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.

Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

1995

at the University of Leicester

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Abstract

In spite of the current upsurge of interest in the field of rural church music in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, there is surprisingly little exhaustive material dealing with one particular area of the country. Research from the early part of this century covers the West Country and Sussex, and the concensus has always been that these areas were the strongest in the tradition of local psalmody. This dissertation attempts to redress the balance by considering the choir-band in the Eastern Counties (the East Midlands, East Anglia and Mid-Anglia). The county of Northamptonshire is given particular consideration, and may be considered to be a 'typical' English county; this may show that this genre of music is very much more widespread than was formerly thought.

The thesis describes the state of the late eighteenth-century Church, and discusses the role of music in the service, the situation of the choir-band and methods of payment. Examples of local psalmody in Northamptonshire are given, and the instrumentation of the choir-bands is studied, by reference to sources such as churchwardens' account books. Conclusions are drawn about instrumental trends, dispersion and influence. The lasting significance of the choir-band movement is also considered.

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Preamble

In many cases the reasons and starting-point for a research topic are so diverse that it is difficult to recall exactly why, or even when, the interest began. The present research has taken some years to bring to fruition and its *raison d'être* is complex; it originally followed a thesis tracing certain aspects of the ophicleide, where church references had been noted. The use of an ophicleide at Eydon, Northamptonshire, noted by MacDermott, gave me a new dimension in the study of the instrument and an interest in the use of instruments in churches, specifically in Northamptonshire. The earlier thesis had included a listing of extant ophicleides, and as a result I was commissioned to produce a list of extant instruments of a general nature (excluding organs) which had a church provenance; this was for the Council for the Care of Churches, and was to be used as a source of reference when parishes wish to dispose of instruments. This work is now in the Council's library.

As a practising Christian and Baptist choirmaster, I have always been interested in the music of the Church. Northamptonshire's strong non-conformist tradition is reflected in the music of Thomas Jarman – a composer with whom I was unfamiliar before being commended to a study by the late Harry Geary. Geary suggested that a fund should be set up in order to restore Jarman's tombstone, which, being of local ironstone, had weathered very badly. In the event, the stone was too damaged, and as a result of interest generated by a performance of Jarman's music at Clipston Chapel, a plaque has now been erected on the chapel wall.

My early research in the field emphasised the casual and humorous approach, even by writers such as MacDermott who were heavily involved in the subject. It surprised me that the earlier researchers were so patronising and class-conscious; they were, of course, products of the period in which they wrote, and yet their attitudes seem to have continued into later research. I felt that the genre deserved a serious evaluation, and was worthy of consideration in a social as well as musical context. There has been a considerable upsurge of interest in the subject during the time it has taken to bring my work to fruition, and the field can now be considered almost a mainstream study; attitudes are now very much more open and judgements more considered, although it is still a temptation to ridicule the artisan musicians, and their home-grown music.

This piece of research, then, has grown from a combination of the above points and involves the fields of local history, unknown composers, the Church, wind instruments, amateur choral music and museology, all of which, fortunately, are of interest to me. Matters which I felt to be in need of clarification include details of dispersion, dating of the period, developments during the period and patterns of variety of instrumentation.

Chapter I – Introduction

a) The Late Eighteenth-Century Church and Church Music

The choir-band movement, a peculiar genre of English church music, evolved apparently without clear instigation throughout England and parts of Wales in the latter part of the eighteenth-century. The movement grew, flourished and had virtually died away within a century, leaving very little mark on the musical or ecclesiastical history of the country, and is remembered, if at all today, through the works of writers such as Thomas Hardy and George Eliot, and through other romantic accounts in Victorian literature. Such novels appealed to readers from a more refined background, who would be amused at the antics of the rustic 'musickers' with their primitive instruments, their raw voices and archaic music by local composers, who may have been as lacking in basic skills as the performers.

In order to put the choir-band movement into perspective, to ascertain its value, account for its origins and note the circumstances of its demise, a clearer picture of the eighteenth-century must be drawn. This in turn raises questions about rural psalmody and its social value, but must be a starting point for a study of the music and instrumentation of the Church in Eastern England.

The eighteenth-century is supposed to be a lean time in ecclesiastical life. After the pendulum swings between Roman Catholicism and Puritanism of the previous century, the established Church is reputed to have lapsed into a period of cosy introspection, dominated by the squireachy, and providing little spiritual comfort for the labouring classes. Pluralism of livings developed, and curates with very low incomes were put into country parishes while their rectors lived comfortably on their multiple stipends. The Church could, perhaps, be considered to epitomise general attitudes in Hanoverian England when morale and morals were at a low ebb. The apparent debauchery rife on the streets of English towns contrasts with the romantic picture of rural life; the truth must, of course be somewhere in between, and an overview of the century, and an attempt to

suggest reasons for growth of the choir-band movement must include positive aspects of religious life.

In his study of eighteenth-century England[1] J. H. Plumb notes and comments upon the Agrarian and Industrial Revolutions, the professions, the arts and sciences, the continuing wars, the loss of the American colonies and the effect of the French Revolution. An objective view of John Wesley's role in the lives of the poorer classes is of relevance to a study of church music; the need for a revival of interest, not just in the worship of the church, but in the individual desire for salvation is demonstrated. Cynics would discount Wesley's work as subjugation of the working classes, giving hope of release from suffering in the world to come, implying acceptance of their present wordly problems. It could be that the work of Wesley and others did a great deal to remove the possibility of another political revolution in this country.

The Industrial Revolution had little direct effect on the village choir-band. Occasionally, perhaps, the lure of town-life would attract a musician and the group would become smaller, but as there was no set instrumentation, this would not pose a problem. Wesley's movement would have little effect in the country parishes, apart from occasional open-air preaching on village greens. Most villagers would be members of the established church, the only reform movement being the Evangelical wing of the church, which was able to flourish in a rural setting. There was a growth in dissenting chapels in the late eighteenth-century, but these were usually located on the outskirts of the villages, well away from the parish churches. Here too, music flourished, and it was a combination of dissent and the Evangelical movement which made hymn-singing popular.

Northamptonshire is strategically placed in the ecclesiastical history of the time, and played a vital role in the development of the eighteenth-century church. The earlier century had seen one of the first separatists, Robert Browne, working at Thorpe Achurch and dying in prison in Northampton. The county saw the birth of the first missionary society, founded at Kettering in 1792; Philip Doddridge, the hymn-writer, was a notable independent minister at Northampton, and the Evangelical, Thomas Haweis, spent the bulk of his ministry at Aldwincle. The ground for hymn-writing had been prepared for

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1 J. H. Plumb, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, Harmondsworth 1950

Isaac Watts and Philip Doddridge by John Mason (d.1694) who was educated at Strixton and was curate of Isham.

In neighbouring counties revolutionary church movements flourished – notably the Wesleys' 'Holy Club' in Oxford, the Evangelicals John Newton and William Cowper at Olney, Buckinghamshire and Charles Simeon at Cambridge. Before that, the Quaker movement had been founded by George Fox in Leicestershire and the early Baptist, John Smyth, had flourished at Gainsborough in Lincolnshire.

It can be seen, then, that religious thought and spiritual challenge continued throughout the eighteenth-century. There was a growth of 'enthusiasm', spiritual discussion, moral awareness including the birth of the anti-slavery movement and a new missionary zeal. There was also a small amount of church building, although not on the expansive Tractarian scale of the nineteenth-century.

Simultaneously with these new ideas grew the possibility of employing music in the parish church, not in the style of cathedrals and collegiate churches, but through a development of metrical psalmody, based on the old psalm-tunes recommended by Tate and Brady in the 1696 New Version[2]. These, as noted by Tate and Brady, included 'York Tune, Windsor Tune, St. David's, Lichfield, Canterbury, Martyrs, St. Mary's alias Hackney, St. Anne's Tune etc.' Although these tunes had mainly slow-moving, straightforward lines, instrumental support would be helpful and developed slowly, reaching a peak in the early nineteenth-century. At the same time local psalmody evolved, building on the old psalm-tunes and developing a whole new genre of rural music.

This may be a somewhat simplistic explanation of the emergence of the form. There are very many insoluble questions raised, and a style of music, with roots in the folk tradition, is unlikely to have much contemporary documentation. Several hypotheses arise, including the reason for the membership of the choir-bands being mainly from the uneducated classes. The bands never included the squire or his family, and yet these are the people most likely to have musical training. Perhaps the growth of choir-bands which used artisans in the service was a placebo to the working classes at a time of continental

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2 N. Tate and N. Brady, *A New Version of the Psalms of David fitted to the Tunes used in Churches*, London 1696

revolution. It is also possible that the working classes foisted their music on to an ungrateful squirearchy; there is certainly a great deal of conflict noted. Public taste at this time, however, was not offended, as was that of the Tractarians at the end of the period. It is also a consideration that artisan music kept the lower classes inside the church, rather than allowing them to move over to the dissenting chapels, or to Methodism as it became established.

It may be that the choir-band movement grew with Evangelicalism, in which case it was a musical representation of that wing of the church, in the same way as the reformed four-part choir represented the Oxford movement later. This seems unlikely, however, as newly-appointed Evangelical clergymen sometimes found choir-band psalmody already established in their churches.

The most important and positive factor relating to psalmody is the content of the psalms themselves; these can be applied to all known situations – praise, penitence, help in trouble, complaint, revenge, thanksgiving – and a performance would add a vitality and relevance which may have been lacking in the said service. The dramatic nature of a live performance, with instruments on a 'gallery stage' and an audience facing, epitomised the new spirit of the late eighteenth-century, and gave those with little interest in their lives a certain liberation from a dull existence. The realisation that the performance had a spiritual significance was, in effect, a bonus.

b) A definition of the term 'Choir-band'

There is a great variety of terms describing the particular group of performers dealt with in this thesis. The very title of Canon K. H. MacDermott's main work on the subject *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels*[3] at once gives the situation of the group, implies instruments as well as singers, and notes their ecclesiastical function. Unfortunately, while the majority of these groups performed from galleries, there were a great many who occupied 'singers' pews' on the ground floor.

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3 K. H. MacDermott, *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels*, London 1948

MacDermott subtitles his work 'an account of the Church Bands and Singers' and the term 'church band' is now in general use. This term, however, removes the choral element from the group, and could just as easily describe a Salvation Army band. MacDermott also uses the expression 'country choir', which does not necessarily incorporate instruments, and confines the genre to villages, which was not the case.

Boston and Langwill[4] use the 'church band' terminology, and this seems to be used generally by researchers but not contemporaneously. Churchwardens' accounts in Northamptonshire tend to use the word 'singers' even when instruments are involved. The accounts for Stamford[5] in 1790 notes: 'Pd for Reeds for the Singers.' The same accounts refer to the singers as 'Church Music', as do the accounts for Abington[6]:

> 1797 Pd for Reedbox and Reeds at different times to the Church Music

Other expressions in Northamptonshire are 'musicians', 'the singing' and 'Psalm Singers'.

The word choir or quire was mainly used to represent a 'reformed' choir (four parts, often incorporating boys' voices) occurring from the 1840s onwards. Hardy's[7] use of the word choir may have had contemporary use in the west country, but does not appear to be associated with instrumental bands in the eastern counties, nor does the term 'musickers' employed by MacDermott, K. R. Long[8], C. Dearnley[9], and others.

Victor Gammon[10] tackles the problem in the following paragraph:

> Contemporaries use a confusing array of terms to describe the groups of church musicians that this essay is about. Thus we meet 'choir', 'band', 'choir-band', 'select band', 'minstrels', 'musicians'. None of these terms are mutually exclusive, thus a choir could consist of purely instrumentalists and a band could be purely singers. Other terms are less confusing such as 'singers' although even 'instrumental choir' has a built-in ambiguity; does it refer to a group of instrumentalists or does it refer to a group of musicians and singers mixed? In this essay I have tended to use a modern meaning for terms used, thus band is a group of musicians and choir is a group of singers, although the ambiguity of the word choir cannot at times be avoided. I sometimes use choir-band to refer to a mixed group of instrumentalists and singers.

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4 N. Boston and L. Langwill, *Church and Chamber Barrel-Organs*, Edinburgh 1967 (1st ed.) p13

5 Northamptonshire Record Office (NRO) 296P/26

6 NRO 1P/1767–1823

7 T. Hardy, *Under the Greenwood Tree*, London, 1872, Chapter 3

8 K. R. Long, *The Music of the English Church*, London 1972, p233

9 C. Dearnley, *English Church Music 1650–1750*, London 1970

10 V. Gammon, *Parochial Church Music in Sussex*, University of Sussex M.A. Thesis 1977 M355 p3

I, myself, have not encountered a choir which is exclusively instrumental nor 'a band' of singers, and therefore must question Gammon's statement; the term 'choir-band' (hyphenated), however, seems an ideal choice for use in the context of this work and will be used here.

A choir-band then, can be defined as a group of singers supported by instrumentalists who double vocal parts and who are located in the same area of the church.

c) Choir-band research from 1890

The choir-band has been the subject of sporadic research over the last hundred years. The early writers chronicled the medium in its death-throes; later writers used verbal accounts by those who remembered the bands. Writers since 1961 have had to rely on records and other documentation, in addition to those sources already mentioned; this research is chiefly in the form of articles and chapters in books on wider subjects. The choir-band as a single subject for an entire book has only been approached by Canon K. H. MacDermott, in 1922 and again in 1942. The topic is a more generalised study for theses by Victor A. Gammon. Those works of a particular significance to the present study are noted below in chronological order:

1. J. C. Hadden, The Old English Parochial Psalmody, *The Quiver*, 1890 pp516 – 519.
2. F. W. Galpin, The Village Church Band, An Interesting Survival, *Musical News Vol. 5*, 1893 pp31 – 2 and 56 – 8.
3. J. S. Curwen, The Old Village Musicians, *Strand Musical Magazine Vol. 6*, 1897 pp137 – 9.
4. F. W. Galpin, Notes on the Old Church Bands, *The Antiquary Vol. 42*, 1906 pp101–6.
5. C. W. Pearce, English Sacred Folk Song of the West Gallery Period (circa 1695–1820), *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, Leeds 1922 pp1 – 27.
6. K. H. MacDermott, *Sussex Church Music in the Past*, Chichester 1922, 2nd ed. 1923.
7. D. MacArthur, Old Village Church Music, *Musical Times*, April 1, 1923 pp264 – 6.

8. K. H. MacDermott, *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels*, London 1948.

9. H. B. Sharp, Church Band, Dumb Organist and Organ, *Galpin Society Journal Vol. XIV* 1961 pp37 – 40.

10. M. Byrne, The Church Band at Swalcliffe, *Galpin Society Journal Vol. XVII* 1964 pp89 – 98.

11. B. Rainbow, *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church 1839–1872*, Leicester University PhD Thesis 1967, 3 volumes.

12. N. Boston and L. Langwill, *Church and Chamber Barrel-Organs* Edinburgh 1967, 2nd ed. 1970.

13. V. A. Gammon, *Parochial Church Music in Sussex: A Study in Social and Cultural Conflict*, University of Sussex M.A. Thesis 1977.

14. N. Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, Cambridge 1979.

15. C. Weir, *Village and Town Bands*, Aylesbury 1981.

16. V. A. Gammon, *Popular Music in Rural Society, Sussex 1815 – 1914*, University of Sussex D. Phil Thesis 1985.

A brief mention of the research areas covered by each of the writers is given below.

Hadden 1890

This is a remarkable account, written so close to the choir-band period, and which already shows a nostalgia for the old style of music. Hadden notes that 'a great change has taken place in both the manner and material of the musical part of the service' and that this has happened 'within the memory of many living years'. Hadden refers to the constitution of the bands, interludes, parish clerks and barrel-organs. He refers to references in literature and T. Webster's painting *A Village Choir*. As a musical example he quotes Thomas Jarman's tune *Desert* (which is also called *Nativity* or *Lyngham*). Jarman was a Northamptonshire composer and Hadden himself came from the notable family at Naseby.

Galpin 1893

This is an article centred around the choir-band at Winterbourne Abbas, Dorset, which was still extant when Galpin was writing. Galpin had been at school there and chronicles the history of bands in nearby villages, giving musical examples. Galpin's attitude to the local musicians is relatively patronising:

> the practice of these wind and stringed instruments gave occupation and recreation to the peasant folk.

Galpin also admits that reformation was necessary 'but not annihilation'.

Francis William Galpin (1858 – 1945), as a tribute to whom the Galpin Society, for the study of musical instruments, was formed in 1946, was a 'clergyman, archaeologist and authority on musical instruments'.[11] He was a prolific writer on musical instruments and was awarded the D. Litt. by Cambridge University in 1936.

Curwen 1897

John Spencer Curwen (1847 – 1916) was the son of J. Curwen, the founder of the Tonic Sol-fa College. His biography of his father was published in 1882. He studied at the Royal Academy of Music and became interested in 'worship music', making a study from 'Westminster Abbey to Moody and Sankey'[12] which is probably where his interest in choir-bands was nurtured.

Curwen's research method involved interviewing surviving choir members. He expected a revival in the use of the choir-band and states:

> the disestablishment of these rural instrumentalists was a mistake. It would have been better...to have reformed them than to have suppressed them.

Curwen advertised in the *Church Times* for details of continuing bands. He also visited villages far removed from railway services and found that these bore the best chance of surviving. He claims to have 'discovered' Winterbourne Abbas, the 'only instance where

11 Article by H. C. Colles, *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5th ed. 1954
12 Article by H. C. Colles, *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5th ed. 1954

an old band has continued an unbroken career to the present day.' Galpin does not lay claim to the discovery of Winterbourne Abbas, but his article was written four years earlier and implied that his hearing of the Winterbourne Band was opportune and not intentional:

> the following notes on this interesting survival are the result of a summer holiday spent in the neighbourhood of Winterbourne.

In the course of his article Curwen explains the survival of this band:

> the late vicar held office for forty years, 1848–1888, and was not a man of change, so that the transition period was tided over.

Curwen is not so patronising as Galpin but uses the words 'rough' and 'peasant'.

Galpin 1906

This article is similar to the one of 1893; the Winterbourne Band had ceased to function ten years before, and Galpin omits some of the musical examples and adds details about the music at Puddletown.

Pearce 1921

Dr. Charles W. Pearce, noted by Percy Scholes as 'the well-known teacher and examiner',[13] was Director of Examinations and Director of Studies at Trinity College of Music between 1904 and 1924. His choir-band research took the form of a paper presented to the Musical Association in 1921. The lecture was illustrated by hymn and psalm tunes performed by a ladies' choir from Trinity College. Pearce refers to an arrangement he had made of a hymn tune for 'a suppositious west gallery orchestra, consisting of flute, clarinet, bassoon, two violins, a cello and a double bass' a selection of instruments which was possibly the average constitution of these village bands. Pearce

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13 P. A. Scholes, *The Mirror of Music*, London 1947 p714

had done a considerable amount of research on the actual music and was able to give short histories of the various collections, including those of Madan and Chetham.

MacDermott 1922

K. H. MacDermott obtained his Licentiateship in Theology at Hatfield college, Durham in 1890 and the Associateship of the Royal College of Music in 1908. He became deacon in 1892 and priest the following year at Chichester; he was curate at Hurstpierpoint (1892 – 99) and at Preston, Sussex (1899 – 1902); he was the vicar of Bosham, followed by Selsey and Buxted. He was chaplain to the forces, became a canon of Chichester in 1934 and in 1935 was made Rural Dean of Uckfield. His publications include *Bosham Church – its History and Antiquities,* Chichester 1912, and *Buxted the Beautiful,* Chichester 1929. MacDermott's 1922 book deals with the choir-band period in Sussex. He acknowledges the work of Dr. A. H. Mann of King's College, Cambridge, collector of psalmodies, and Canon Galpin's work on instruments. A. H. Mann (1850 – 1929) was an organist and composer, editor of Tallis' motet , *Spem in alium,* and was involved in the discovery of the original wind parts for *Messiah* in 1894.

MacDermott's book is divided into three chapters:

I The Musicians

II The Instruments

III The Music

A 'Table of Instruments Used in Sussex Churches in the Past' is given at the end of the book, also a list of 'Churches where Bands were used but instruments unknown'. MacDermott notes the following in his introduction:

> As far as I'm aware no book has hitherto appeared that has been entirely devoted to the Church Music of the past in any particular county of England.

MacDermott was 'unable to find any reference to the organ as existing in Sussex churches during the latter half of the 17th and the whole of the 18th century: it is not till the middle of the 19th century that it appears'. This is a surprising statement, and in this study

details of early organs in the eastern counties are included. MacDermott in 1922 knew of only five examples of the vamping horn nationally, and notes that there were no ophicleides in Sussex. On this last point Sussex would seem to be untypical; given the French ecclesiastical use of that instrument, it could be presumed that the ophicleide would be accepted in English churches.

MacArthur 1923

John Donald Tilson MacArthur graduated from Queen's College, Oxford in 1879. He entered the ministry in the diocese of Lichfield and after curacies in Wolverhampton (1880 – 82), South London (1882 – 92), Dover (1892 – 95), chaplaincies at Abbots Bromley and Ascot (1895 – 1909) and another curacy at North Tiverton, Somerset (1909 – 11) became Rector of nearby Goathurst in 1911; this last parish is the subject of his research. In 1927 he moved to Chard, retiring to Bristol in 1930. He does not feature in the 1934 Crockford directory, and so 1934 or late 1933 must be considered the date of his death.

Writing in the *Musical Times*, MacArthur gives a broad background to eighteenth-century psalmody and suggests an evolutionary pattern for bands starting with a cello or bassoon, followed by the addition of clarinets and flutes, and finally violins. He has no evidence to consolidate this idea and so I have tried to provide a pattern justified by research.

MacArthur makes clear statements about the nature of choir-band research, providing a challenge for future writers:

> documented complete evidence of the composition of these village church-bands, and of the music that they use, is very hard to come by – records of a matter so little considered as to seem hardly worth preserving, and where they still exist, difficult to get news of.

He further states:

> in the study of this music, crude as it may be, one is in fact dealing with a folk-art whose very existence as such has been quite overlooked. What has been described is, of course, not peculiar to the village named [Goathurst] nor to the county of Somerset. Books from any part of England will, when investigated, tell the same tale; the difficulty is to come across them.

The present-day researcher is more fortunate than MacArthur's contemporaries, in that the formation of County Record Offices have centralised many documents. Parishes are not obliged to send all records, but may have included churchwardens' account books, subscription lists, music etc., with the despatch of the obligatory registers. The difficulty of 'coming across' relevant material is greatly reduced.

MacArthur issues a challenge then, to investigate another county and confirm a suspicion that the 'folk-art' had flourished there too. He is intrigued by the amount of local music and it does seem that the choir-band period was very fruitful in the field of local composition. Several Northamptonshire composers are detailed in the course of this thesis.

MacDermott 1948

MacDermott's later book deals with the subject of choir-bands on a national basis and makes individual statements about instrumentation. These statements should be appraised in the light of the present research, and this will be done at the conclusion of this thesis.

On p71 MacDermott explains that Sussex is the best-represented county for choir-band evidence because of his own research, but 'there can be no doubt that the great majority of country churches all over England had bands or barrel-organs, and probably Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and Norfolk had more than Sussex'. He presumably mentioned these three because of their greater size. The only one which features in the eastern counties chosen for this study is Norfolk.

Sharp 1961

Sharp shows the transition, at Easton-on-the-Hill, Northamptonshire, from choir-band through dumb organist (barrel attachment for playing an organ keyboard) to the organ itself. The research is based on details found in churchwardens' account books, showing the value of the Northamptonshire series, and also upon the extant instruments

– a bassoon and a dumb organist. Sharp gives a clear transcription of the relevant account entries, and these together with extra entries are given in full later in this study.

