pew	Purchase of music books	Pitch-pipe	Bassoon	Clarinet/ clarinet	Hautboy/ oboe	Flute	Bass viol/ cello	Fiddle/ violin	Unspecified instruments	Instruments
Bovingdon ¹⁵⁴⁴	794	1843	1843										
Braughing ¹⁵⁴⁵	1029	1714	1784									1784	Y
Brent Pelham ¹⁵⁴⁶	242											1742	Y
Bushey ¹⁵⁴⁷	1264		1785				1831			1823			Y
Caddington ¹⁵⁴⁸	372	1787	1802	1787	1785	1810	1810	1787					Y
Elstree ¹⁵⁴⁹	292	1792		1791								1817	Y
Essendon ¹⁵⁵⁰	566		1777	1780									
Furneux Pelham ¹⁵⁵¹	533									1842		1742	Y
Great Amwell ¹⁵⁵²	1003			1821									
Great Gaddesden ¹⁵⁵³	941				1820							n.d.	Y
Harpenden ¹⁵⁵⁴	1386			1807		1805	1800	1805					Y
Hatfield ¹⁵⁵⁵	2677											1840s	Y

¹⁵⁴³ HALS, DP19/5/1-2.

¹⁵⁴⁴ LPL, ICBS/03321 Application (1843).

¹⁵⁴⁵ HALS, DP23/3/1.

¹⁵⁴⁶ HALS, DP78/3/3.

¹⁵⁴⁷ HALS, DP26/5/1-2.

¹⁵⁴⁸ BARS, P35/5/1; P35/5/2.

¹⁵⁴⁹ HALS, DP36/5/1.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Wilton Hall, 'Essendon Church', p. 255.

¹⁵⁵¹ HALS, DP78/3/3; DP78/5/1.

¹⁵⁵² Luppino, *Psalms and Hymns*.

¹⁵⁵³ HALS, DP39/5/2; BL, Add MS 47775A.

¹⁵⁵⁴ HALS, DP122A/5/1-2.

¹⁵⁵⁵ BL, Add MS 47775A.

	Parish popn. 1811 ¹⁵³³	Singing	Singing gallery/pew	Purchase of music books	Pitch-pipe	Bassoon	Clarinet/ clarinet	Hautboy/ oboe	Flute	Bass viol/ cello	Fiddle/ violin	Unspecified instruments	Instruments
St Andrew's, Hertford ¹⁵⁵⁶	1421	1779	1779										
Hitchin ¹⁵⁵⁷	3608	1794	1776	1794									
Kensworth ¹⁵⁵⁸	522			1805		1807							Y
Kings Langley ¹⁵⁵⁹	1108	1805		1825		1793		1811		1821			Y
Lilley ¹⁵⁶⁰	395	1826	1861				1824			1860s	1860s		Y
Little Gaddesden ¹⁵⁶¹	506		n.d.										
Little Hadham ¹⁵⁶²	670		1825										
Much Hadham ¹⁵⁶³	1081	1813											
Northchurch ¹⁵⁶⁴	864		1775	1826									
Offley ¹⁵⁶⁵	754	1821	n.d.				1818						Y
Pirton ¹⁵⁶⁶	558			1831	1791								Y
Redbourn ¹⁵⁶⁷	1333	1850s	n.d.				1850s						Y
Rickmansworth ¹⁵⁶⁸	3230	1761		1761									

¹⁵⁵⁶ HALS, DP49/8/2-5.

¹⁵⁵⁷ Hellendaal, *Psalms*; BL, Add MS 47775A.

¹⁵⁵⁸ BARS, P34/5/1-3.

¹⁵⁵⁹ HALS, DP64/5/1-2.

¹⁵⁶⁰ HALS, DP67/5/2 Churchwardens' accounts (1824-61); Feakes, 'Lilley', pp. 188-9.

¹⁵⁶¹ Vicars Bell, *Little Gaddesden*, p. 145.

¹⁵⁶² HALS, DP43/5/1.

¹⁵⁶³ HALS, DP44/5/1.

¹⁵⁶⁴ HALS, DP74/8/1-3; DP74/5/24.

¹⁵⁶⁵ HALS, DP76/5/1.