Byrne 1964

Byrne, also writing in the Galpin Society Journal, gives a functional account of the band at Swalcliffe, North Oxfordshire. These relate to the purchase, in 1783, of an oboe, vox humana, bassoon and two years later, a cello. Byrne details the available records, and makes comparisons with neighbouring villages. Much organological detail is given about the vox humana (tenor oboe) by Thomas Collier. Most research on choir-bands lacks any detail of this kind.

Rainbow 1967

Rainbow's work is not specifically about the choir-band period but details the reforms implemented by the Tractarians from 1839. The background is intriguing, however, for it shows a reaction against the 'romantic' interest of earlier researchers of the west gallery. This may be a way of setting the need for a Church Revival. Rainbow refers to the 'time-honoured but inefficient "cock and hen" west gallery choir'. The Revival was a 'deliberate gesture of protest against long-standing neglect in the church' (p3). He notes that singing was 'generally limited to a metrical doxology at the close of the psalms, and a selection from *Sternhold and Hopkins* or *Tate and Brady*' (p13). Rainbow's interpretation of the Oxford movement as a compromise between 'the superstitions of Rome on the one hand, and the errors of Protestantism on the other' (p6) is inspired, and gives a balanced view of the demise of the choir-band and the growth of the High Church movement.

Boston and Langwill 1967

This work, dealing mainly with barrel-organs, was begun as a collaboration between Canon Noel Boston (1911 – 1966), church music historian, amongst other

interests, and Lyndesay Langwill (1897 – 1983), bassoon expert, founder member of the Galpin Society, and author of *Index of Musical Wind Instrument Makers* (Edinburgh 1960). Boston had already written the chapters on barrel-organ history and a chapter including its precursor the 'church band'. This latter states the following:

> both musically and pastorally we may deplore the passing of the old church-band. Thirty years later the village churches were to ape the cathedrals and introduced surpliced choirs...The Oxford movement could see little good in the magnificent heritage of English psalm tune music (p15).

Boston here concisely summarizes the reasons for the demise of the church-band. He also makes a further reference to English psalmody and tacitly recommends the study of it.

Boston had already published work on the barrel-organ and an earlier example which was expanded into the 1967 book is: The Barrel-Organ, *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society Vol.* 7 London 1959 pp99 – 124.

Gammon 1977

Gammon's thesis, written for a History M.A. of Sussex, deals basically with that county and considers the subject from the point of view of a social historian. His conclusion puts social elements into perspective. He had already redressed the former attitude to the performers (p5):

> if we replace the notion of autocratic and insufferably conceited yokels with the idea of independently-minded and self-esteemed rural labourers and artisans, if we begin to humanise our subjects then we may begin to approach and appreciate their music and culture.

Gammon concludes (p60):

> the English church from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries offered a place where high met low, a place where cultural interchange was possible, but equally a place where cultural confrontation was likely.

Temperley 1978

Temperley's monumental work on English parish church music is an indispensable source for research in this field, as so many differing aspects of church music are covered in detail. The style is scholarly, yet readable, and all the source material is comprehensively listed. Temperley is an invaluable starting-point for this research, and because of this, considerable space will be allocated to a résumé of his work in the choir-band field at this point in my dissertation. Although the work is of a general nature, the sections on metrical psalmody, the 'old way of singing', references to New England church music, together with the chapters entitled *Country psalmody (1685 – 1830)* and *Reform movements (1760 – 1830)*, are particularly relevant to the choir-band period.

Temperley notes that metrical psalmody developed in France and that Marot's version was brought to this country in the 1540s (p22). Thomas Sternhold, who was Groom of the Robes to both Henry VIII and Edward VI compiled his *Certayne Psalms* c.1549 (p23). The first complete metrical Psalter in English appeared in the same year in a version by Robert Crowley. The first edition of Sternhold and Hopkins, later known as the *Old Version*, appeared in December 1549, after Sternhold's death. John Hopkins added seven psalms of his own to those already known to be by Sternhold. The Wanley part-books of c.1550 included settings of Sternhold's words and imply choir use of the psalms (p24). John Day produced settings of Sternhold and Hopkins in 1562 – *The Whole Booke of Psalms*. The following year he made an arrangement with four-part tune settings, the melody line generally being in the tenor (p53).

Henry Playford's *Divine Companion* appeared in 1701; this was intended for parish use (p54). Temperley describes the tunes which became generally associated with certain psalms as 'the official tunes'. Table 1 on page 60 of Temperley's work shows the tunes found in the musical editions of the *Whole Booke* between 1562 and 1687. The tunes did not have titles at this time, but eventually became known by the number of the psalm with which they became coupled – e.g.: Old Hundredth. In 1621 Ravenscroft's *Psalms* appeared (p63). Temperley notes on page 68 that the Puritans disliked common metre (8686) because of the associations with popular songs; these tunes became known as the

'common tunes'. Thomas East's psalm book of 1592 was the first to have printed names to the tunes (p69).

It appears that there was a general absence of choirs in parish churches and yet descants over monophonic tunes appeared (pp73–74); sometimes two tunes were found which fitted together, such as *Glastonbury* and *Oxford*. The tunes were changed by oral transmission (p76). In Temperley's section headed *The 'old way of singing'*, he describes the type of choral performance which may have prevailed in the late seventeenth-century: 'Few descriptions survive of the singing in country churches of the later seventeenth-century, and they are almost wholly unfavourable, being written from the point of view of a professional musician' (p91). On the next page, Temperley shows the very slow pace of the 'old way' – possibly two or three seconds per note, while Davenport, in the *Psalm Singer's Pocket Companion* of 1755, notes an even slower pace of around four seconds per note. Even in the nineteenth-century slow speeds survived and were criticised by the Tractarians. The slowness of tunes may have been the result of each note being considered a 'gathering' note, where members of congregations waited to hear the note sung by a neighbour, before embarking upon it (p95).

On page 93 Temperley refers to the habit of 'lining out' prevalent at the time. This is where the parish clerk would read or sing each line of the psalm which would then be repeated by the congregation. Temperley notes: 'Any sense of the tune as a whole, and as originally conceived, must have been almost completely lost'. Additional notes were also added giving 'a kind of ornamentation characteristic of the "old way of singing"'. Temperley notes that musicologists have studied the traditions of early American psalm singing. Thomas Symmes, a New England Independent Minister, noted that 'every leading singer would take the liberty of raising any note of the tune, or lowering it, as best pleased his ear, and add such turns and flourishes as were grateful to him'. The ornamentation in the 'old way' was totally distinct from that of art-music; in this case the ornamentation was the result of filling in intervals between notes. This style of singing survived in Scottish Presbyterian churches and in the Primitive Baptist churches of the Southern States (p96). It is interesting to note the 'lining-out' described by Harper Lee in her 1963 novel *To Kill a Mocking-bird*. This is noted in the context of a black church in

Alabama in the 1930s; few of the congregation, from former slave families, were literate and 'lining-out' was the obvious resolution of the singing problems.

Temperley notes the divergence of church music tradition after the end of the seventeenth century – a movement towards better-organised music in town parishes and country psalmody, a derivative of the 'old way' tradition. The towns employed organs and music books, whereas the villages retained an oral tradition to which they later added instruments. 'A century after the Restoration the distinction...was clear-cut' (p97). This is a point worthy of consideration in studying one geographical area such as Northamptonshire. John Arnold, in the various editions of his *The Compleat Psalmodist* (from 1740), states that early in the eighteenth century many country churches had a 'choir of singers' or a 'society of singers' and their own (local) psalmody.

In Temperley's summary of this section (p98), he notes that the eighteenth century was a complex period in parish church music and that the use of an organ would be restricted to the towns, for financial reasons until 'well into the nineteenth century'.

Temperley returns to metrical psalmody on page 121, where he refers to John Patrick's version of 1692; this gave a more evangelical interpretation of the psalms and was briefly adopted by the dissenters before Isaac Watts's version of 1719. The most significant version was that by Nahum Tate and Nicholas Brady in 1696 – *A New Version of the Psalms of David, fitted to the Tunes used in Churches.* This new version did not totally replace the *Old Version* which continued to have musical settings made. I have a prayer book containing the Sternhold and Hopkins psalm settings, published in 1791, nearly a century after the first editions of the *New Version.* On page 123 Temperley notes the inclusion of six hymns in the New Version; this shows that 'a limited use of hymns was not disapproved by the authorities'.

On page 150 Temperley gives evidence, from printed collections, of instruments played in church up to 1800. The Eastern Counties represented here are Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Essex. Temperley states on page 151 that 'The fundamental medium of country psalmody was the unaccompanied choir, dominated by the tenor voice.' He goes on to note that 'Nevertheless, in many churches between about 1740 and 1770, a bassoon or cello was introduced. Its function was generally to double the bass

voice...The parish church 'band' did not really exist before the last thirty years of the eighteenth century.' The dating of the choir-band in Northamptonshire is considered later in this thesis.

In the section entitled *Separation of the choir*, it is shown that many churches resisted pressure to build galleries or singing pews. Galleries became more common, however, and Temperley gives some examples (pp154–5). The development of country choirs is noted on p158, and the importance of certain regions, including East Anglia, Leicestershire and the North Midlands, is mentioned.

On pages 160–1 the bad habits and nasal delivery of certain singers is referred to. These faults were a source of criticism for the reformers of the 1830s and 1840s. Temperley states: 'On the whole it seems probable that the performance of the Georgian country choir was rarely such as would satisfy an educated musician'. He goes on to refer to the music performed and notes that over three hundred collections for music for country choirs survive. On page 164 he states that the first anthem of 'country' provenance is *Hear my Prayer, O Lord* in *A book of psalm tunes* of 1713. It includes 'archaic modality'. New anthems became more elaborate resembling the Restoration verse anthem in their structure (p165). Anthems were not necessarily sung at the specified point in the prayer book service, but often after the service.

On page 183 Temperley makes a remarkable study of the various editions of *Chetham* between 1718 and c.1885, showing the movement away from the 'old way of singing' and pre-1690 tunes, towards music of a more liturgical nature. Also by reference to *Chetham*, and to other sources, Temperley refers to the clef problem and redistribution of parts throughout the choir-band period. The C clefs which were originally prevalent for the upper three parts developed into the use of G clefs in two octaves. The tenor 'air' was eventually given to the highest voice, although it was still positioned directly above the bass line. This point is, of course, widely known but can occasionally cause performance problems.

The *Church Bands* section of Chapter 6 is an extremely valuable starting point for the researcher in this field. He has some reservations abut MacDermott's work: 'MacDermott was not methodical enough to provide a really reliable and complete

account of the bands' (p196). On the next page Temperley gives a sample of the instrumentation of twenty-four bands between 1780 and 1898, five of which are from the eastern counties; these bands use either strings or woodwind or both. The use of a single cornet in Cornwall in 1895 is given, as are some of MacDermott's more unusual findings. Temperley mentions the vamping horn and this is especially relevant to Northamptonshire. On page 199 Temperley looks at the problem of instrumental part distribution and states: 'There was probably no uniformity about which instrument took which part, but a common arrangement seems to have been for the oboe or violin to take the "tune", the clarinet the alto part, and perhaps a flute or second oboe the treble or tenor (other than the "tune")'. There was growth of 'symphonies' or interludes for instruments although only ten per cent of published tune books had instrumental parts other than an organ part. There appear to have been no part books for transposing instruments and this interesting detail is considered in the section on the clarinet in the present thesis (Chapter Three).

Temperley relates the choir-bands and local singing traditions to the growth of the choral festival movement, particularly in the North-West; the relationship with the East Midlands and East Anglia is noted in the present thesis. Details of the influence that the choir-band movement had on Victorian literature are also given; my own interpretation of the romanticising of the choir-band has already been given.

Temperley details the late survival of some choir-bands and states that some bands were shared between the parish church and local chapels. It appears that the trend towards reformed unaccompanied choirs began around 1840 (p241); this suited the Tractarians, who wished to dispense with the services of church instrumentalists. In Chapter 8, *The rediscovery of tradition (1800 – 50)*, the ideals of the reformers are shown, as is the way in which the choir-band movement was removed.

Temperley speaks of American researchers: 'These writers acknowledge that the music of the New England psalmodists, once thought to be a purely indigenous American phenomenon, was in fact so closely related to English parochial psalmody that it can be regarded as part of the same musical culture'. It is worthy of noting that English music was exported to New England, but that this arrangement was not reciprocated. The

later developments in American psalmody do not appear to relate to the field of this thesis, but an example of a Northamptonshire composer who was published on both sides of the Atlantic is given in the section on Benjamin West; his American researcher, R. T. Daniel, has some interesting opinions about West's work. Temperley also states that very little English music of the period is available for study, and that: 'Judgement must be reserved until the music of English country parishes has been equally thoroughly explored and revived'. (p.203).

Weir 1981

Weir's booklet includes a short section on choir-bands, giving some unpublished information on Nottinghamshire. He summarises the demise of the choir-band thus (p14):

> ...the country gentry were sensitive to changing fashion and the taste of upper-class Victorian society was for orchestras and ballrooms rather than band music. Church bands were particularly hard hit under these circumstances and were increasingly replaced by organs, even barrel-organs in some places. Frequently the gentry contributed funds towards the installation of organs in their parish churches, a trend that reflected changing musical fashion. Faced with these difficulties church bands found it more difficult to survive and by the turn of the century they had become more of a curiosity than an integral part of village life.

Gammon 1985

Gammon includes church music in his wider study of popular music which goes as far as 1914. The church-band movement is here noted as the 'Plebeian Musical Tradition'. On p32 he lists the occupations of seventy-five rural musicians. These belong to the following categories – shoemakers, agricultural labourers, farmers, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, carpenters, bricklayers, gardeners, bakers, butchers, tailors and messengers. There are one of each of the following: schoolmaster, thatcher, shepherd, servant, auctioneer, gamekeeper, roadsweeper, watchmaker, hairdresser, miller and furrier. It can be seen that in the main these were skilled or semi-skilled occupations, but that there were no members of the aristocracy or professional classes. The schoolmaster is the only dubious example, but there was no real training for this occupation at the time,

and literacy and numeracy would be a sufficient qualification. Gammon writes that 'a few people of higher social status participated, but not in sufficient numbers to alter the distinct social profile of the bands' (p33).

A sociological point about the 'levelling' aspect of galleries is made on p41: 'The creation of a gallery had an upsetting effect on hierarchical placement: entry was to be by merit not status.'

There are, of course, other research topics which are closely related to a study of the choir-band. These include Hymnology, and John Julian's substantial work *A Dictionary of Hymnology*, London, 1892, must be noted here. Relevant articles in Julian's work include those on Baptist Hymnody, Methodist Hymnody, English Psalters and Early English Hymnology.

In addition to studying the sources named above, and investigating the choir-band genre in a thorough manner by use of primary source material, I have set some objectives which I feel need resolution as part of the overall study of this field. These targets are to ascertain the validity of MacDermott's dating of choir-band activity, to discover the relationship, if any, between choir-band music and art-music, to investigate the dispersion and instrumentation of the choirband in Northamptonshire, and to note any stylistic and instrumental changes during the period. It would also be instructive to note instrumental differences between the separate counties in the eastern region and to consider influences from other areas.

d) The Role of Music Within the Late Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century Service.

The 1662 Book of Common Prayer makes no provision for hymns during the services of Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer (or Matins and Evensong as they have continued to be called), but gives psalms for the day, canticles, and allows an anthem 'in Quires and Places where they sing'. It seems likely that in the choir-band period the psalms and canticles would often be said but that one or two metrical psalms could be included along with the anthem. There is little documentation of the placing of music within a service and so several options are possible.

Temperley notes an Elizabethan service which he considers typical, where the whole service appears to be said.[14] It seems likely that the said service continued in many churches throughout the following problematic century and that even the Restoration did not promote a regular feature of music within services, apart from the cathedrals and choral foundations.

The Act of Uniformity of 1662 compelled every incumbent to perform morning and evening services on every Sunday and Holy Day (including its eve) throughout the year.[15] Communion services, however, were very infrequent, sometimes occurring only two or three times a year, and this would account for the lack of settings for the Gloria, Creed, Agnus Dei, etc. during the choir-band period.

MacDermott[16] imagines a country church service 'between 1660 and 1860':

> here the tuning of the viols, the soft sounding of flute, and other wind instruments to test them; muttered but audible instructions of the leader. After the third collect the old parish clerk...giving out the psalm in a nasal sing-song voice: 'let us sing to the praise and glory of God psalm number 100!'. Then the whole congregation standing up and turning to the gallery 'to face the music', but not venturing to join in it. After a few more common prayers a sermon perhaps an hour long, possibly an anthem before it, shuffling of feet in the gallery, some snores in the pews.

The implication is that the set psalm would be said, a metrical one sung in place of the anthem and an anthem before the sermon.

Galpin's 1893 service at Winterbourne Abbas[17] again had no music before the service, apart from tuning, but on that occasion the canticles were sung to chants. Early in the century this would have been very unusual in a rural church. At Silverstone, Northamptonshire, an anthem was performed before the service while the people arrived, but the date of this reference is after the band had ceased to operate; there is every possibility, however, that it is from an earlier tradition.[18] At Little Gaddesden, Hertfordshire[19] the clerk said an Amen after the Te Deum (which requires none) implying said canticles.

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14 *op. cit.*, p44
15 W. C. Dale, *The Law of the Parish Church*, London 1946 p29
16 *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels* p66
17 *op cit.* p56
18 J. E. Linnell, *Old Oak*, London 1932 p66
19 V. Bell, *Little Gaddesden, the Story of an English Parish*, London n.d. p145

The service sheet for the opening of the new organ at Titchmarsh, Northamptonshire in 1860 (NRO 328P/65) gives an insight into a musical service, which is of necessity untypical given the inclusion of a performance by Peterborough Cathedral Choir; it may include some regular features, however. The morning service opened with an anthem; there were set canticles and an anthem after the third collect. The interesting element is the inclusion of the 100th psalm in the Old Version before the sermon. This psalm, *All People That on Earth Do Dwell,* can be considered as a congregational hymn. The evening service started with a metrical psalm – New Version psalm 95 to the tune *Wareham;* before the sermon came the hymn *All Hail the Great Emmanuel's Name* to the tune *Miles Lane.*

Barrett's Psalms,[20] first published in 1821, recommends New Version psalms for every Sunday throughout the year, together with suggestions for the placing within the service. The position within the service of morning prayer is after the Litany which should be sung or said after the service 'upon Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays and at other times when it shall be commanded by the Ordinary' according to the Book of Common Prayer. In the communion service Barrett suggests a psalm after the Nicene Creed, and at Evening Prayer one metrical psalm should follow the third collect (in the place of the anthem) and a second before the sermon. It is possible that Barrett's ideas were those of a reformer, given that communion occurred so rarely.

It is very much a matter of conjecture to establish a pattern for the role of music in the service. One point which must be considered is the inclusion of metrical psalms, Old or New Version, in many prayer books. Several Prayer Books in my possession contain the prose psalms set in the usual one month cycle, and also the metrical psalms of Tate and Brady; the same is true of a 1791 Prayer Book which includes the Old Version. This may imply that the set psalms could be replaced by metrical ones. Some of the Prayer Books include a section of hymns, which incorporate two of the canticles for morning service (Te Deum and Benedictus) and both evening canticles (Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis). Each of these is in common metre (8 6 8 6) and can be sung to any of the recommended tunes. The various editions of the New Version suggest:

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20 Rev. J. T. Barrett, D D, of St. Peter's College, *A Course of Psalms Selected from the New Version...,* Cambridge, 3rd ed., London 1824

> all psalms in this Version may be sung to any of the most usual Tunes, namely York-tune, Windsor-Tune, St. Davids, Lichfield, Canterbury, Martyrs, St. Marys alias Hackney, St. Annes tune etc.

There seems no reason, then, why a service could not include as a maximum amount of music:

a) an anthem before the service

b) a metrical psalm, set for the day

c) metrical canticles

d) an anthem after the third collect

e) a metrical psalm or hymn before the sermon

There may also have been recessional music, although La Trobe notes that a voluntary would be unknown in churches where there was no organ.[21]

This would of course put a very large strain on the choir-band, and it seems most likely that a service would include a metrical psalm or two and an anthem at the most, although their position in the service cannot be generally established.

e) The Placing of the Choir Band

MacDermott's designation of the choir-band as 'old church gallery minstrels' makes the situation of the choir-band clear, but while most of the bands were placed in galleries, which were usually at the west end of the nave, under the tower, this is not the only area where the musicians could be placed. Some choirs were located in areas of the nave at ground level, on the medieval rood screen or, as in the case of Winterbourne Abbas, on a platform under the tower. An interesting consideration in siting the choir is suggested by Addleshaw and Etchells[22]:

> An important feature in the placing of the singers is the way in which they were never allowed to come between the congregation and the minister who was taking the service.

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21 J. A. La Trobe, *The Music of the Church Considered in its Various Branches*, London 1831, p345

22 S. W. O. Addleshaw and F. Etchells, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship*, London 1948, p100

The general process of gallery building was slowly accepted, and the destruction of these as part of the restoration programme was equally slow. Temperley[23] puts an early date (1550) on the first gallery (Luton Church). He continues

> It was natural...to consider a gallery as a possible place for the voluntary parish choir. Sometimes a gallery originally built to house an organ was left unoccupied when the organ was removed or destroyed, and was now available for singers. This was the case for example at Prestbury [in Cheshire].

Galleries in Leicestershire are discussed by Geoffrey Brandwood.[24] He details the number of galleries in the 338 Leicestershire and Rutland churches of 1840 as 204 (60%), but notes that this is probably an underestimate. The earliest Leicestershire galleries were at Woodhouse 1613, Newtown Linford 1633 and one at Loughborough Parish Church which was removed in 1636. Other early examples were at Wilby, Norfolk (1637) and at Harlestone, Northamptonshire (late seventeenth-century). In the Soke of Peterborough, Peakirk churchwardens' accounts refer to a payment to Mr. Percival for the 'Singin Looft' in 1759. There had been reference to music in 1746, and so this is the earliest musical gallery documented in Northamptonshire. Where rood lofts survived it would seem logical to locate the singers there and such was the case at Writtle in Essex:

> the rood lofts...also accommodated the choir and musical instruments...being used as a music gallery.[25]

Brandwood states that many rood lofts were moved to west ends of churches at the Reformation. He notes the only surviving eastern gallery as being at Whitby, North Yorkshire. There were nine in Leicestershire and Rutland: Braunston, Caldecott, Cosby, Countesthorpe, Great Casterton, Sheepy, Somerby, South Kilworth and Uppingham. Three of these were said to be in the chancel. The possibility is that they were simple

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23 *op. cit.* p154

24 G. K. Brandwood, Anglican Churches before the Restorers, *The Archaeological Journal, Vol. 144,* 1989, p395

25 J. H. Upton, *A History of Writtle Church,* Guildford 1930, p46

raised pews, and Brandwood makes the point that any raised section of seating may have been called a gallery. Others of these were galleries built as part of the chancel arch.

It is worthwhile, therefore, to define a gallery and to give a description of a typical west gallery. Galleries were usually timber built, supported on wooden piers, or occasionally cast iron ones. These western examples were built across the tower arch, often blocking the arch itself, at varying heights above the nave, but allowing plenty of head clearance below. The stairs would be behind the structure under the belfry; sometimes access was gained from a staircase outside the tower, and this served to separate the choir and congregation even more. The seating could be tiered or level, but if instrumentalists were used, a flat open area would be in evidence, or a large pew with space for instruments. There would sometimes be a reading desk for the clerk to direct the choir-band from, a slate suspended over the side of the gallery for the number of the psalms or to give notice of an anthem, and various fittings for candles. The gallery could be of the width of the tower arch or of the aisles as well. Occasionally, north and south galleries are encountered which may or may not be a continuous structure which would include the west gallery. Continuous galleries of this sort are very often found in non-conformist chapels, their purpose being to allow a large congregation a good view and hearing of the minister in the central pulpit. The decoration of these galleries must have varied from very plain structures to the 'singing gallery done in Doric Woodwork'[26] at Stanwick. The architectural notice of Cranford St Andrews' Gallery remarked upon its unsightly appearance.

The incumbent of Overstowey, Somerset, was angered about the 'alterations going on in the singing gallery' in 1806 without consultation. He eventually agreed with one condition:

> I shall not consent to what is done unless it is finished in my way and have the top arch glazed altogether.[27]

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26 *Architectural Notices of the Churches of the Archdeaconry of Northampton*, London 1849, pp49, 167

27 ed. J. Ayres, *Paupers and Pig killers. The Diary of William Holland, a Somerset Parson 1799–1818*, Gloucester 1984, p129

Any structural alteration to a church requires the permission of the Archdeacon. The relevant document is known as a 'faculty' and several faculties for gallery building are extant at Northamptonshire Record Office. Examples from a rather later date than is expected are noted for Great Brington (1802), Ashley (1807 – 11), and Collingtree (1808). The first of these had an organ in 1790, and so it is likely that the gallery was for non-musical use. The faculty for a gallery at Helmdon was applied for in 1821; this was for six pews and a large space for the singers.

The financing of gallery building must have caused problems for churches. Temperley[28] notes that the Lancaster gallery (1724), while being primarily for singers, had extra congregational seating for which pew rents could be charged in order to defray the expenses of building. In Northamptonshire, Pattishall churchwardens' accounts in 1830 refer to £7. 15. 0 'towards the gallery', while Holcot had a general subscription for their west gallery in 1832. Wappenham accounts give details of the work and the costing of the 1804 gallery, and include a complete list of subscribers.

Some galleries, like the box pews in the nave or chancel, were built expressly for a person or family; the west gallery at Stapleford in Leicestershire was for the Earl of Harborough's use, while the Grendon gallery in Northamptonshire, had a pew reserved for the vicar *in perpetuum*. The west gallery at Wansford, in the Soke of Peterborough, was built in 1804. A plaque in the west wall states:

> this loft erected
> by Pank Medmore Esq.
> merchant of this place
> Jan 1st 1804.

It is not known whether this was a philanthropic gesture for the benefit of the singers or for the benefit of Pank Medmore.

Galleries where the singers were restricted to a single pew in the gallery include East Haddon, Northamptonshire, where an 1839 seating plan shows a singers' pew, and Smalley in Derbyshire, where the 'instrumental choir' occupied the front seats of the gallery before the organ arrived in 1863.[29]

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28 *op. cit.*, p155

29 C. Kerry, *Smalley, its History and Legends*, London and Derby 1905, p29

Loughwood Baptist Chapel dating from 1650, on the Devon/Dorset border has recently been restored by the National Trust who

> added a touch of authenticity...in the front pews of the galleries are the music rests which show where the musicians sat. The National Trust provided a further touch...by reproducing the cut-out in the front pew which housed the bass-viol, and the notch in the floor to rest it.[30]

The choir of Ashby St. Ledgers, Northamptonshire, was positioned in a single pew at ground level. This was placed at the west end and still survives. At Wicken in Cambridgeshire there was a 'small gallery or singers' pew[31]. This may have been a platform similar to the one described by Galpin[32] at Winterbourne Abbas. The choir of Lamport (Northamptonshire), stood at the rear of the nave, whilst using a platform. Some Northamptonshire churches which had additional galleries are noted here:

> *Thrapston:* three wooden galleries still exist.
> *Holcot*: in addition to the west gallery housing the choir there was a south gallery for the girls and a north gallery for the boys.[33]
> *Clipston*: 'the choir sat in the gallery and the old people from the hospital sat in the lower gallery'.[34] The lower gallery may have been a raised pew.
> *Byfield*: had a barrel-organ, in an east gallery. West and south galleries were removed in 1873.[35]

A late example of a gallery was built at Weldon, Northamptonshire in 1838. The first organ is mentioned ten years later. The gallery at Denton was altered to accommodate the organ in 1867. Evidence of the continuing use of galleries is found at Greatworth (1857 repairs), Evenley (1862 new seating) and Marston Trussell, where new lamps were put in the gallery in 1875.

The use of galleries has added the expression 'facing the music' to our language, for when the choir-band commenced playing the congregation would stand and face west to be led in the singing. Brandwood's postscript remarks:

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30 J. B. Whitely, Loughwood Baptists in the Seventeenth Century, *Baptist Quarterly Vol. XXXI*, No. 4 Oct. 1985

31 M. Knowles, *History of Wicken*, London 1902

32 *op. cit.*

33 D. Sharman, *A History of the Church in Holcot*, 1986 p9

34 E. L. Fisher, *Clipston*, Kettering 1926 p12

35 E. P. Poole, *The Story of Byfield*, 1930

I suspect many galleries were specifically built to house choir-bands. For example at Gaddesby (Leicestershire) the church is large enough to accommodate a much larger congregation than this village would require, yet there was clearly a western gallery as recessed padstones for piers and motice holes in the tower arch satisfy. The congregation stood up to face the singers which usually meant turning around. This need to turn around no doubt partly explains the ample dimensions of many box pews and the acceptability of seats facing in different directions.

f) The Payment of Choirs and 'Singing Masters'

Many churches, while supporting their instrumentalists by paying for the maintenance of instruments, made no provision for rewarding the singers. Others made annual payments to the whole choir, usually for the purposes of a feast at Christmas, and some appointed a fee-paid 'Singing Master' to teach psalmody to the singers. Sometimes the Singing Master would be an itinerant psalmody seller, employed on a short-term basis to put the choir into order; such may have been Samuel Smyth, who warrants one single mention in the Harpole, Northamptonshire, churchwardens' accounts, and Mr. Barratt at Cosgrove, Northamptonshire in 1816.

William Tans'ur, author of various psalmodies, fits into this category. Temperley[36] notes:

> born at Dunchurch about 1700, he issued his books successively from Ewell, 1734 – 5; Barnes, 1736; Cambridge, 1754, 1776; Stamford 1756 – 9; Boston 1761. He has also been traced at Leicester, Market Harborough and Witham...the last forty years of his life (1743 – 83) were spent "chiefly at St Neots, where he was a book-seller and teacher of music" (Dictionary of National Biography).

A list of Northamptonshire singing masters is given below taken from churchwardens' accounts found at Northamptonshire Record Office:

		£	s	d
Arthingworth	1798 Richard Fox & John Berry			
	for Teaching The Singing	4	10	0
	1798 Richard Cook (until 1813)			
	1798 Lazarus Fox (until 1809)			
Braybrooke	1808 Wm Curtice [Curtis?]			

36 *op cit.*, p100

	Teaching Singers	1	10	0
Cosgrove	1816 Mr Barratt Teachin the			
	Singers to chant	0	5	0
Duston	1809 Paid the Singin Master	2	10	0
	1809 Paid the Singin Master	0	19	0
	1809 Paid the Singin Master	3	0	0
	1809 Paid the Singin Master 10 weeks	2	10	0
Hardwick	1796 – 1827 Bills for Briggs (teaching			
	of singing, 3d a time)			
Harpole	1801 Pd Samuel Smyth (has Singin			
	Master)	1	1	0
Great Harrowden	1795 Paid Mr Briggs & Mr Hobbes			
	for learning the singers	2	6	0
Pytchley	1858 John Shrives instructing children			
	to sing [Shrives was the Parish Clerk]			
Towcester	1817 pd Hy Harvin Piching Hymns and Psalms	2	2	0
	1819 pd Viol for three lessons to Boys			
	and Girls singing	1	0	0

Some instrumentalists were given salaries in addition to instrument maintenance. It seems that Lazarus Fox (mentioned above) of Arthingworth was a cello player as well as singing teacher. At Adwincle St Peter there is an account entry of 1824: 'pd 3 years salary for the base playing £1. 10. 0.', and at Pytchley Samuel Mobbs was cellist from 1834 until he was replaced by John Summers in 1850, after Mobbs had unsuccessfully pressed for an increase in salary. At West Retford in Nottinghamshire George Gill was paid a salary of £2 per year as cellist.[37]

Those Northamptonshire choirs who were paid an allowance for their services are given below:

		£	s	d
Arthingworth	1798 * Singers Feasts	0	10	6
Ashley	1829 Singers Beef	0	10	0
Broughton	1852 Singers	1	0	0
Cosgrove	1819 Cash to the Singers	1	1	0
Cottingham	1813 * Singers	2	1	0
Daventry	1812 * Singers Xmas Box	0	10	0

37 *A History of St Michael the Archangel, West Retford, Nottinghamshire,* Ramsgate 1961

Dodford	1841 * Music	1	0	0
Easton on the Hill	1801 * Singers Feast	1	1	0
Easton Maudit	1829 * Singers Annual Donation	1	5	0
Eye	1817 Singers Gratuity due Easter last	3	3	0
East Farndon	1805 * Paid the Singers	0	10	0
Faxton	1856 Pd the Singers	0	7	0
Harringworth	1811 Mr. Parr for Singers	4	11	6
Kilsby	1824 Pd Singers	0	10	0
Irthlingborough	1817 * Gave the Singers at Christmas	0	5	0
Lamport	1832 To the Singers at Christmas	1	0	0
Oundle	1810 Singers	0	10	0
Peakirk	1761 Pd to the Singers towards a supper	0	3	0
Pytchley	1835 * Singers Gratuity	0	10	0
Rushden	1818 Paid the Singers at Christmas	0	10	0
Rushton	1815 * Ringers and Singers Christmas	0	7	6
Silverstone	1832 * Paid to the Singers	0	10	0
Stamford Baron	1781 * Gave the Singers	0	5	0
Stoke Albany	1803 * Singers	0	5	0
Towcester	1783 * Paid Carter to the Singers (for Singers Supper)	0	15	6
Weldon	1810 * Gave Singers at Christmas	0	5	0
Weston by Welland	1803 * Paid Mr. Walker for Meat at the Sing Feast	1	16	11
Woodford	1811 * Gave the Ringers and Singers	0	8	0

* = recurring entry

One Northamptonshire choir was recompensed in a different way. Sir Henry Dryden paid weekly subscriptions to Moreton Clothing Club in 1852 on behalf of the sopranos and altos of Canons Ashby and Moreton Pinkey choirs,[38] provided they fulfilled certain conditions such as cleanliness, tidiness and attentiveness in church. The choir members were required to know the psalms by the preceding Wednesday and attend one service at each church on Sunday. It seems that this was a reformed choir, as all the sopranos and altos were boys, and at Canons Ashby (where Dryden chose the music)

38 NRO Δ1248

proper psalms and canticles were sung, although the old metrical psalmody persisted at Moreton Pinkey.

At Barkby in Leicestershire the mid-nineteenth-century choir members were presented with top hats and morning coats by William Pochin.[39]

Choirs occasionally visited other churches and received payment for their services. The singers were sometimes paid in beer; the Wansford singers (Soke of Peterborough) who visited Yarwell in 1807 were paid 5/-. It is likely these visits were considered as much outings as the serving of another church. La Trobe disapproved of 'strolling choirs.'[40]

Below are noted the paid choirs in Northamptonshire between 1761 and 1856. The earliest entry for each church is shown. It can be seen that payments to singers became popular between 1810 and 1820.

Peakirk (1761)
Stamford Baron (1781)
Towcester (1783)
Arthingworth (1798)
Easton on the Hill (1801)
Stoke Albany (1803)
Weston by Welland (1803)
East Farndon (1805)
Oundle (1810)
Weldon (1810)
Harringworth (1811)
Woodford (1811)
Daventry (1812)
Cottingham (1813)
Rushton (1815)
Eye (1817)
Irthlingborough (1817)
Rushden (1818)
Cosgrove (1819)
Kilsby (1824)
Ashby (1829)

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39 *The History of the Church of St. Mary, Barkby, Leicestershire*, n.d., p6
40 *op. cit.*, p125

Lamport (1832)

Silverstone (1832)

Pytchley (1835)

Dodford (1841)

Broughton (1852)

Faxton (1856)

The growth and administration of the choir-band can be seen from the above chapter. It is essential, however, to study the distinctive nature of the music that the choir-band employed and in the next chapter Northamptonshire is taken as an example of local psalmody in an eastern county.

Chapter 2 – The development of Psalmody Composition in Northamptonshire

a) Folk Psalmody and Carols – the Gretton Carol

Folk-psalmody – that is music in the folk tradition, handed down orally and with a sacred purpose – is not prevalent in Northamptonshire. This genre of rural church music survives in the West Country, and has been researched and documented by Bob and Jackie Patten, including: *We singers make bold* – a carol from Wheddon Cross, Somerset[1]. Ian Russell in Sheffield has researched South Yorkshire and Derbyshire carols, some still performed in village inns; these include: *Peace o'er the World and Sons of Man*[2]. A collection of West Gallery carols has been compiled by Mike Bailey and Rollo Woods[3] and deals mainly with the counties of Hampshire, Devon, Cornwall and Dorset. These carols are characterised by melismatic rhythmic passages, repeating lines, fugato entries, instrumental basses and symphonies. The texts of many include the invocation 'Awake!' or 'Hark!'

The only surviving Northamptonshire carol seems to be *The Gretton Carol*,[4] which although lacking instrumental parts, conforms to the criteria above. The text starts 'Hark! hark!' and the carol is known in Gretton village as the *Old Ark*; the style seems to point to late eighteenth-century origins. The voices enter in pairs, soprano and tenor followed by alto and bass; the words 'glad tidings' are repeated three times in each part imitatively.

If the *Gretton Carol* is to be considered a piece of folk tradition, orally received, then it seems unlikely that the original version would be the four part given here. This is based on a photocopied version given to me by Mr. G. Spence of Kettering. There appears to be no other version extant. The imitative nature of the piece shows that it must have been conceived for at least two separate voices; there is no distinct melodic line that could stand by itself. It is possible that the highest and lowest parts evolved first, probably two

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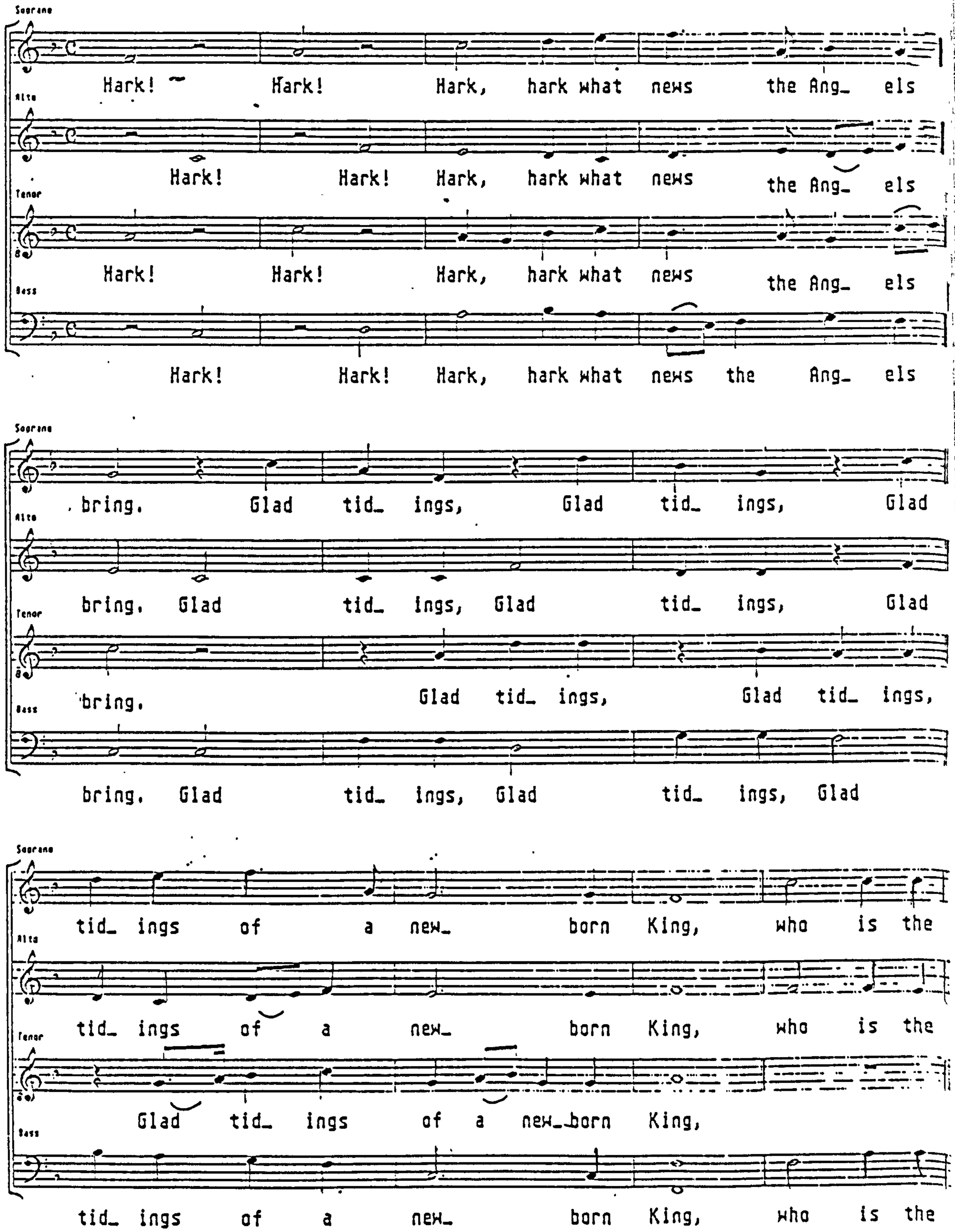
1 Available in photocopy to members of West Gallery Music Association, 1991
2 Available in photocopy to members of WGMA, 1991
3 M. Bailey and R. Woods, *Bright Angels*, Winchester, 1991
4 S. J Weston ed., *The Gretton Carol*, Oeaumuse, Ely 1992.

Musical Example A: The Gretton Carol
Source: photocopy in possession of Mr G. Spence, Kettering.



Soprano

Sav_ iour of Man_ kind, in whom we may Sal_

Alto

Sav_ iour of Man_ kind, in whom we may Sal_

Tenor

Bass

who is the Sav_ iour of Man_ kind, in whom we may

Sav_ iour of Man_ kind, in whom we may Sal_

Soprano

va_ tion find, in whom we may Sal_ va_ tion find.

Alto

va_ tion find, in whom we may Sal_ va_ tion find.

Tenor

Bass

Sal_ va_tion find, in whom we may Sal_ va_tion find.

va_ tion find, in whom we may Sal_ va_ tion find.

male voices – tenor and bass. An alternative would be a two-part version comprising the present tenor and bass, as this tenor is no less melodic than the soprano. Another possibility would be a three-part version based on the present soprano, tenor and bass lines, perhaps all sung in the male range. It is notable that the 'Glad tidings' section has three separate entries and could point to a carol which originally had three parts. The alto part could have been added later, since it is metrically similar to the bass.

The linear writing produces some harmonic clashes, for example in bar 18 between the soprano and bass. Sung in a traditional manner, this produces no problem and is merely of a passing nature. Works like the *Gretton Carol* do not, of course, stand up to close scrutiny, nor to an immaculate performance; nevertheless they show rural church music in an undeveloped state.

b) Benjamin West of Weedon

> A few of the composers were totally incompetent to deal with the musical problems that confronted them. Benjamin West's tune 'Watford' for example is comprehensible as a duet for tenor and bass, indeed quite expressive, but the four-part harmony is largely meaningless and must have been almost unperformable in places, though the sounds may prove intriguing to a modern audience. Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, Vol. I, Cambridge 1979, p193

Trevor Hold[5] gives a short biography of Benjamin West, who was very much an amateur, his main occupation being schoolmaster at Weedon Bec near Daventry, where he was born in 1740 and died in 1791. In his *Sacra Concerto* (1760), he describes himself as 'of Northampton', but this is probably because of the anonymity of Weedon Bec. West wrote several collections of poetry where he alludes to himself as the 'Weedonian Bard'. Hold notes that he was highly regarded by his fellow poets in the county.

In the introduction to *Sacra Concerto*[6] West writes: 'The Psalms and Anthems are chiefly such as were completed for the use of my own scholars, who, from an

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5 T. Hold, *A Northamptonshire Garland*, Northampton 1989, pp 150 – 1

6 B . West, *Sacra Concerto: or the Voice of Melody, containing An Introduction to The Grounds of Music also Forty-one psalm tunes and Twelve Anthems*, 2nd ed., London 1769

acknowledgement of the benefit they have received from them, and a Desire others should participate with them, have solicited the publishing of them'.

The title page assures the performer that the keys are those 'most agreeable to the essences of the words,' and that the work is chiefly intended for the use of country choirs.

West's writing belongs to an earlier period stylistically than the bulk of choir-band composition. There is a great deal of archaic music and the works would be very difficult to put into chronological context. R. T. Daniel[7] notes the archaic use of hocket in the anthem 'O Clap Your Hands'.

The country choir in Northamptonshire at this time was that of the pre-choir band period. Although other counties were experimenting with instruments (e.g.: Derbyshire in 1742), the earliest documented use in Northamptonshire is 1773[8] roughly coinciding with the work of John Munden, who produced music of the early style with instrumental interludes and introductions. Caleb Ashworth, principal of the dissenting academy at Daventry, makes no reference to instrumental use in his *Collection of Tunes* c.1760;[9] the introduction to which notes (p7 paragraph 32): 'Seldom more than four parts are used in church music, where only voices are employed.'

Temperley makes justified criticism of the tune *Watford*[10] and points out West's problem with accidentals. It appears, on reference to *Sacra Concerto,* that West, or his publisher, is confused and often gives a sharp instead of a natural; there are also clashes formed by inconsistent accidentals in vertical writing. Temperley notes the incongruity of a B sharp alternating with C flat in the tenor part of *Watford.*

West's difficulty here is surely the use of an absurd and unusual key for the date – E flat minor. Few works by recognised composers would use such a key and the use by an amateur composer, who as a schoolmaster could only have dabbled in composition, is certainly – as Temperley remarks – 'pretentious'.

Another problem encountered in West's music is the emphasis on weak syllables produced by ties over the bar-lines, caused by a desire to have an interesting rhythmic

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7 R. T. Daniel, *The Anthem in New England before 1800,* Evanston 1966, p83

8 Bassoons at Clipston and Green Norton

9 C. Ashworth, *A Collection of Tunes suited to the several metres commonly used in Publick Worship,* London c.1760

10 op cit., p. 193

content. An example from the 3/2 section of West's *Psalm 121* has the following word-emphasis:

- - - -
The Lord himself is thy keeper

It is to West's credit, however, that he even attempts to write a 'fuguing tune' such as *Watford* at such an early date. Temperley[11] estimates 'a little before 1750' for the earliest examples. William Tans'ur was an early exponent, who toured the Midlands and East Anglia as an itinerant 'singing-master'; he may be the source of West's knowledge. Tans'ur was born at Dunchurch, Warwickshire, not too distant from Weedon. He issued his books from Cambridge (1754) and Stamford (1756 – 9) amongst others. From 1743 – 83 he was based at St Neots. Tans'ur's *A Compleat Melody*[12] bears many similarities to West's work; but so do most of the contemporary psalmodies, being constructed on a basic model – a preface justifying the work, a lengthy analysis of the rudiments of music for beginners, a section of psalm tunes with local titles and some anthems (or set pieces) at the end.