¹⁵⁶⁶ HALS, DP80/4/1-2.

¹⁵⁶⁷ Featherstone, *Redbourn's History*, p. 209.

	Parish popn. 1811 ¹⁵³³	Singing	Singing gallery/pew	Purchase of music books	Pitch-pipe	Bassoon	Clarinet/ clarinet	Hautboy/ oboe	Flute	Bass viol/ cello	Fiddle/ violin	Unspecified instruments	Instruments
Royston ¹⁵⁶⁹	1309			1794			1799			n.d.	1799		Y
Rushden ¹⁵⁷⁰	287												
Abbey Church, St Albans ¹⁵⁷¹	2152		1812	1818			1814						Y
St Michael's, St Albans ¹⁵⁷²	1222		1808	1819								1785	Y
St Stephen's, St Albans ¹⁵⁷³	1394	1818		1818		1805				1823			Y
St Pauls Walden ¹⁵⁷⁴	767		n.d.			1798	n.d.		n.d.	n.d.	n.d.		Y
Sandon ¹⁵⁷⁵	580	1841	1841										
Sarratt ¹⁵⁷⁶	387								n.d.				Y
Sawbridgeworth ¹⁵⁷⁷	1827		1787										
Standon ¹⁵⁷⁸	1889		n.d.	1829					n.d.	n.d.			Y
Stanstead Abbots ¹⁵⁷⁹	861			1821									
Stevenage ¹⁵⁸⁰	1302	1829											

¹⁵⁶⁸ HALS, DP85/25/1.

¹⁵⁶⁹ Hellendaal, *Psalms*; Kingston, *Fragments*, p. 64.

¹⁵⁷⁰ Trollope, *What I Remember*, p. 63.

¹⁵⁷¹ HALS, DP90/5/1; DP90/7.

¹⁵⁷² St Michael's, St Albans, Churchwardens' papers 2 (1811-20); Brayley, *Beauties*, p. 93; Grimston, *Manuscripts*, p. 218.

¹⁵⁷³ HALS, DP94/5/1.

¹⁵⁷⁴ Formerly Luton Museum, BL/53/45, 4-keyed London bassoon from St Paul's Walden; BL, Add MS 47775A.

¹⁵⁷⁵ LPL, ICBS/02944.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Anderson, 'Old Church Bands', p. 267.

¹⁵⁷⁷ HALS, DP98/5/1.

¹⁵⁷⁸ HALS, DE/X228/Z5, DE/X228/Z6 ms volume of church anthems, titled on spine 'James Whitaker 1829'; W. d'A Crofton, 'Standon Church', *Transactions*, East Herts Archaeological Society, Vol. I (Hertford, 1901), p. 274; Church guide, n.d.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Luppino, *Psalms and Hymns*.

	Parish popn. 1811 ¹⁵³³	Singing	Singing gallery/pew	Purchase of music books	Pitch-pipe	Bassoon	Clarinet/ clarinet	Hautboy/ oboe	Flute	Bass viol/ cello	Fiddle/ violin	Unspecified instruments	Instruments
Tring ¹⁵⁸¹	2557		1826				1824						Y
Wallington ¹⁵⁸²	219		n.d.				c.1820s						Y
Welwyn ¹⁵⁸³	1130	1834	1834			c.1810							Y
Wheathampstead ¹⁵⁸⁴	1250	1818				1822							Y
Total parishes with singers and or bands	51	21	28	20	4	11	16	4	4	14	5	6	33
% of total Hertfordshire parishes (136)	38%	15%	21%	15%	3%	8%	12%	3%	3%	10%	4%	4%	24%

¹⁵⁸⁰ HALS, DP105/5/1 Churchwardens' accounts (1829).

¹⁵⁸¹ HALS, DP111/8/20.

¹⁵⁸² HALS, DP115/5/1 Plans of church pews (n.d.); The Higgins Art Gallery and Museum (Bedford), 7692 & 7693, clarinets.

¹⁵⁸³ St Albans Museum, 88.3187, 8-keyed bassoon by W. Milhouse, London (c.1800-20); LPL, ICBS/01669.

¹⁵⁸⁴ HALS, DP122/5/1.

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