It is, perhaps unfortunate for West that Temperley makes reference to one of the hymn-tunes of the first edition of *Sacra Concerto*. It seems that the composer made great strides in the nine years separating the two editions of his work. The two anthems added for the later edition show considerable improvements and, once the inherent accidental problems are eliminated, two charming works appear which give a clear picture of rural church music in the 1760s. The twelfth anthem is a remarkable canon in four parts, seventeen bars long, with suspensions reminiscent of early eighteenth-century music and an open fifth half-close, which gives an even earlier feel to the music. West, Munden and others had no fear of the ambiguous nature of the bare fifth, which is typically rural in quality. Even Thomas Jarman, forty years later, occasionally finds use for it.[13]

The fact that West's music seems 'unperformable' to Temperley may not have been a problem to an unaccompanied village choir. The partially-literate (from a musical

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11 op cit., p.173
12 W. Tans'ur, *A Compleat Melody: or, the Harmony of Sion,* 3rd ed., London 1736
13 T. Jarman, *Sacred Music Vol. I,* London 1821 (reprint, 1st ed. possibly 1803)

standpoint) may not have been able to differentiate between a natural or a sharp, and would probably give a version which 'felt right'. The same would be true of clashes between parts, which could have been softened in order to give no offence. In amateur *a cappella* singing there were probably few musicians who were so sure of their part that they would deliberately cause discords, and it seems likely that West's pupils were so full of respect for the man that they would not deliberately cause problems in performance. The written work may only be a guide to what was really sung, and West, and others like him, would not have envisaged expert analysis two hundred years later. West's reputation would be based on live performances experienced by those around him.

Having said this, it is still necessary to establish a grading of composers, so that the more competent are allowed to justly shine. Composers like West and Munden laid the foundations for later composers of psalmody who were more musically literate and followed certain harmonic guidelines which had become acceptable.

West's work, in spite of its inadequacies, crossed the Atlantic and appeared in several publications in New England; these are documented by R. T. Daniel.[14] Three anthems were published, all from the *Sacra Concerto* – 'If the Lord Himself', 'O Clap your Hands', and 'O Lord our Governor'. This last is considered worthy of transcription by Daniel and is included in the Musical supplement (pp203 – 209). The anthems formed part of Law's *Select Harmony* of 1778 and 1779 and 'If the Lord' and 'O Lord our Governor' were included in the *Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony* of 1786.

Richard Crawford[15] shows the effect that English Psalmody, including music from the Eastern Counties, had on the sacred music of New England. The Calvinism of the earlier settlers had restrained the style of psalmody, and instrumental accompaniment was restricted. After the introduction of Singing Schools, which occurred by the 1720s, and which was intended to improve the standard of congregational singing, psalmodies of the English type, with instructional prefaces, appeared, with the consequence that psalmody became more complex. Tans'ur's *Royal Melody Complete* was published in Boston in 1767; John Arnold, who had compiled his *Leicestershire Harmony* in 1759 was

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14 op cit., pp 82 – 3

15 R. Crawford, Psalmody, *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music* Vol. 3, London 1986 pp635–643

also published in New England. Over three hundred new compositions entered the repertoire during the 1760s, and these included the devices of melismatic writing and reductions in texture during the course of a tune, in addition to the introduction of the fuguing-tune. In fact, the English developments were exactly simulated in the American colonies, and remained parallel until the establishment of the School of New England Composers in the late eighteenth-century. The 1786 Worcester Collection, of which West's work forms a part, is a mixture of native and English compositions.

Daniel's interpretation of West's compositional ability is somewhat at variance with that of Temperley: 'In the three anthems... is found some of the most original and distinctive music encountered in the works of the English composers under consideration'.[16] Daniel assumes that the rhythmic devices which cause ties over bar-lines, and accentuation difficulties are the result of a 'notable metric flexibility'. The melodic content is praised too: 'the melodic style...contains several outstanding and distinguishing features'.[17] Daniel appreciates the long melismas, the sequential writing, and the 'harmonically motivated melodic movement'. Harmonic problems are possibly a printer's errors, suspects Daniel, and praises the imitative writing at the distance of one beat.

Each of these points may well be considered weaknesses; it is for the individual to decide whether Daniel's interpretation points to original enlightened composition, or a series of traps which the composer sets, and from which he is unable to extricate himself.

To return to Temperley's masterly conclusion about the whole concept of untutored rural composition:

> It is not to be compared to the art music of the eighteenth century...The country composer's imperfect command of musical resources often led them to make imaginative experiments. Some of these were failures, but others produced music of a wonderful freshness and a delightful freedom from cliché.[18]

A re-assessment of Benjamin West in the light of his two final anthems may go some way towards redefining the composer, not as a failure, but possessing that freshness.

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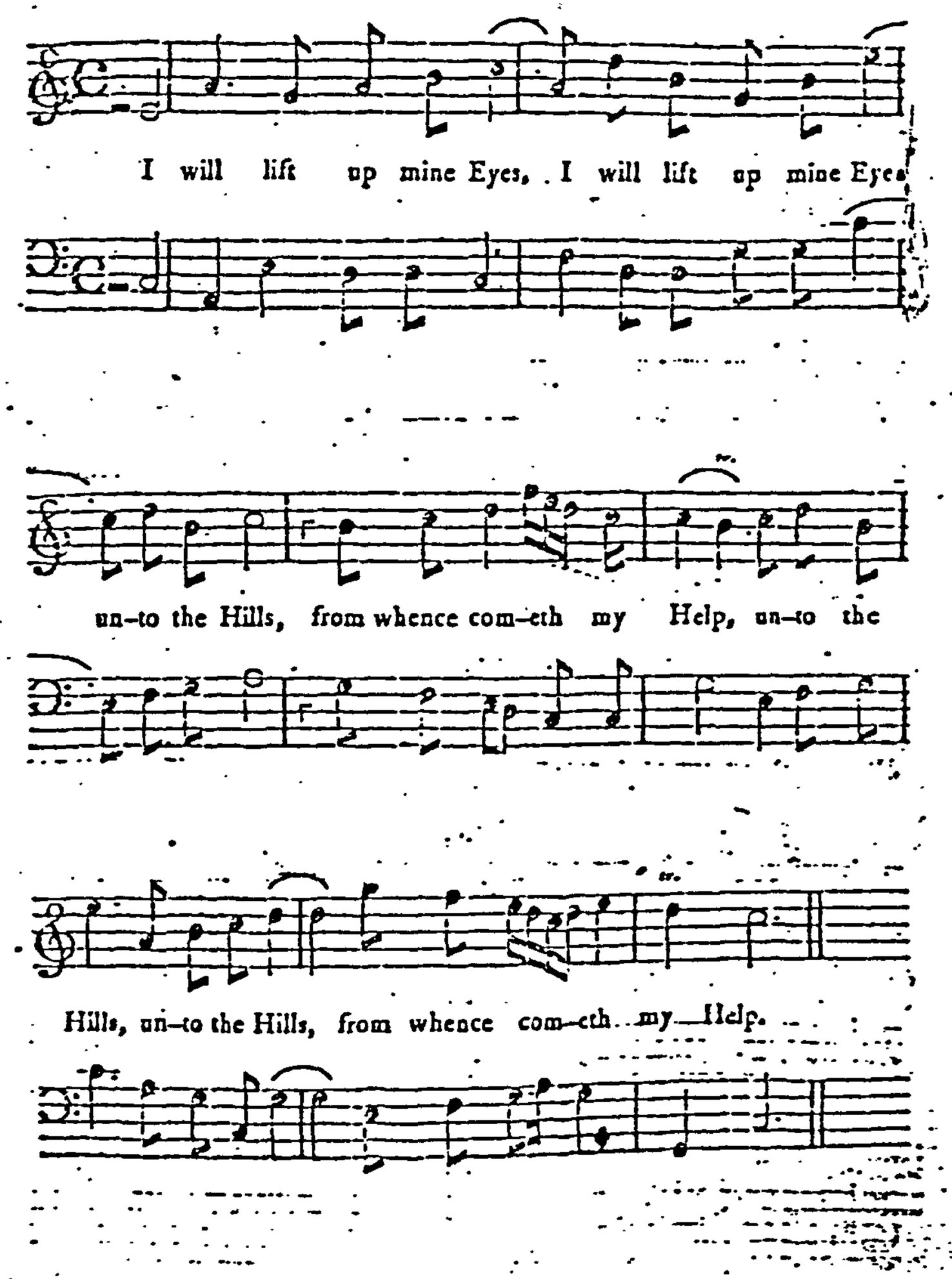
16 op cit., p82
17 op cit., p83
18 op cit., p202

ANTHEM XI. From Pſalm 121. For Three Voices.



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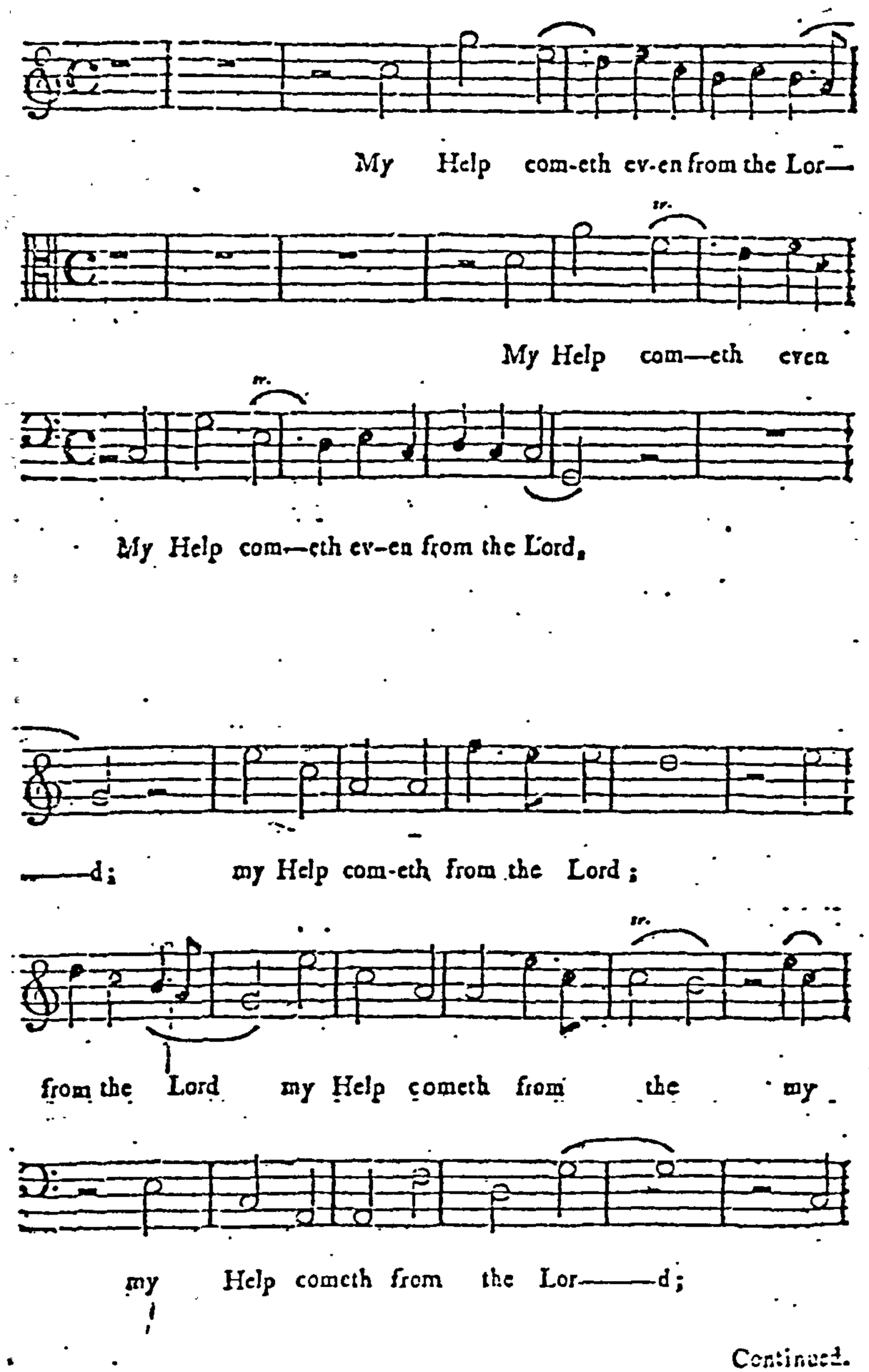

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Musical Example B: Psalm 121 - Benjamin West from Sacra Concerto London, 1769.

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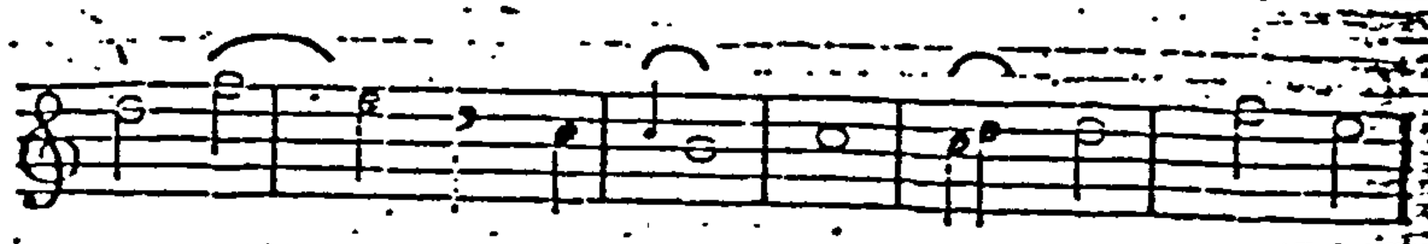
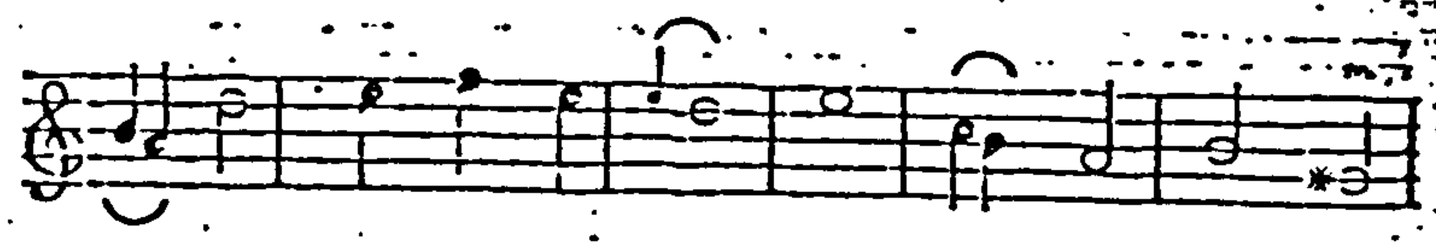
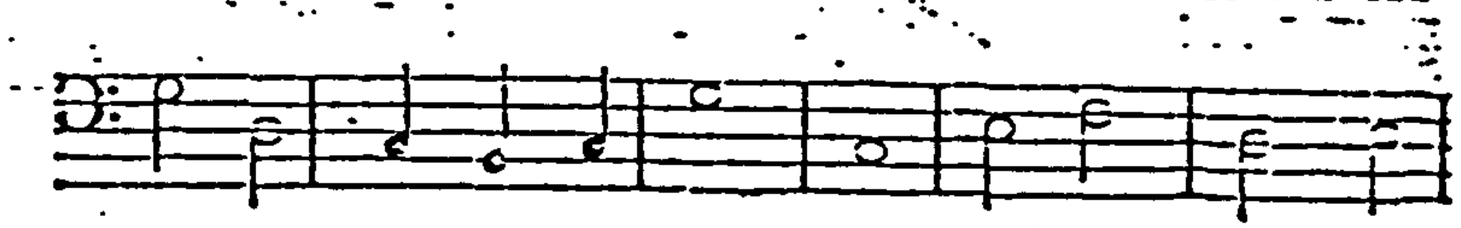
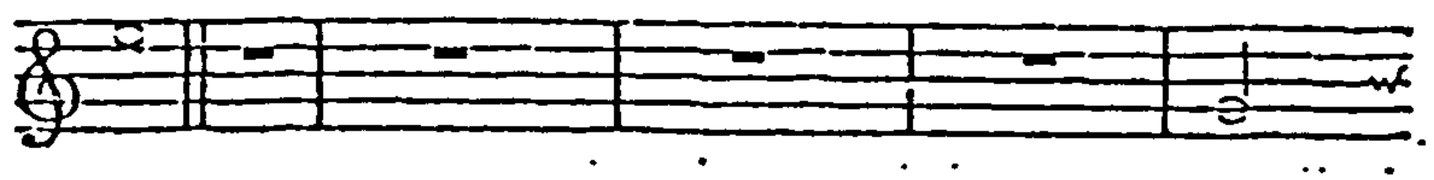




Help com—eth from the Lord, who hath made Heav'n and





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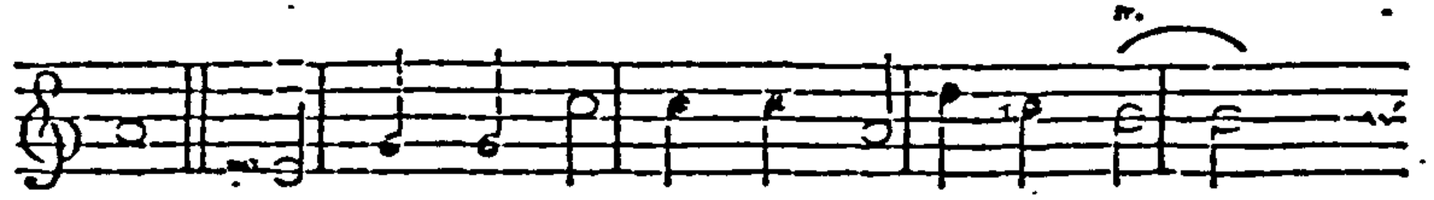
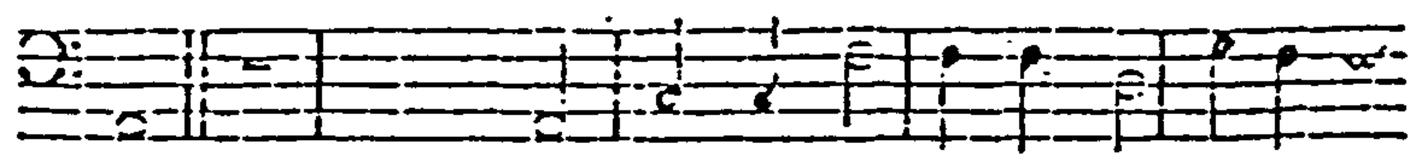


Earth. He will not suf—fer thy Foot to be mov'd,



he will not suf—fer thy Foot to be——

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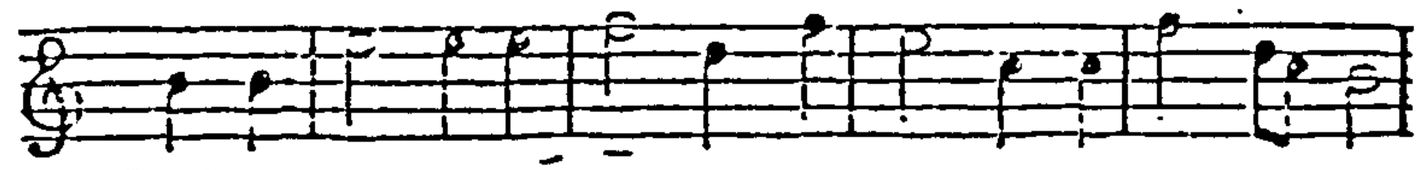
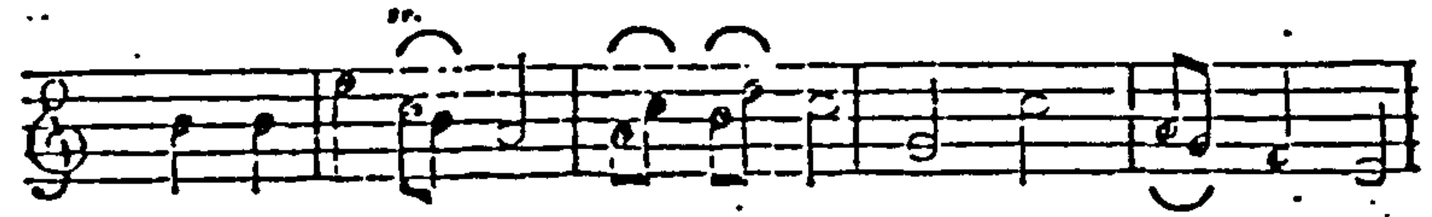
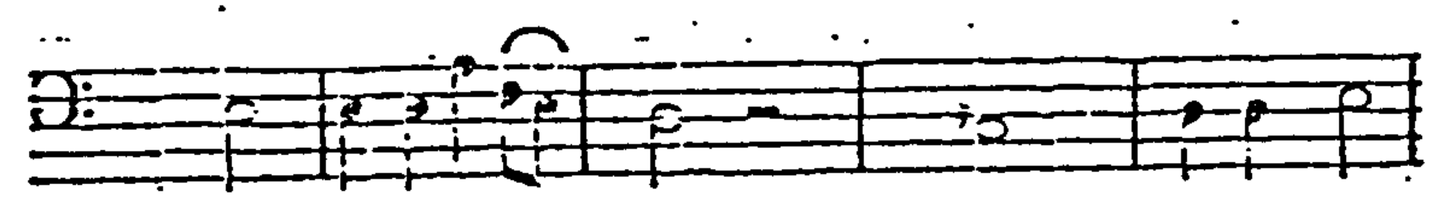


will not suf—fer thy Foot to be mov'd; he that keep-eth thee



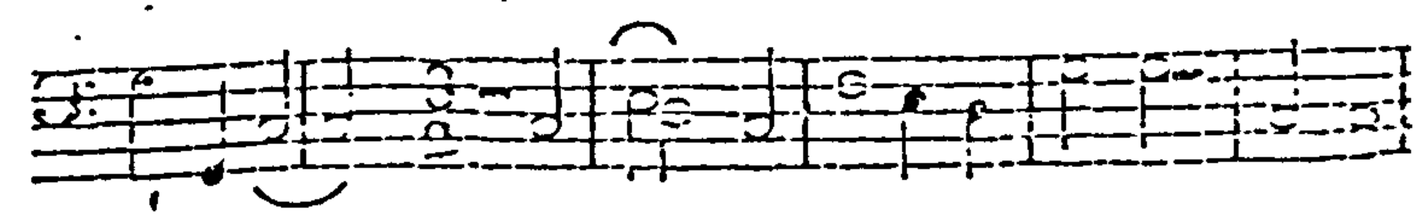
He that keep-eth thee will not slum-ber, will ne—ver slum—



mov'd; he that keepeth thee will ne-ver slum—

will not sleep.

——ber nor sleep. The Lord him-self is thy keep-er, the Lord



——ber nor sleep.

Continued.

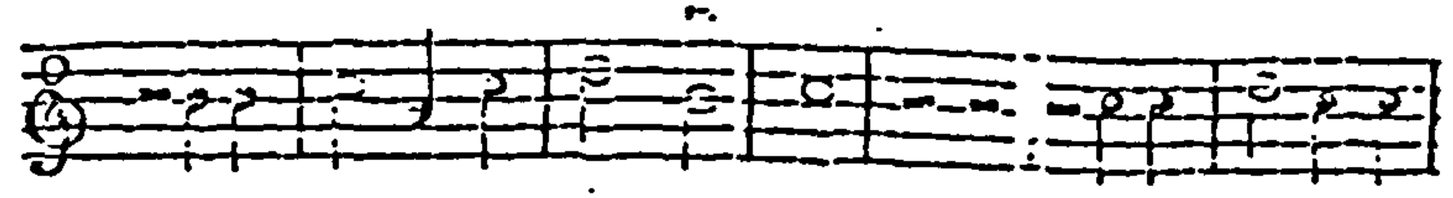
him-ſelf is thy keep--er, the Lord is thy Defence, ſo

that the Sun ſhall not burn thee by Day, the Sun ſhall not burn thee

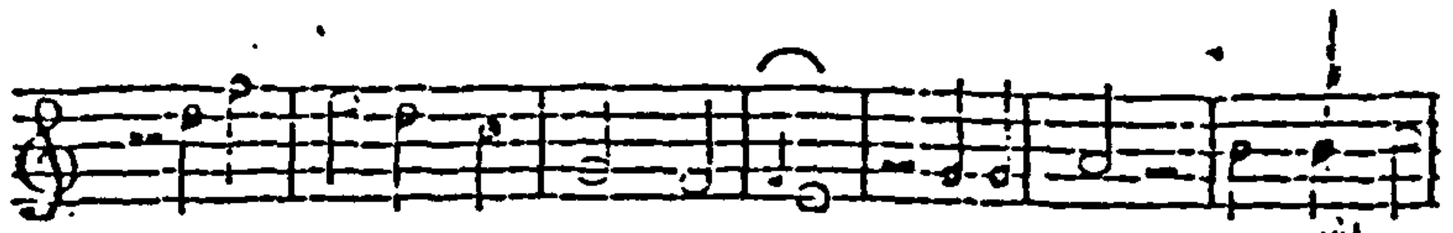
Continued.

by Day, nor the Moon by Night. The Lord ſhall pre-

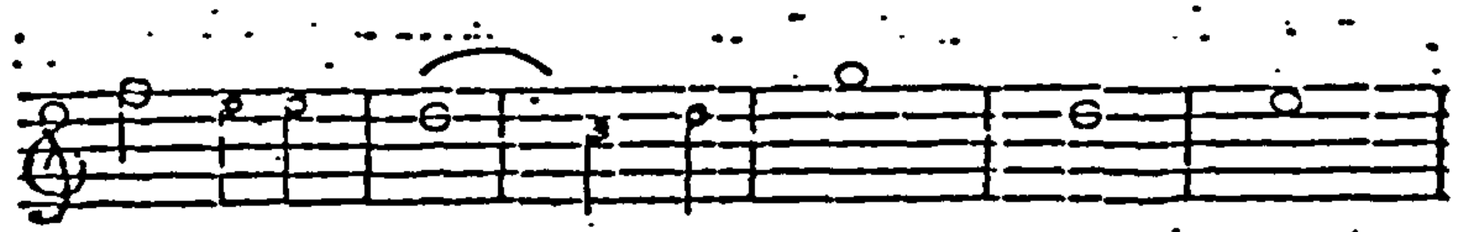
ſerve thee from E--vil, the Lord ſhall pre-ſerve thee from E——vil.



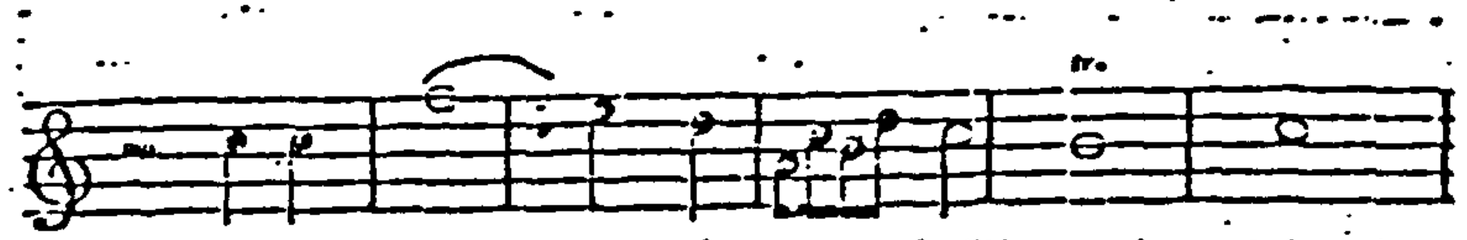
It is he that shall



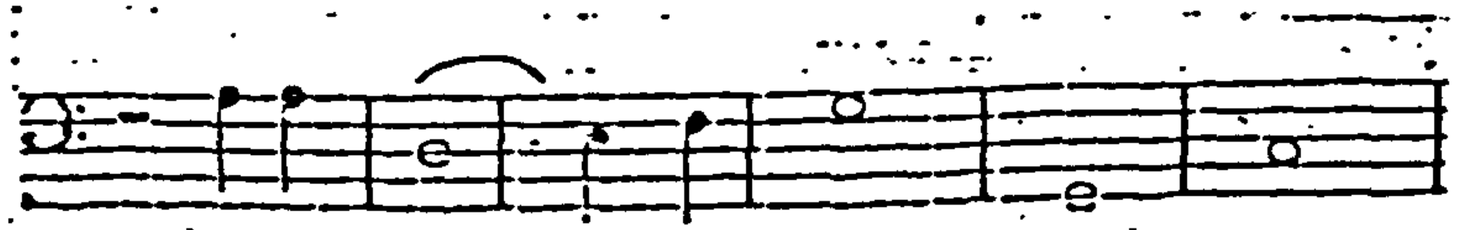
It is he that shall keep thy Soul; it is he that shall keep,



keep it, 'tis he that shall keep thy Soul.



it is he that shall— keep thy Soul.



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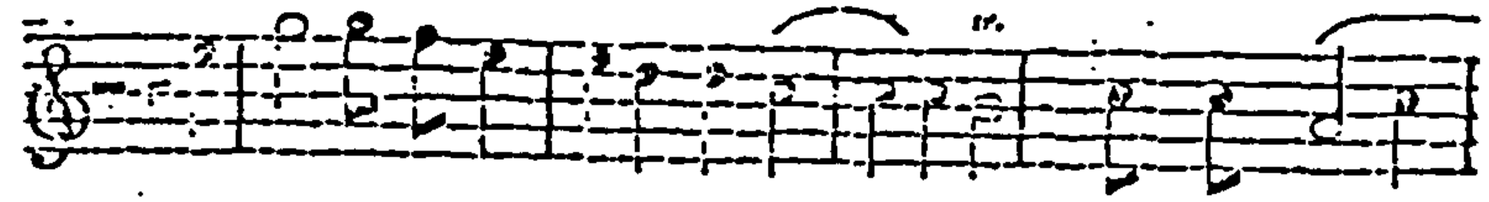
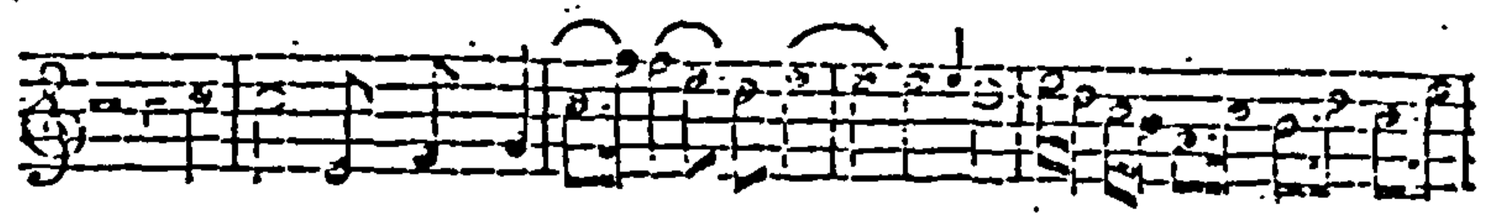
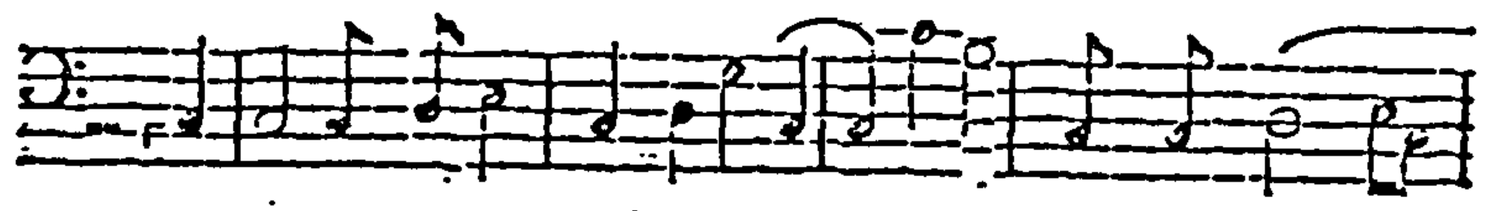
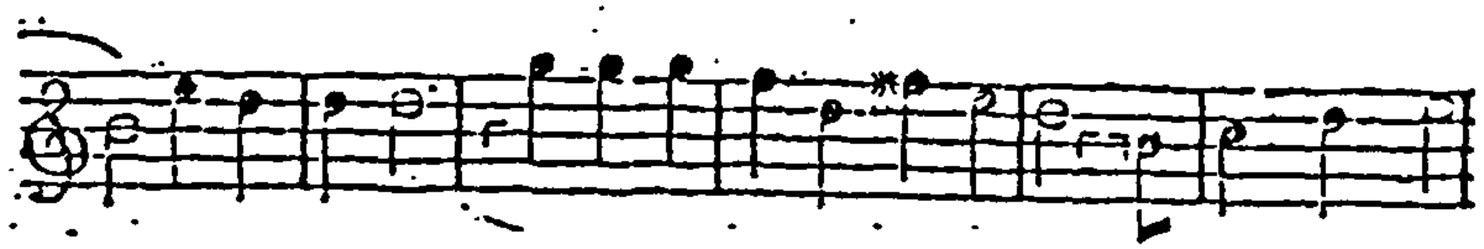


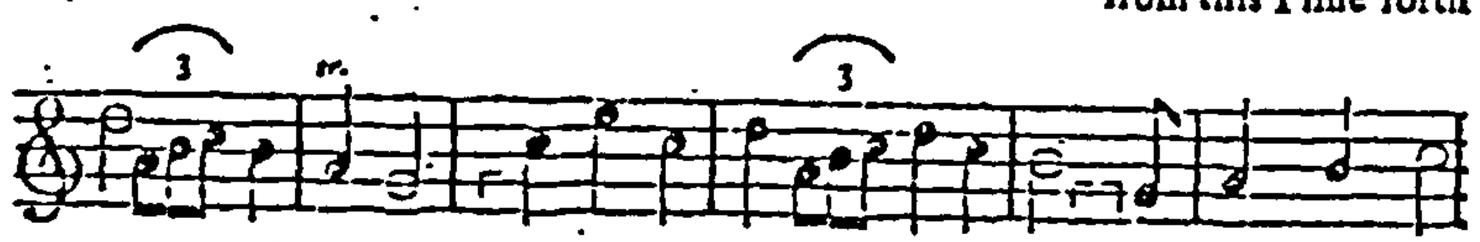


the Lord shall preserve thy go-ing out, the Lord shall pre———

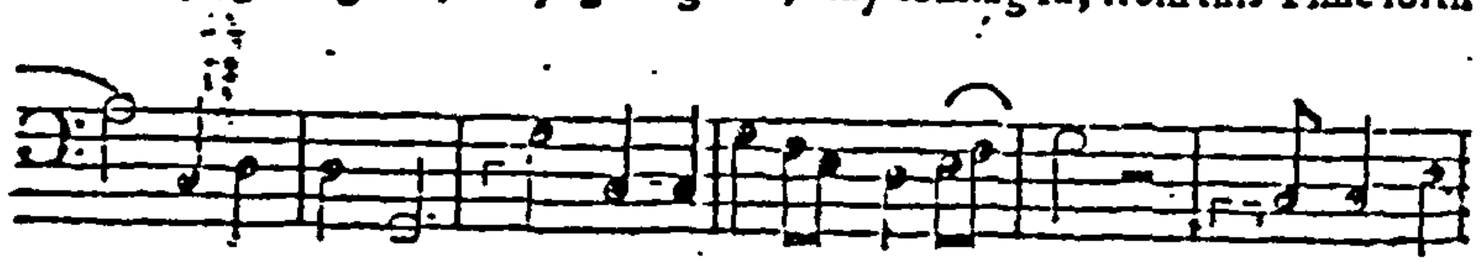




from this Time forth



serve thy go-ing out, thy go-ing out, thy coming in, from this Time forth



—serve thy going out, from this Time

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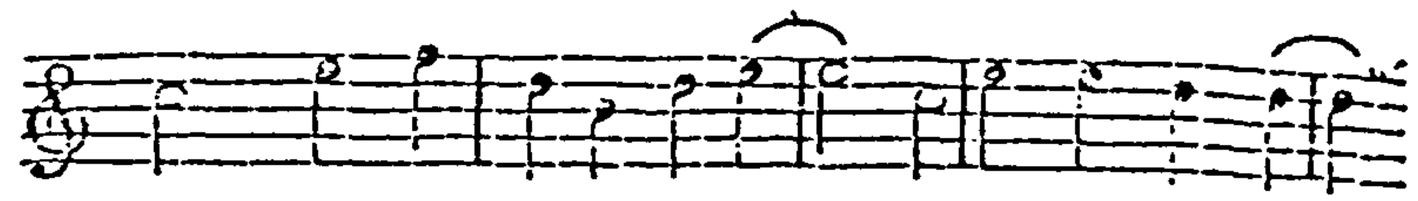
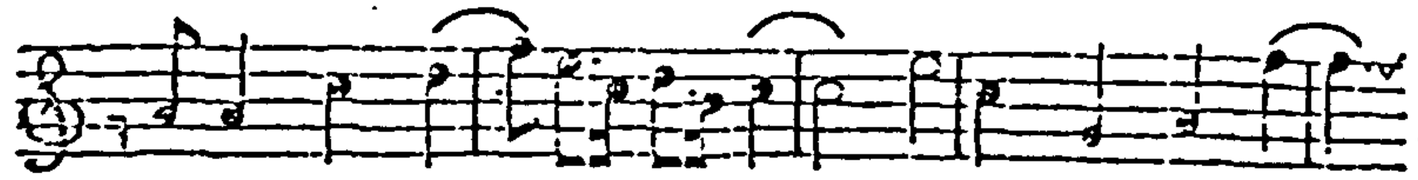
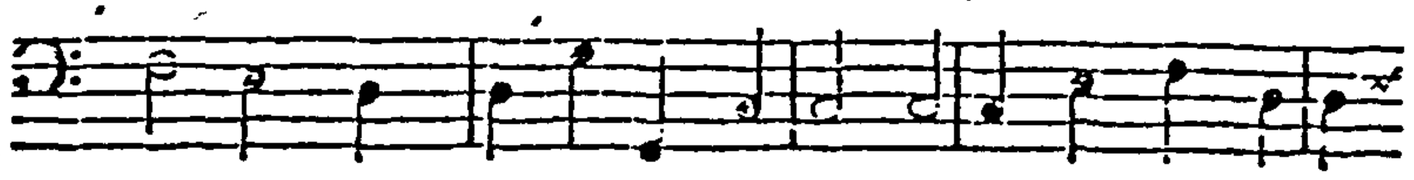


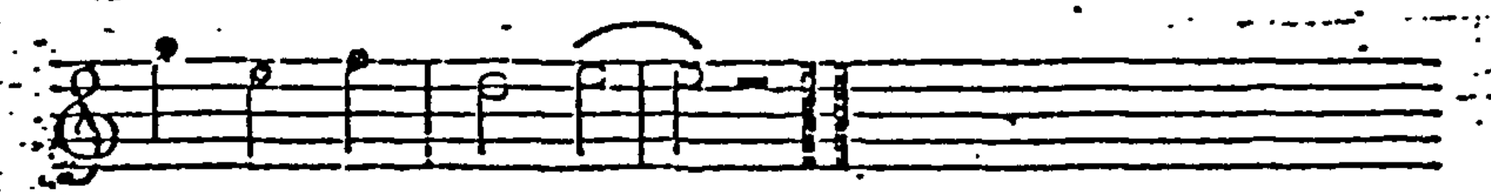
for e——ver, for ev—er more.

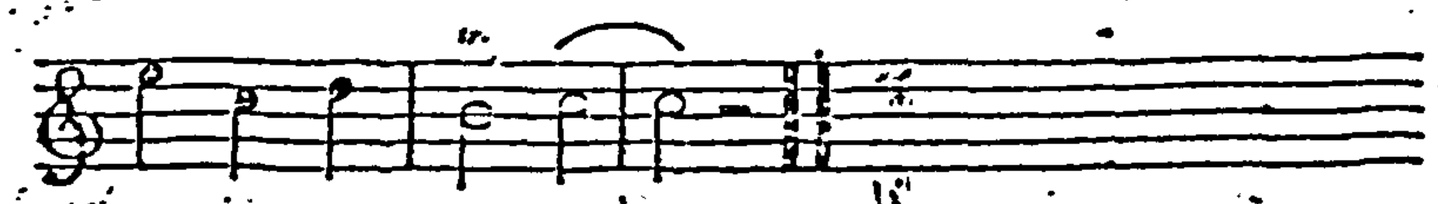


from this Time forth for ev——er more, from this Time forth for

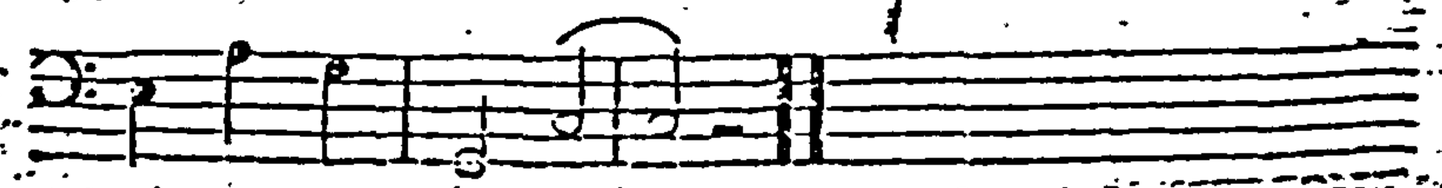


forth for ev——er, e—ver more.





e—ver, e——ver more.



c) John Munden of Brixworth

A composer in the folk-psalmody tradition, who has no biographical details available, is the Brixworth composer John Munden. He is known only for his two volumes of *Church Music*; a printed copy of Volume One, bound together with a manuscript copy of Volume Two is in private ownership in Finedon. The first volume has an owner's inscription noting that the book was published on April 15th 1788. There is a printed *Catalogue of Songs &c Sung at the Theatres and Public Places,* at the back of Volume One advertising works in the catalogue of J. Bland, 45 Holborn, dated March 25th 1786. The title page of Volume Two is missing.

A volume of Munden's *Psalms and Anthems* similar to the Finedon volumes is in Northamptonshire Record Office (191P/63) dated 1789.

As some of these works have parts for oboe, violin and bass, the double volume is worthy of synopsis here:

Vol. 1st

Containing Eighteen Psalm tunes, and two services together with an Hymn, for Christmas and an Hymn, or Anthem for Easter Day, Interspersed with preludes, interludes, symphonies and giving out adapted for, Hautboys, violini, Bass &c with a figur'd bass for the Organ and cc.

Composed by
J. Munden at Brixworth, near Northampton.

Sold by Bland, B. Law of Ave Maria Lane, J & C Lacy of Northampton, Mr Harrod of Market Harborough and by the author. Price four shillings.

There is a considerable list of subscribers, many from local villages: Haselbech, East Farndon and Kingsthorpe. Others are further afield: Emberton (Buckinghamshire), Olney (Buckinghamshire), Kibworth (Leicestershire), Long Hitchington (Warwickshire), Rugby (Warwickshire), Bolnhurst (Bedfordshire), Stockport (Cheshire) and Newcastle (county not mentioned). Several pupils of Mr Chown's Boarding school at Moulton subscribed, so it can be assumed that it was used there. The incumbent of Brixworth, Rev Mr Marshall ordered two books.

The Psalms themselves are noted here:

Volume 1

i) Psalm 3 old version, prelude for violin, cello, bassoon.

ii) Psalm 4 new version, or 33rd old version, figured bass.

iii) Psalm 9 old version, figured bass.

iv) Psalm 13 new version, with four part symphonies.

v) Psalm 15 old version, with four part symphonies.

vi) Psalm 20 old version, figured bass.

vii) Psalm 22 old version or new version with four part symphony.

viii) Psalm 24 new version or old version, with four part symphony.

ix) Psalm 27 old version, with four part symphony.

x) Psalm 55 new version or second part of 119 old version, four part symphony (the bass goes down to a low B flat).

xi) Psalm 63 new version with long instrumental 'giving out'.

xii) Psalm 66 old version with a very florid symphony.

xiii) Psalm 89 with figured bass.

xiv) Psalm 91 old version or 99 new version, final ten bar symphony.

xv) Psalm 92 old version symphony with trills in treble part, cello specified.

xvi) Psalm 100 new version or old version, symphonies.

xvii) Psalm 112 new version verses 1,7,9,10, or 125 old version; three part symphony.

xviii) Psalm 113 old version; two part final symphony.

xix) Jubilate, psalm 100; florid with figuring. Extended work with symphony.

xx) Nunc Dimitis, three part symphony. Extended work.

xxi) Hymn for Christmas day, duet, two part symphony.

xxii) Anthem for Easter day, five vocal parts plus figured bass and symphonies.

Volume Two

i) Psalm 1, 4 parts plus bass.

ii) Psalm 9, 4 parts plus bass.

iii) Psalm 11, 4 parts plus bass.

iv) Psalm 16, 4 parts plus bass.

v) Psalm 17, 4 parts plus bass.

vi) Psalm 19, bass and oboe doubling vocal line ('Hautboy light for accompaniment') then four parts imitative, bass solo and florid chorus.

vii) Psalm 21, 4 parts plus bass.

viii) Psalm 27, 4 parts plus bass.

ix) Psalm 48, 4 parts plus bass.

x) Psalm 56, solo counter, symphony and four part chorus.

xi) Psalm 70, 4 parts plus bass. (words under tenor)

xii) Psalm 84, 4 parts plus bass.

xiii) Psalm 92, 4 parts plus bass.

xiv) Psalm 94, 4 parts plus bass.

xv) Psalm 105, 4 parts plus bass.

xvi) Psalm 108, 4 parts plus bass.

xvii) Psalm 116, 4 parts plus bass.

xviii) Psalm 149, 4 parts plus bass.

xix) Anthem taken out of 63rd Psalm, 4 parts plus bass.

xx) Anthem taken out of the 104th Psalm, symphony, solo bass, 4 part chorus and final symphony.

xxi) Anthem taken out of 84th Psalm, solo tenor, chorus, solo tenor, chorus 2 trebles, chorus.

xxii) Anthem taken out of 134th Psalm, florid bass accompaniment to verse, chorus, symphony, verse, chorus, verse, chorus.

xxiii) Anthem taken out of 6th psalm, verse, chorus, verse, chorus, verse, chorus.

xxiv) Anthem taken out of 31st chapter of Jeremiah, verse, chorus, symphony, chorus.

xxv) Te Deum, verse, hautboy obbligato, seven-part chorus, verse, chorus etc.

xxvi) Magnificat, symphony, chorus, verse, chorus, symphony, chorus, verse, chorus, verse, verse, symphony chorus.

The works themselves are rather uneven; Psalm XI for example, found in both the Finedon and NRO versions, has an inconsistent harmonic texture where some chords are very thick, including one example of a tripled third (the work has an independent instrumental bass); there are also examples of the bare fifth chord. Some passing harmony gives rise to clashes which are foreign to our ears and would have been to the art music conventions of the late eighteenth century.

In complete contrast, however, is the charming setting of the hundredth psalm, with symphonies, given below. Sung vigorously, with a predominant tenor line, this work may epitomise the vitality of country psalmody with its inherent liveliness, showing a different angle to the sources which paint the eighteenth-century service as a dull, lifeless event.

A poor performance may, of course, give such a writer as K. R. Long[19] some justification for his resumé of the genre:

> In country churches the choir consisted then, as now, of voluntary singers, though contemporary accounts suggest that their standard was often deplorably low: all too often congregations were held to ransom by autocratic and insufferably conceited yokels who bawled with raucous voices.

With one consent, words from the *New Version* is accompanied by four instruments; possibilities include three violins and a cello, two violins, viola and cello, or a combination to include oboes and a bassoon. There is only one verse set here; quite often the first four verses of a metrical psalm would be sung, and so a fairly lengthy piece emerges.

It is unfortunate that there is no background to Munden's writing, but his appears to be an untutored technique, imaginatively employed.

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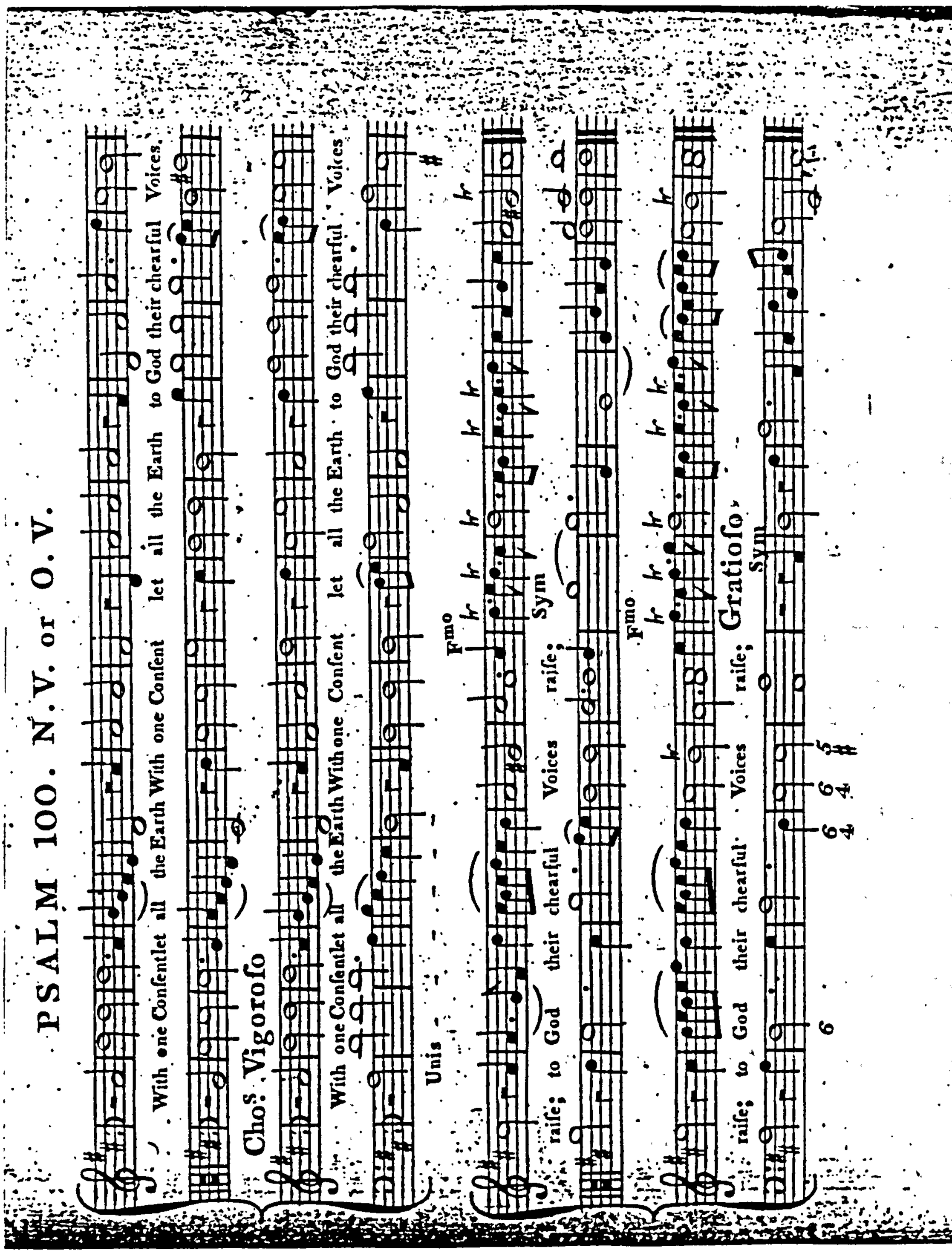
19 K. R. Long, *The Music of the English Church*, London 1971, p325

Musical Example C: With one consent - John Munden
from Church Music Vol 1 London, 1788.



Ver. Larghetto

Glad Homage pay with aw-ful Mirth, and sing before him Songs of praises and sing - - be-

Glad Homage pay with aw-ful Mirth, and sing before him Songs of praise. and sing be-.

Sym. Glad Homage pay with awful Mirth and

Sym. Chorus Brisk.

-fore him Songs of praise. Glad Homage pay with awful Mirth and

-fore him Songs of praise.

sing before him songs of praise and sing be-fore him songs of praise and sing be-.

sing before him songs of praise and sing before him songs of praise and sing be-.

Sym. For.

-fore him songs of praise.

Sym. For.

-fore him songs of praise.

Convinc'd that he is God alone, from whom both we and all proceed;
We, whom he chuses for his own, the Flock that he vouchsaves to feed.

O enter then his Temple Gate, thence to his Courts devoutly press,
And still your gratefull Hymns repeat, and still his Name with praises bless.

For he's the Lord supremely good, his Mercy is for ever sure;
His Truth, which always firmly stood, to endless Ages shall endure.

d) The Silverstone Symphony

Most churches develop their own conventions in relation to musical performance. Such a convention was the 'symphony' used by the choir-band at Silverstone, possibly part of an oral tradition. The treble line of this is quoted by J. E. Linnell[20] whose father had been rector of Silverstone at the middle of the nineteenth-century. Linnell notes:

> Leading up to the first verse, between the subsequent ones, and after the last one, it [the band] played a lilt known as the 'symphony'! How it all comes back to me through the years! At a signal from the leader off would go the fiddles, flute, piccolo and the rest...then choir and congregation would join in with heart and soul and voices, and at the end of the verse, off they'd go again.

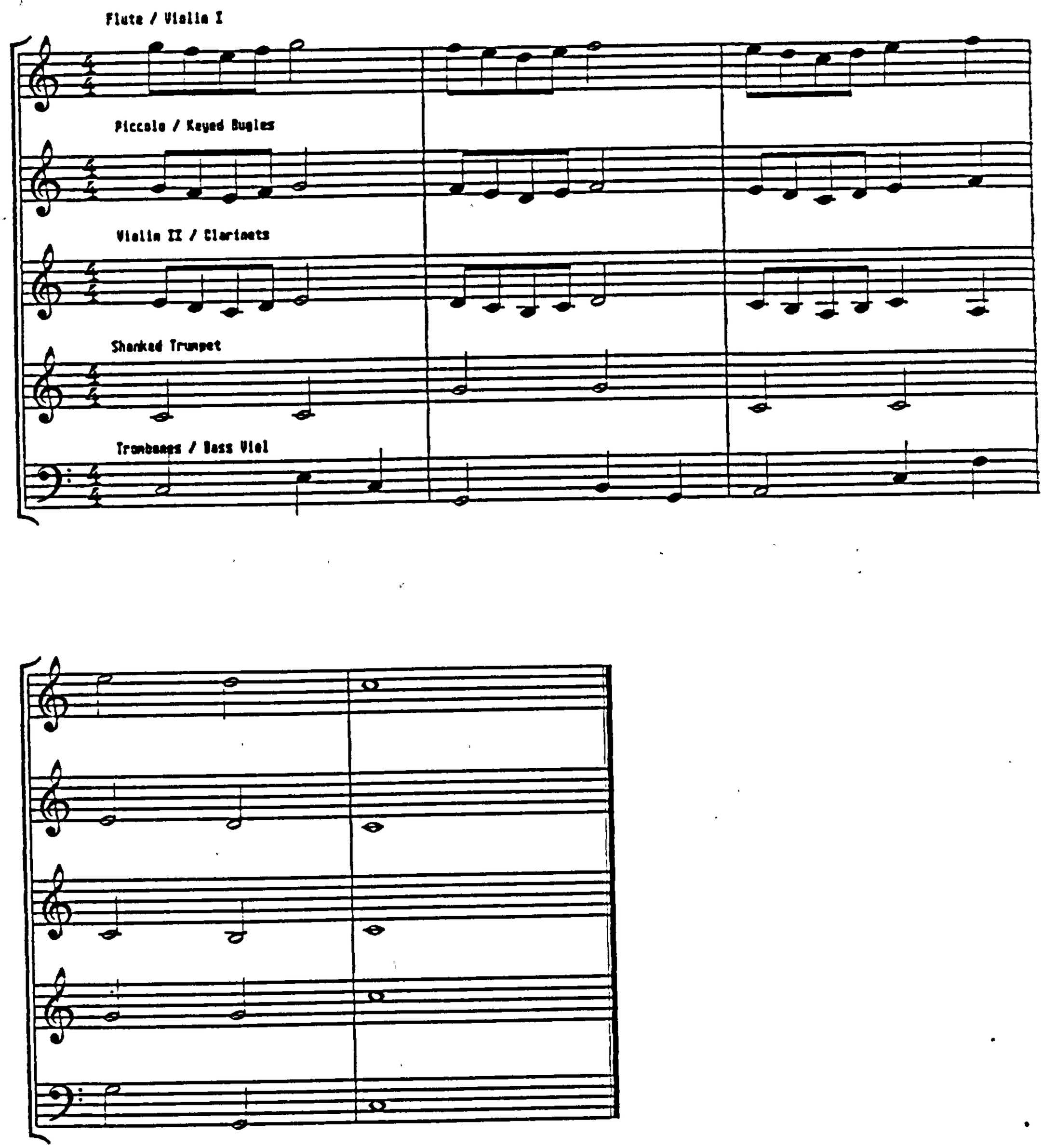
It would seem that the symphony would be transposed to suit the hymn tune. The instrumentation of the Silverstone choir-band itemised by Linnell is considerable, and is detailed later in this study. The 'shanked trumpet' noted by Linnell is, presumably, a crooked, or natural trumpet, capable of playing the open notes of the harmonic series in a variety of keys by means of different crooks, fitted at the mouthpiece. I have used a trumpet with a C crook in this realisation of Linnell's quote. This is entirely conjecture, as the treble only is given.

e) Caleb Ashworth of Daventry

The dissenting minister of Daventry, Caleb Ashworth (1722 – 77), proves difficult to categorise as either a 'folk-psalmodist' or an 'art-psalmodist'. He had an education at Doddridge's dissenting academy and became its principal after Doddridge's death (1751) and yet his hymn tunes have an almost archaic style: reminiscent of the old psalm tunes, yet better structured than those of Benjamin West. The tune *Daventry*, for example, starts on an open fifth and ends the first line and the last line on the same chord. This does not point directly to a composer of folk origin – indeed Thomas Jarman bore no aversion to the ambiguous nature of the open fifth, but an effect almost renaissance in quality occurs because of the use of this device. This, added to the persistent semi-breve and minimum rhythm, the tune-bearing tenor with a range of only a fifth and the complete lack of

20 J. E. Linnell, *Old Oak*, London 1972, p59

Musical Example D: Silverstone Symphony
reconstructed from quotation in J E Linnell, Old Oak London, 193:



modulation, point, perhaps, to an unfamiliarity with the art music of the late eighteenth-century.

The tune *Daventry* is given below. (Musical Example E).

A short biography of Caleb Ashworth appears in the manuscript volumes *Worthies of Northamptonshire* [21] Ashworth was born at Cloughfold, Rossendale, Lancashire in 1722. He was educated for the independent ministry at Doddridge's academy in Northampton from 1739. In 1746 he moved to Daventry as assistant to the minister James Floyd. In Doddridge's will the principalship of the academy was left to Ashworth, but as he was not elected to the pastorate of Doddridge's chapel at Castle Hill he removed the academy to Daventry in 1752. Malcom Deacon[22] honours Ashworth with the title 'Dr', but it is not known how this degree was conferred. As a dissenter Ashworth was prohibited from attending an English university, which is why there were so many academies in existence. The Daventry academy returned to Northampton in 1789, twelve years after Ashworth's death.

The title page of Ashworth's tune collection is thus:

> A Collection of Tunes Suited to the several METRES commonly used in Public Worship in Four PARTS, and on the most easy KEYS; with an Introduction to the Art of Singing and Plain Composition By C. Ashworth, London Printed and sold for J. Buckland, of the BUCK, in PATERNOSTER – ROW

The British Library catalogue dates this work as c.1760.

The introduction gives a useful insight into contemporary practice. Ashworth notes the lack of instrumental use in churches at that time:

> Two three or four of these different airs are often sung at the same time, and seldom more than four in church music, where only voices are employed.[23]

He mentions the use of a pitch-pipe though:

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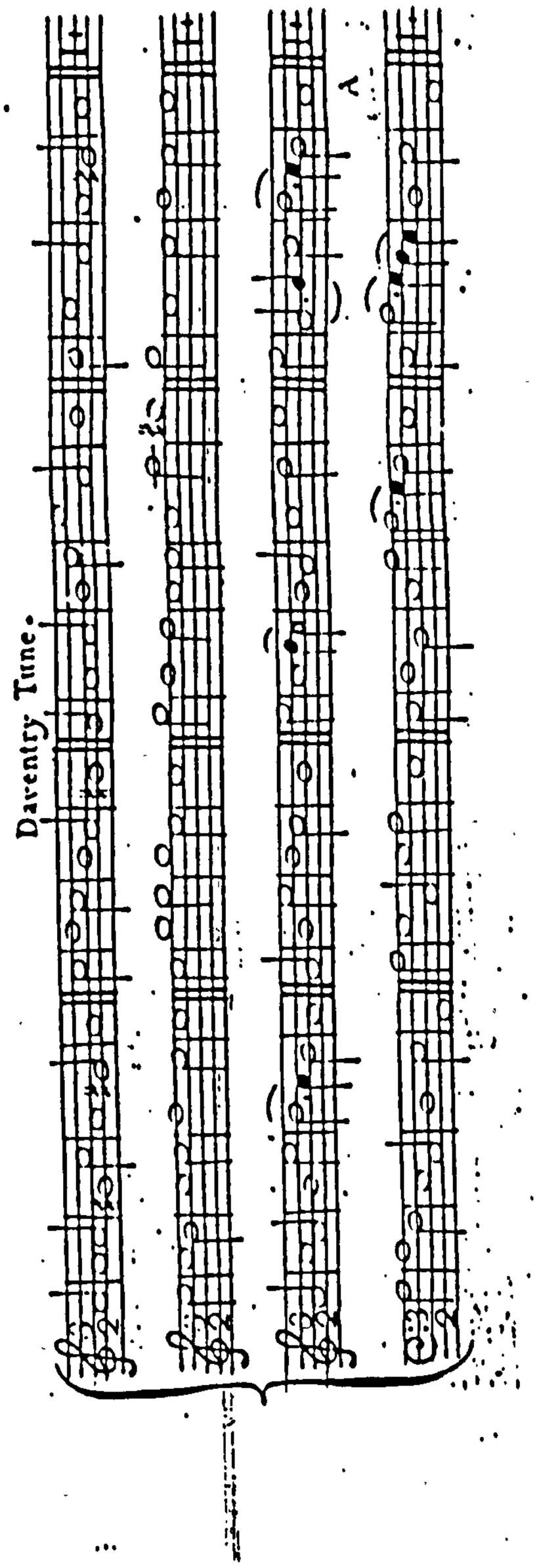
21 Northamptonshire Studies Collection, Northampton Reference Library Vol. I

22 M. Deacon, *Phillip Doddridge of Northampton*, Northampton 1980, p172

23 op cit., p7

Musical Example E: Daventry - Caleb Ashworth
from A Collection of Tunes c.1760. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Library.



> The only way to pitch a tune with certainty is with a pitch pipe, an instrument well known.[24]

Ashworth clarifies the use of the term 'medius':

> Some tunes instead of a treble have a medius. This is much the same as a treble, excepting that it is intended to be sung by men's voices, and a treble by women's or children's, which are an octave higher...but in common it is no great matter whether this part is sung as a medius or treble.[25]

Ashworth notes that bass parts, where they are too low may be raised an octave, but the tenor 'must take its course or a congregation is confounded'.[26]

He again refers to congregational singing when he speaks of the introduction of new tunes.[27] It seems that, like other ministers, both dissenting and of the established church (e.g. William Jones and Thomas Haweis), Ashworth was concerned that the people should be able to take part in the singing. The tenors should stand in such a position that 'their voices may be heard by the congregation with the greatest advantage'.

He offers advice to the beginner but suggests that he should practise non-sacred words until he can sing devotionally. Ashworth is particularly concerned about over-dramatic performers and makes suggestions as to how to improve choral singing:

> But when performed as part of worship, the utmost care should be taken, not only to avoid all levities and indecencies of carriage, which are intolerable; but adopt no expressions which we cannot conscientiously use; to enter thoroughly into the sentiments of the psalm, and to tune the heart affected by them...the sound should not break off abruptly, but die away gradually. All the parts should gently cease together.[28]

He gives unusually clear guidelines as to tempi and rhythm. He notes that the pendulum of a 'common clock' (39") can be used to measure the length of a beat, or a ball weighing one pound suspended on 45"piece of string. He suggests beating time with the foot:

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24 op cit., p16
25 op cit., p7
26 op cit., p17
27 op cit., p18
28 op cit., p23

> In common time we raise the toe of the right foot a little, then drop it to the ground and raise the heel, after keeping it up a little time we drop it and raise the toe again, and thus alternately beat the ground with the toe and heel at equal intervals.[29]

For 3/4 time the toe forms the strong beat followed by twice dropping the heel.

It seems that the varying speeds of hymn tunes were designated by the time signatures C, ¢ and D:

> The first is slowest, the second is quicker, but not so quick as the last; in this a semi-breve is not much longer than a minim in the first, A figure of two is sometimes, though seldom in church music, a mood of common time; in this there is but one minim in a bar.[30]

The collection includes tunes in a variety of metres – short, long, common, double-common, double-long, and peculiar. They are not all original being 'collected from very different parts of the kingdom'. In fact they range from Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and the West Midlands to the South West. There are also examples with names of villages in Leicestershire and Bedfordshire. The Northamptonshire tunes include *Denton, Althrope, Daventry* and *Northampton*. The tune *Althrope,* which is the local pronunciation of Althorpe, is given below (Music example F).

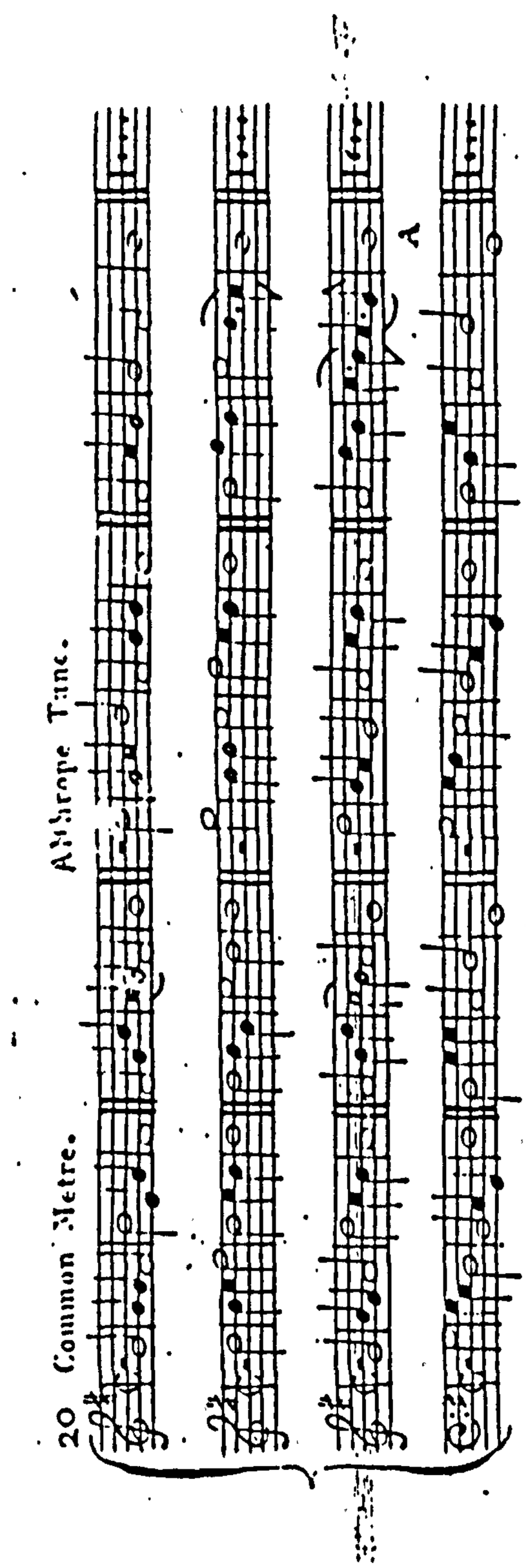
In 1762 Ashworth published another volume of tunes:

> A Collection of Tunes containing Anthems and other tunes more proper to entertain and improve those who have made some proficiency in the Art of Singing than to be introduced into public worship Compiled by C. Ashworth, London...J. Buckland...1762

This work contains a greater variety of composition than Volume One. The preface notes that 'this work is to balance the congregational bias of the earlier work'. It is substantially a collection of anthems, psalm settings and several settings of Watts; there are also funeral pieces and a Christmas carol. The bulk of the work must be original as Ashworth acknowledges three psalms, one each by Broadrip, Smith and Crofts (*sic*). There is also a march by Handel. The music is in general much more florid with melismatic passages and many passing notes. It seems that Ashworth was able to alter his style completely

29 op cit., p15
30 op cit., p15

Musical Example F: Althrope - Caleb Ashworth
from A Collection of Tunes c.1760. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Library.



from the slow-moving congregational tunes to the more exacting choir works of the latter volume.

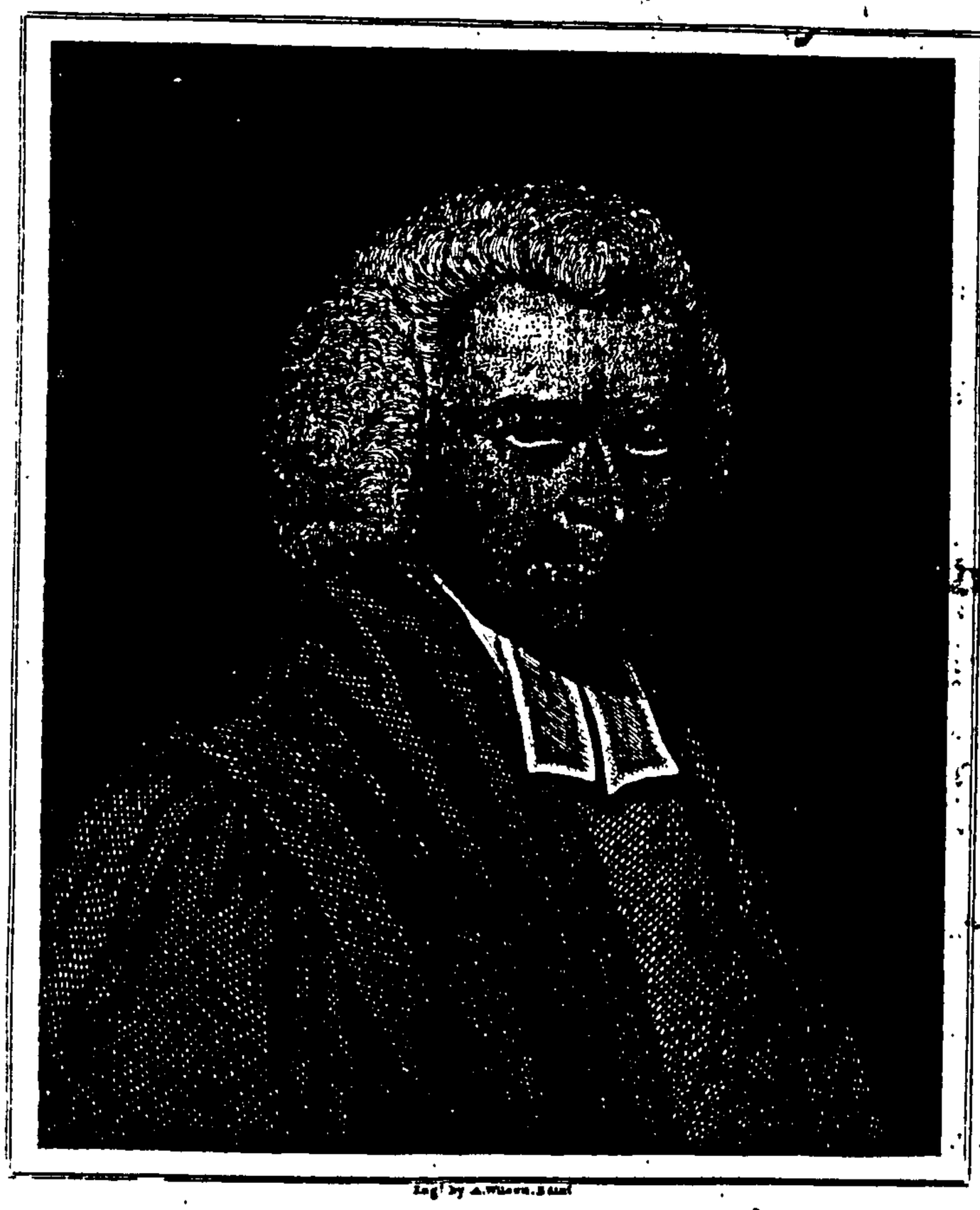
One illuminating feature of Ashworth's work is his attention to speed. He gives clear instructions for standard alla breve time – calculated by the suspension of a pound weight. The result of this pendulum-metronome is to give MM marking of minim = 58. This means that the standard pulse of a mid-eighteenth-century hymn-tune is very steady; those with a common time signature would be extremely slow. It is my opinion that hymn-tunes in the later part of the century would be considerably faster, particularly those with more rhythmic interest than Ashworth's. At present the speed of the hymn tunes of Thomas Clark and others cannot be ascertained, but Ashworth's information about the earlier period is a significant contribution to performance practice.

f) Art-psalmody – Thomas Haweis of Aldwincle

Thomas Haweis was from a West Country family and studied at Truro Grammar School and Christchurch, Oxford. His early interest in medicine gave way to his desire for ordination. He had been converted by the Evangelical incumbent of Truro, Samuel Walker. Walker's meetings usually included a hymn or psalm and so Haweis must have realised the value of music in an Evangelical context. He maintained Evangelical beliefs throughout his life, in spite of the problems which they brought him, notably in his first incumbency at St Mary Magdelane, Oxford. He was removed from this post by the Bishop of Oxford and went to assist the Evangelical, Martin Madan, at the Lock Hospital Chapel, London. Madan was a competent musician and many of his hymn tunes were included in psalmody collections such as *British Psalmody*[31] and *Rippon's Selection*.[32] Madan's brother was Spencer Madan, Bishop of Peterborough between 1794 and 1813, and they were cousins of the poet William Cowper who resided at Olney, Buckinghamshire between 1767 and 1795. *Olney Hymns*[33] (1779) which Cowper wrote with his friend the Evangelical curate of Olney, John Newton (1725 – 1807), is a product of

31 A. Hume, T. Clark and B. Flint (eds.), *British Psalmody*, Edinburgh 1844
32 J. Rippon, *A Selection of Hymns from the Best Authors*, London 19th ed., c.1803
33 J. Newton and W. Cowper, *Olney Hymns*, London 1779

Illustration: Thomas Haweis, from The Evangelical Expositor Glasg
1765.



REV^D. THO^S HAWIES. L.L.B. & M.D.

RECTOR OF ALDWINKLE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE LATE COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON.

Published by Blackie & Son, Glasgow

this partnership and consolidated the commitment of the Evangelical movement to hymnody.

The Lock Hospital was founded in 1746; Madan published a selection of Psalm and hymn tunes for the specific use of the chapel in 1769. He revised these twice, in c.1775 and again in 1792. It is possible that Haweis' musical ability dates from his time with Madan, or it may be that during this period he built upon the knowledge he had already acquired as part of his general education.

Haweis' standing in the Evangelical movement was such that George Whitefield offered to arrange a living in Philadelphia for him. This he declined preferring to take the incumbency of Aldwincle All Saints, Northamptonshire in 1764. Haweis was already acquainted with several Northamptonshire clergymen including Powley of Wadenhoe and Harvey of Weston Favell. On his way to Aldwincle he spent some time with Maddock, the evangelical curate of Kettering. Kettering was, at this time, an Evangelical stronghold as well as an important centre of non-conformity.

There was a choir-band already in existence at Aldwincle and Haweis quickly gave it, and the musical content of the service, his attention:

> He was grieved by 'wretched and unmeaning Psalmody' led by an old church clerk with a cracked and tremulous voice. He invited the choristers to his own house, and carefully rehearsed them in the anthems, chants and responses. With the Lock experiment in mind, he increased the number of congregational hymns, and the church rapidly became noted for its hearty and harmonious singing...he introduced the Lock collection, and frequently used his own hymns. The singing was accompanied by violin and cello.[34]

The quotation is from Haweis' Ms. autobiography. Skevington Wood also notes that Charles Simeon, the notable Cambridge Evangelical, was so impressed by Haweis' work at Aldwincle that he consulted him about improving the music at Holy Trinity, Cambridge.

It is significant that Haweis' used strings to support the singing at such an early stage when double reed bands tended to predominate in Northamptonshire. This goes along with the concept of 'art-psalmody' – a refinement of local composition by musicians who are not self-taught or part of an oral tradition. Haweis, with his academic training

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34 A. Skevington Wood, *Thomas Haweis 1734 – 1820*, London 1957, p114

and metropolitan background, had a different approach to village music; the part-writing is more logical, the word-setting more competent and the effect more comfortable to twentieth-century ears. The string instruments were a feature of early nineteenth-century bands, which places Haweis in advance of his period.

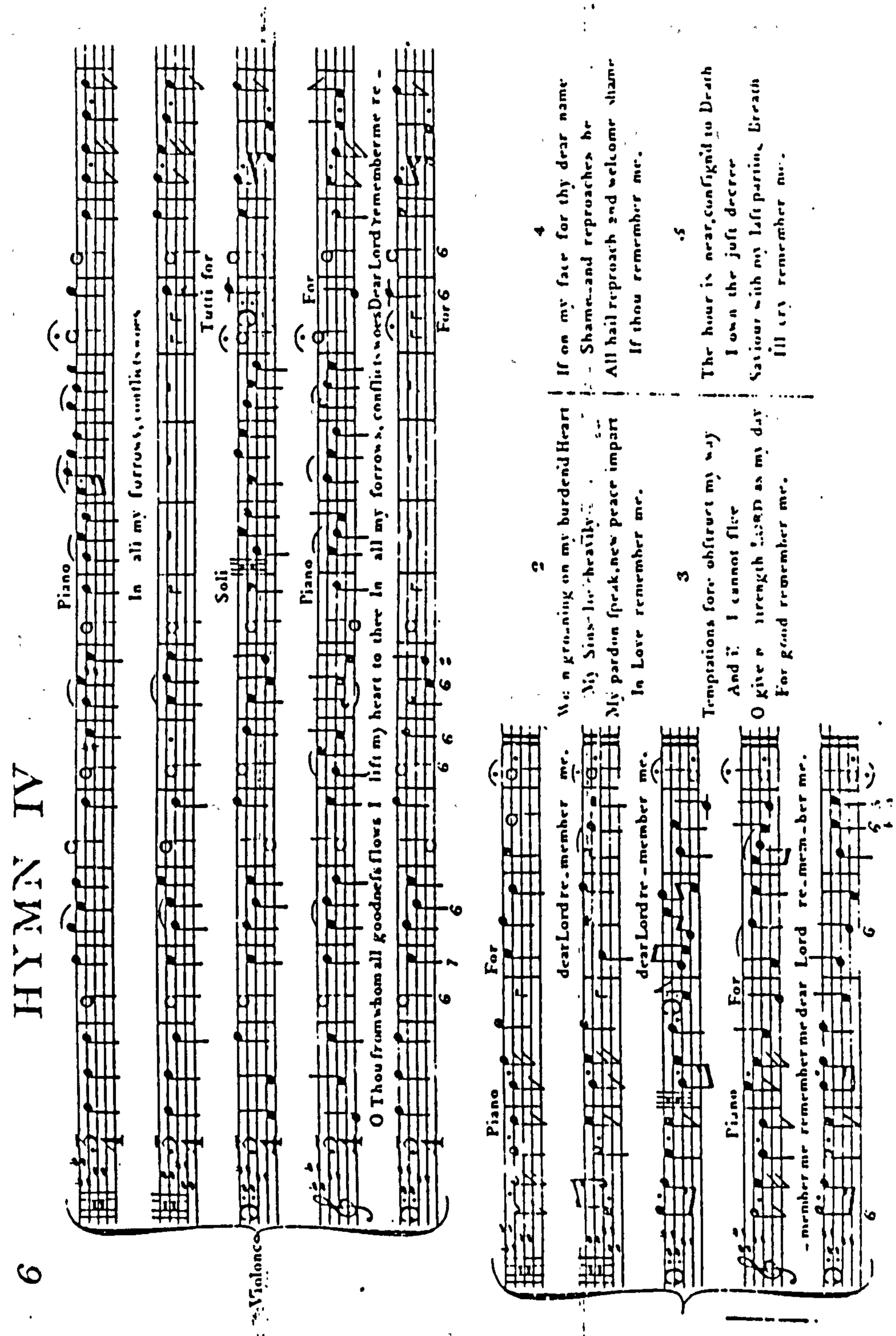
Haweis' *Carmina Cristo* dates from c.1792, a time when, in addition to the incumbency of Aldwincle, he had become involved in the chapels of Lady Huntingdon's Connexion. These chapels were first licensed as dissenting chapels in 1781. Like the Wesleyan movement, Lady Huntingdon's Connexion was primarily a branch of the established church, concerned with the conversion and well-being of the new industrial working classes. Haweis, as chaplain to Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, moved to Bath in 1808, putting a curate into the Aldwincle parish.

The title page of Haweis' work is thus:

> Carmina Cristo/or/Hymns to the Saviour/Designed for the Edification and comfort of those who worship/The Lamb who was Slain/Dedicated by permission to the Rt. Honourable Selina/Countess of Huntingdon/by her domestic chaplain T Haweis LLB/price 3^{s} for the benefit of Lady Huntingdon's heathen mission.

It can be assumed that all the works in the collection, unlike Ashworth's, are original. There is no reference to collecting the tunes, nor are there any attributions to other composers. The hymn-tunes are in four parts – from top to bottom alto (alto clef), tenor (tenor clef), canto (treble clef), basso (bass clef). Some of the tunes have an independent instrumental bass and figuring for keyboard accompaniment. Haweis is in advance of the late eighteenth century in putting the tune into the canto part, not the tenor. In hymn VII (*The Saviour to Glory is Gone*), he specifies the use of women's voices for the canto line. Hymn VI has an organ interlude, hymn VIII a florid cello part and hymn XII is in three parts with alternating men's and women's lines. The last hymn, XVII, is a rather more complex 'set-piece'; this is a hymn for Easter day – *The Dayspring Dawns*. It starts with a solo treble recitative, followed by a women's recitative, then a solo treble recitative, then a solo aria, possibly with instruments. A three-part adagio section follows an organ symphony; the final section is a four-part chorus with an independent instrumental bass.

Musical Example G: O Thou from whom all goodness flows - Thomas Haweis from Carmina Cristo London c.1792. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Library.



The collection shows a variety of compositional techniques. Hymn III for example, starts with a well-worked two part canon, followed by a rhythmically similar four-part section. There is some distance between the very high canto line and the alto part; Haweis is not afraid to use short unison sections and there is some effective bass writing below chords in the upper parts. It is noteworthy that Haweis himself wrote the texts for all the hymns.

Hymn IV is the only tune presently known, and this is a revised form by Webbe, under the title *Richmond*. This is named after Legh Richmond (1772 – 1827), Rector of Turvey in Bedfordshire, a friend of Haweis and prominent Evangelical of his day. It is possible that Haweis was aware of Webbe's alterations and sanctioned the tune title. The original version with a repeating line is given (Musical example G). This has more of the eighteenth-century feel to it than the Webbe version with its four-square phrasing and equal-value notes.

g) W. Blundell of Walgrave

W. Blundell of Walgrave is an enigma in terms of his position in Northamptonshire psalmody. He is known for only one published work, his Christian name is unknown and the Church to which his music relates is unclear. However, he seems inextricably bound up with Thomas Jarman of Clipston, both stylistically and on a personal basis, and so a certain amount of conjecture is possible.

The British Library possesses Blundell's only known work, the title page of which notes the following:

> Sacred Music/Containing/Anthems, Psalms/& Hymns/In Four Parts Interspersed with Symphonies/And Figured for the Organ/Designed for the use of Country choirs/of every Denomination/by W Blundell/Walgrave near Northampton price 5s

The work is dated by the British Library as 1813. The hymn tunes have local titles such as *Boughten (sic), Brixworth, Broughton, Lamport and Holmbly* (the local pronunciation of Holdenby); other titles are abstract nouns after the manner of dissenting tunes – *Desire, Triumph, Devotion* and *Urgency*. This dissenting aspect of Blundell points to a possible

connection with Walgrave Baptist Chapel, the present building of which dates from 1768. There is no monument to Blundell at the Chapel, neither is there any mention of him at the parish church. If Blundell were Baptist then the link with Thomas Jarman (Baptist musician of Clipston) can easily be seen. The third anthem in Blundell's collection contains an alto solo and it is possible that this was written for Jarman's alto, Wood, 'the celebrated alto singer'.[35]

The texts from most of the tunes are drawn from Watts or Rippon, and this again points to dissenting use. The use of Rippon is almost certainly Baptist, for this was one of the first hymn books used by the denomination.

Blundell has an enlightened approach to the problem of placing the 'air'. He notes:

> The melody part of the Anthems and tunes is placed next to the bass and must be sung by treble voices, where there are any.

This system proves to be a link between the earlier tenor air and the later air in the top part.

Blundell's very competent writing can be seen in the tune *Brixworth* (musical example H). The tune is very functional, modulates at the expected time and has a simple imitative section which is not quite 'fuguing'. The harmonic sense is well-formed with only an occasional (and acceptable) doubled third or large gap between parts. The trebled third at bar 13 passes so rapidly as to be negligible.

A further link with Jarman is noted in the *Kettering Leader* of 1890[36] where John Askham remarks, 'I believe Jarman also arranged Blundell's anthems of Walgrave'. It is possible that Jarman had a hand in the 1813 collection of Blundell's works, since this appears to be the only published work. Blundell may have been a pupil of Jarman, given that Jarman published from 1803, but I suggest that Blundell was Jarman's teacher and that the arrangement of Blundell's works was made as a tribute.

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35 W. Page, Thomas Jarman the Northamptonshire Musician, *Kettering Leader*, 18/3/1890
36 Letter from J. A, *Kettering Leader*, 9/5/1890

A tune *Plaintive,* possibly by Blundell, appears in Jarman's 1803 collection, although unacknowledged. A fuller version of this tune is found in a manuscript tune book at Northamptonshire Record Office (2B 793/4). This is inscribed:

> Andrew Whitby Blundell's book, Walgrave, Northamptonshire.

This is obviously a family book as a further entry notes:

> W. Blundell, Walgrave, December 31 1807

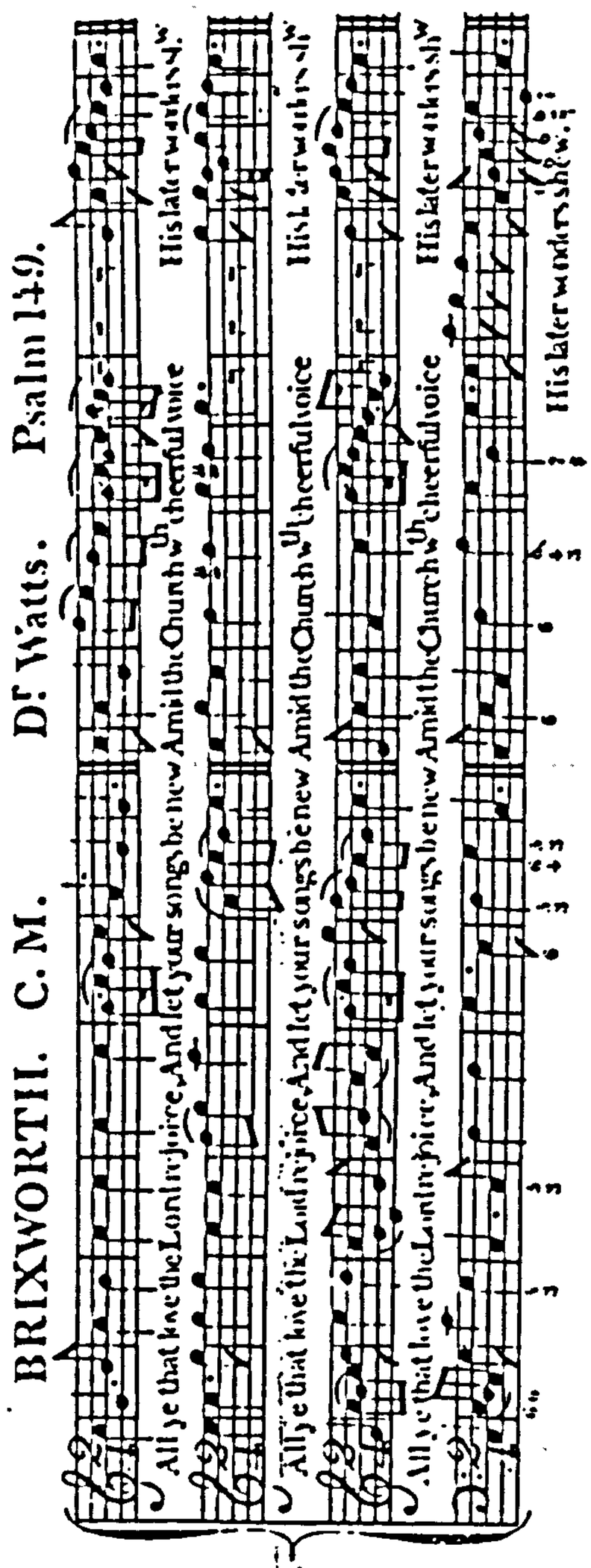
The tune *Plaintive* (musical example I) is here ascribed to J. Blundell. It is in short metre (six syllables in the first, second and fourth lines and eight in the second). The repeating nature of the tune can be calculated by use of a short metre text and a setting using Old Version Psalm 70 is given below. This version is in three parts, the upper two of which are unspecified. It can be effective sung STB or (with some overlapping) TTB.

Comparison with the version of the same tune in Jarman's *Sacred Music Volume One* (musical example J) shows that the middle line is the tune. Jarman's four part version seems to be based on the Blundell tune and includes decoration. The emphasis in the bass solo line is altered, and the ascending scale becomes melodic minor. Watts' words, specified by Jarman, show that the work is a funeral hymn.

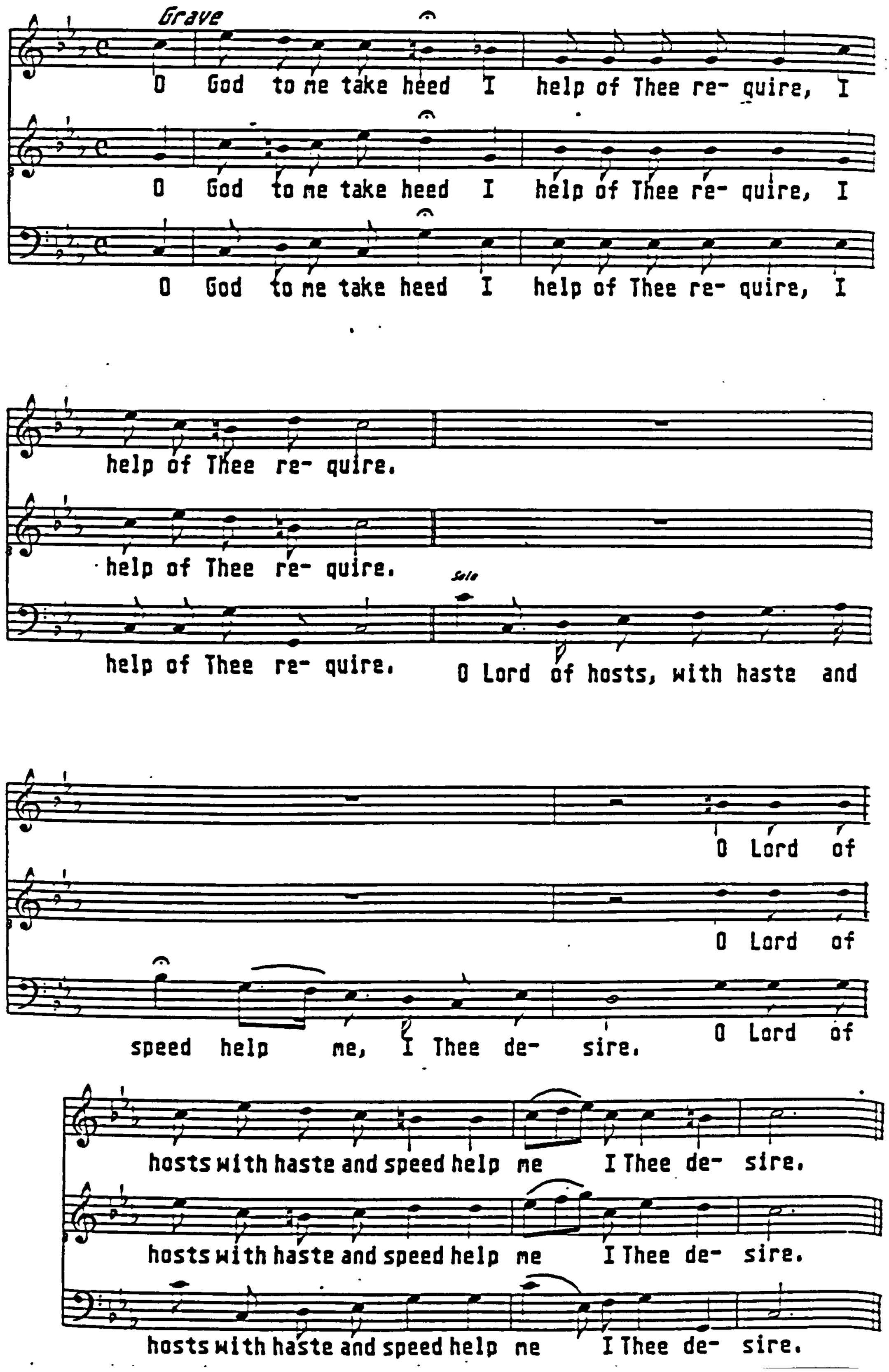
These two versions, however, cause several problems, not only of chronology, but of the relationship of the two composers (or three if J. Blundell is considered). One hypothesis could be that W. Blundell wrote the original tune before 1803; Jarman reworked it for his *Sacred Music* in that year, but as this was his first published work, was less generous in his attributions than in later publications. The Blundell family manuscript book may contain a later copy of Blundell's original, made by J. Blundell, a brother or son of the composer. It is possible that Jarman's version is an exercise set by Blundell. The styles of the two composers are, however, undeniably similar.

Blundell's contribution to instrumental psalmody is exemplified in his tune *Gratitude* (musical example K). This has symphonies at the beginning, the middle and the end.

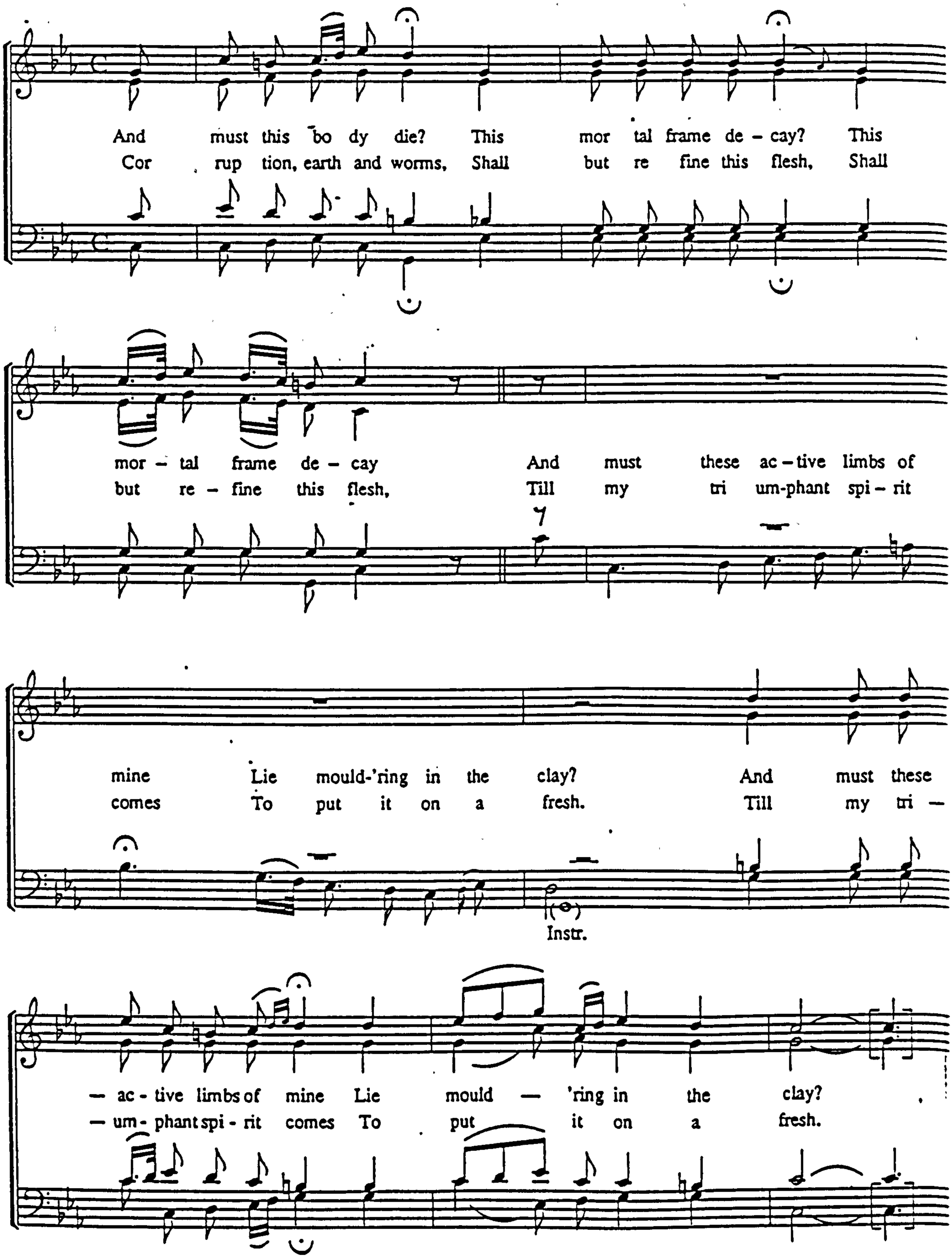
Musical Example H: Brixworth - W Blundell
from Sacred Music London 1813. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Library.

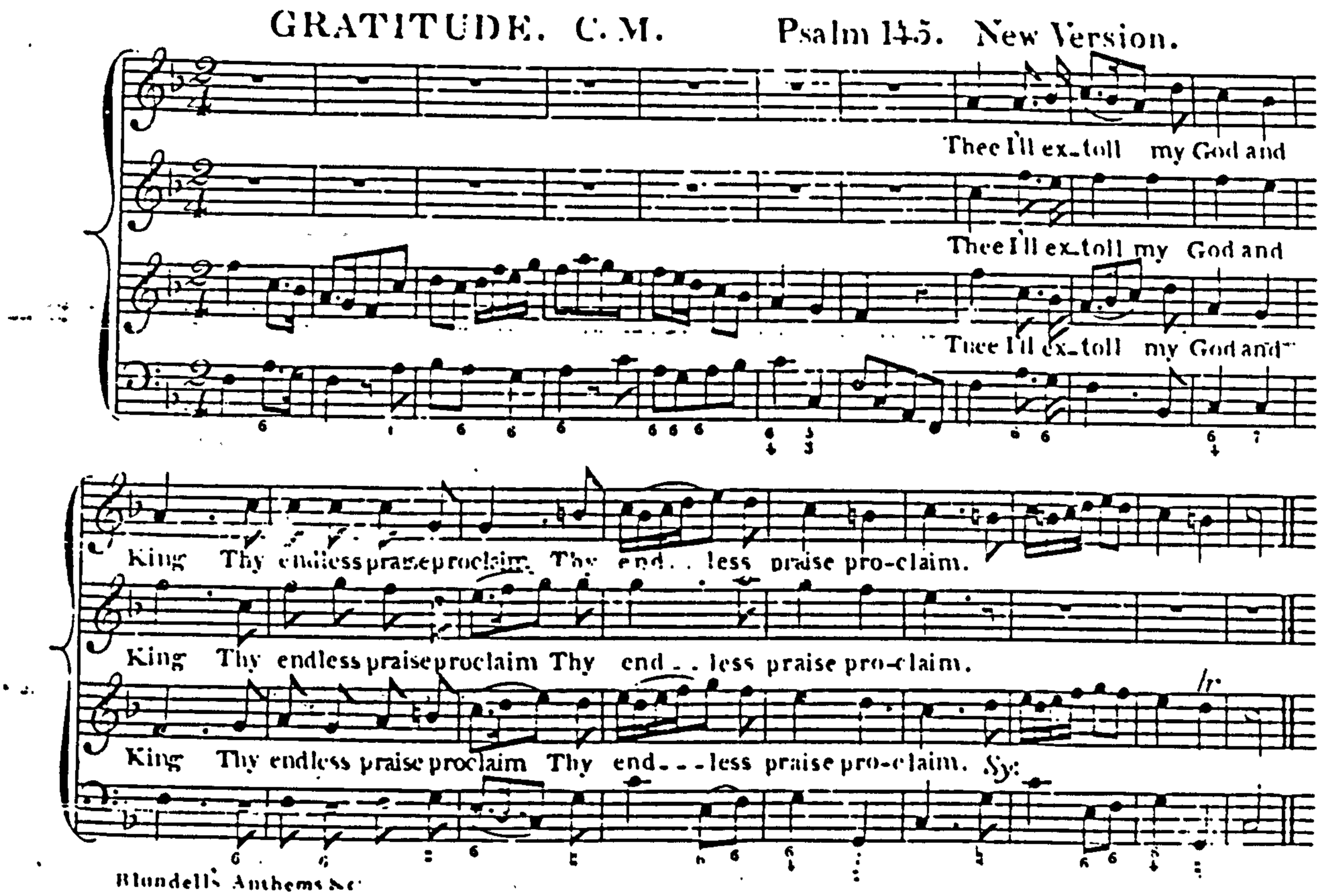


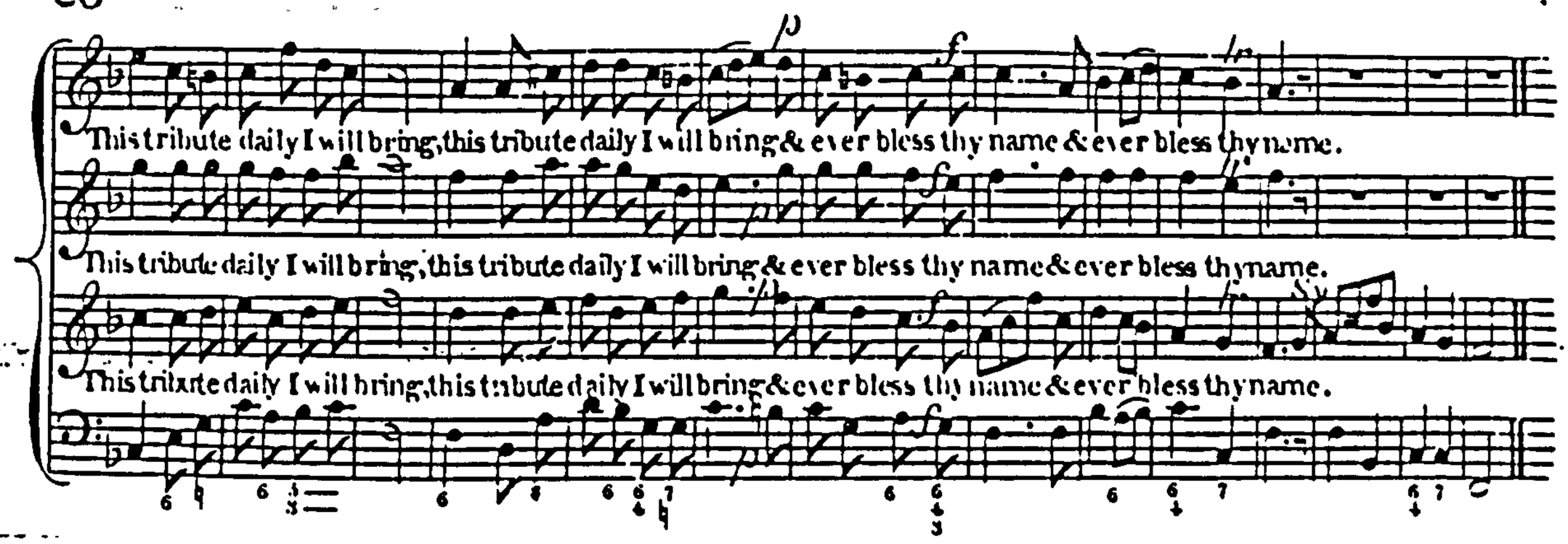
Musical Example I: Plaintive - W Blundell
from a manuscript in Northamptonshire Record Office (NRO 2B 793/4)



Musical Example J: Plaintive - Blundell/Jarman
from Sacred Music Vol I London, 1803.







Musical Example K: Gratitude - W Blundell
from Sacred Music London 1813. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Library.

h) Thomas Jarman of Clipston

The most prolific and significant Northamptonshire composer of the choir-band period, whose death coincided with the publication of *Hymns Ancient and Modern,* the last nail in the coffin of instrumental psalmody, was the Baptist musician from Clipston, Thomas Jarman, (1776 – 1861). His tombstone at the front of Clipston chapel has the following inscription:

> Sacred/to the memory/of Thomas Jarman/The Northamptonshire composer of/Sacred Music/Born at Clipston Dec 21 1776/and died there February 19 1861/In admiration of his genius, a few/friends caused this stone to be/erected over his grave/in the year 1891/'Sweet Son of Song though lowly was thy lot/Thy honoured memory ne'er shall be forgot'/also Sarah his wife /who died March 26 1862/aged 85 years.

As we have noted, Jarman was associated with the composer Blundell of Walgrave and appears to have been the figurehead of a whole school of local composition. His works, written in a solid functional style, well-crafted and of a clear form, are remarkable for a village composer, and as such can be described as art-psalmody, unlike the earlier works of Munden and Ashworth. Of the eighteen collections noted at the British library, only one hymn tune has remained in the repertoire, most recently reprinted in *Baptist Praise and Worship.*[37] This is the tune *Lyngham,* originally named by Jarman as *Nativity,* and intended to be set to the words *While shepherds watched.* The tune is in common metre and requires the second and fourth lines of the text to be repeated, twice in the case of the last line, which has imitative entries in the manner of a fuguing tune. There are several slightly differing versions of this tune: some have a minor variant in dotted rhythms, but the major differences concern the order of entries in the fuguing section. The most popular version has entries at four quaver intervals in the order bass, soprano, alto and tenor. This is the version shown here from a manuscript copy of the *Fuller Tune Book*[38] of c.1855. The British Psalmody[39] collection of 1844 has a sustained alto line which would require only one repeat of the last line.

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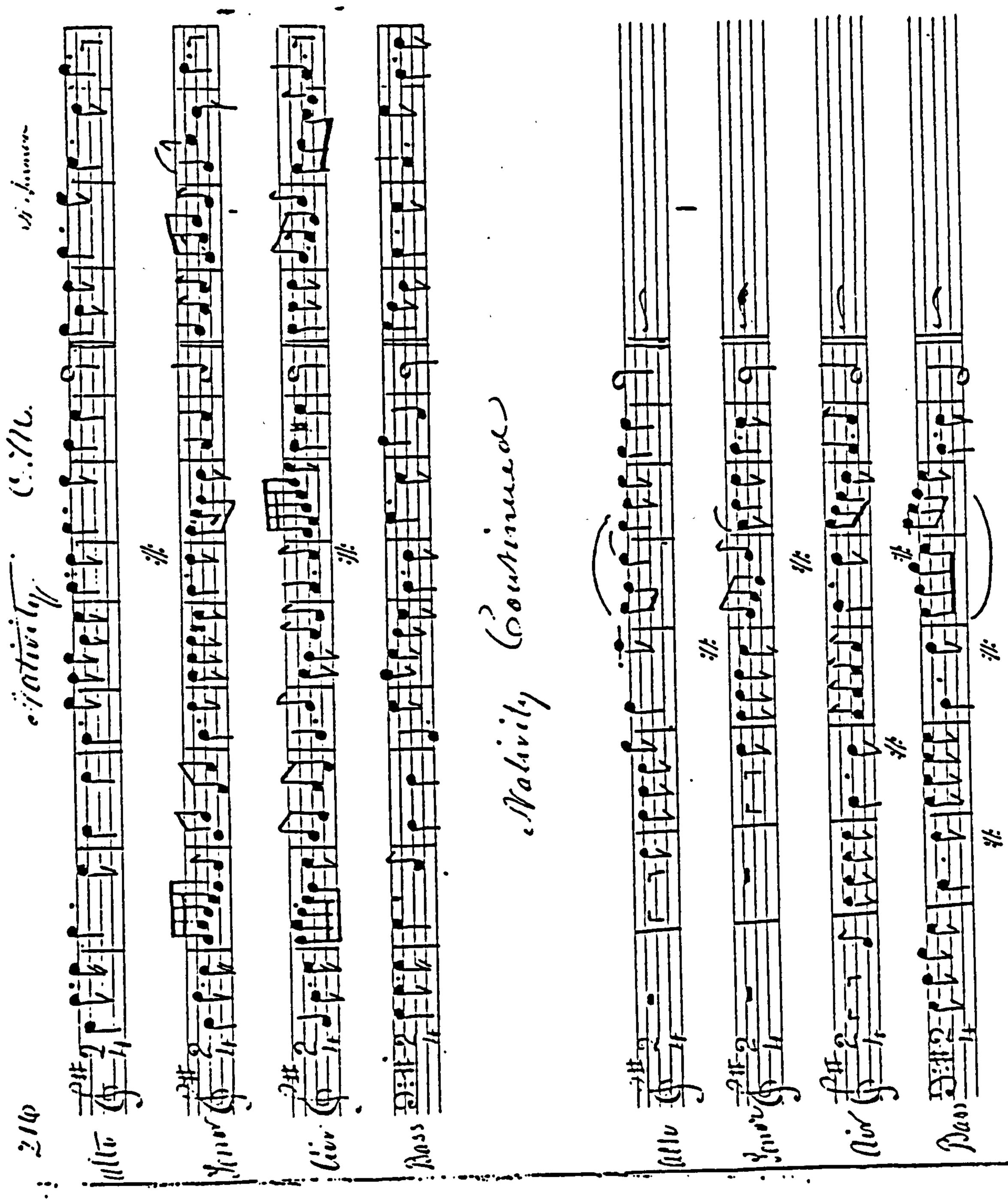
37 Oxford 1991, p10

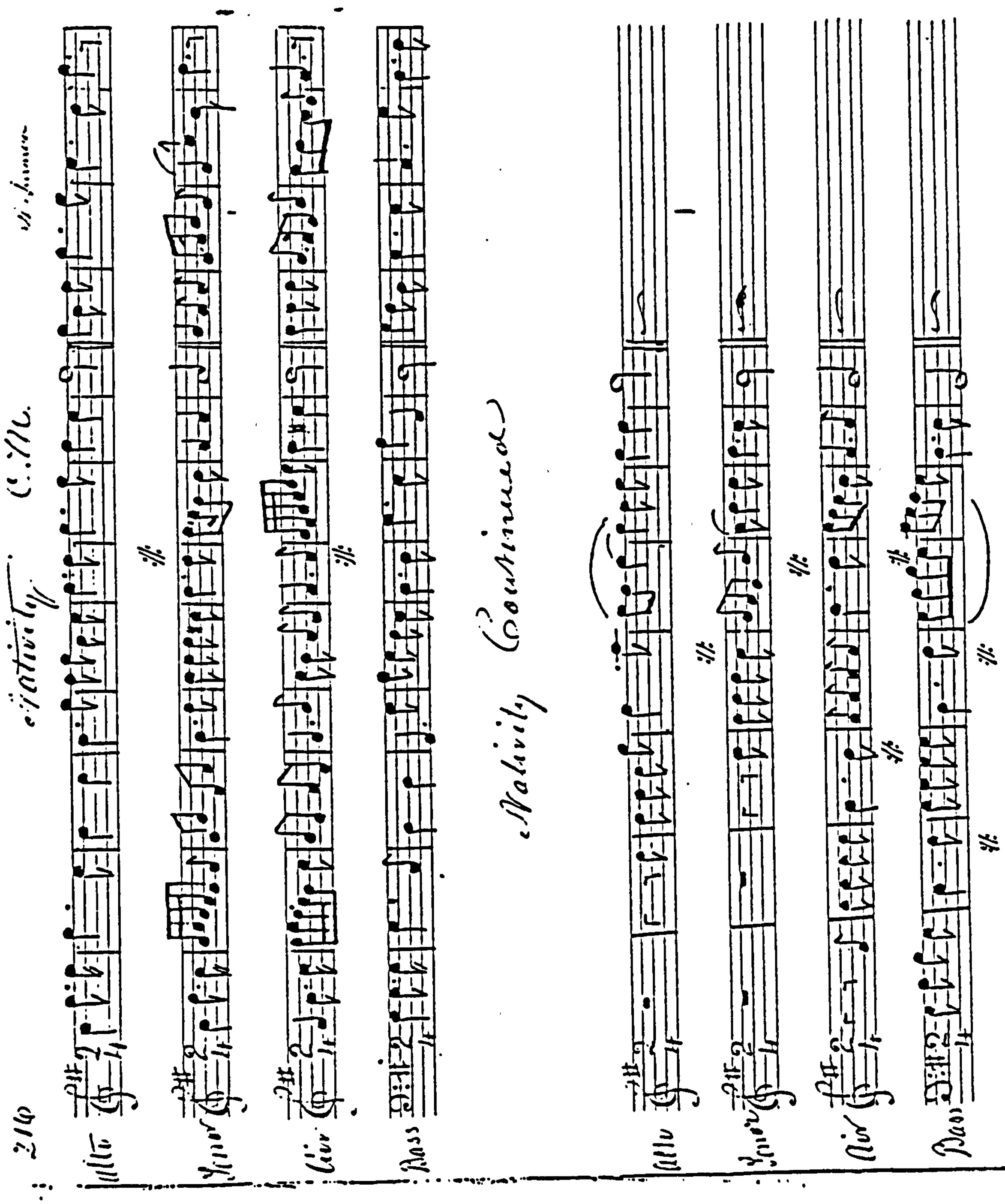
38 Probably in the hand of James Mursell, minister 1853 – 1869

39 A. Hume, T. Clarke and B. Flint (eds.) *British Psalmody,* Edinburgh 1844

Musical Example L: Nativity - Thomas Jarman
from the Fuller Tune Book c.1855.



Musical Example L: Nativity - Thomas Jarman
from the Fuller Tune Book c.1855.



A general chronology of Jarman's life can be drawn from the list of his work in the British library,[40] the short biography by Lightwood,[41] the *Baptist Hymn Book Companion*,[42] the transcripts of the diary of a local solicitor,[43] articles in the *Kettering Leader*[44] in 1890, and the *Northamptonshire County Magazine*.[45] There was a certain amount of interest in Market Harborough at the time of the centenary of Jarman's death and this promoted articles in the *Market Harborough Advertiser* and *Midland Mail* in 1961.[46] Other articles appeared in the *Market Harborough and District Free Churchman*[47] of February and March 1961. A request for information was printed in both journals but nothing apart from Lightwood's short biography was uncovered.

It seems that the Jarmans were a long established Clipston family. Francis Jarman appears in a 1695 Poll book at Northamptonshire Record Office, and there are still members of the family at Clipston today although none appears to bear the name. (Other family members are in Cornwall and Leicestershire.)

Jarman's father, also Thomas, was the village tailor, who as a Baptist lay preacher occupied the Clipston pulpit on occasion. The *Kettering Leader* [48] notes that he was

> an eminent servant of the Lord, a lay preacher of considerable success, was familiarly acquainted with Dr Carey, and took part with him in awakening an instrument in the promotion of a mission to the East.

The elder Jarman died around 1826 aged 79, and Thomas junior took over the family business, although he apparently took little interest in it. Kant[49] notes that tailoring, 'kept him poor and soured his temper'. His brother John had entered the Baptist ministry, training at Bristol, and became minister at Nottingham (then part of the

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40 *A Catalogue of Printed Music in the British Library to 1980*, Vol. 31, 1984
41 J. T. Lightwood, *The Music of the Methodist Hymn Book*, London 1935, p512
42 H. Martin (ed.), *The Baptist Hymn Book Companion*, London 1962 rev.1967, p189
43 Samuel Goodman's Day Book for April 1802 – July 1807, Transcript in Harborough Museum.
44 Thomas Jarman the Northamptonshire Musician, *Kettering Leader*, 28/3/1890, 4/4/1890, 2/5/1890, 9/5/1890
45 P. Kant, Thomas Jarman, A Chapter in Clipston History, *Northamptonshire County Magazine*, Vol. IV 1931, pp 61 – 62
46 Market Harborough Advertiser and Midland Mail, 10/2/1961, 9/3/1961
47 G. C Woolridge (ed.), *Market Harborough and District Free Churchman*, Vol. 58, 1961
48 op cit., 28/3/1890
49 op cit., p61

Northamptonshire Baptist Association). He was a contributor to the *Circular*[50] of that association, along with ministers of the calibre of Andrew Fuller and John Ryland. John Jarman became moderator of the Northamptonshire Association four times between 1815 and 1829.[51]

Thomas Jarman junior had been in the chapel choir from his youth; William Page, author of the articles in the *Kettering Leader*[52] states that Jarman had become a teacher of music 'travelling for miles to give lessons in singing, harmony etc.' The singing class at West Haddon, in the early years of the nineteenth-century, included William Page's father, Samuel. Jarman, then had an early influence on William Page who became a composer of the younger school associated with Jarman; Page is referred to later in this chapter.

It is not clear when Jarman took over the music at the chapel, but this was a period when the choir 'was held in high repute'.[53] The choir included Mr. Wood, noted by Page as 'the celebrated alto singer'. It is usually assumed that the alto or counter line in country psalmody was taken by women, but here is a soloist of local celebrity. It is probably for this singer that Jarman wrote the Aria *O God of Hosts*, in the anthem *Devotion*, the opening of which is quoted in relation to bassoon writing. The choir toured the area singing on occasion at Peterborough Cathedral, and even in London. Page notes, however, that extra singers were engaged for these concerts.

Jarman was apparently able to teach the violin, cello, oboe, clarinet and bassoon; it seems likely from his writing that his first instrument was the violin. He found little time for his tailoring and often left his work so that he could concentrate on composition. He married Sarah Mutton, who bore him five children, one of whom, yet another Thomas (born c.1826), succeeded to his father's business, a post he still held in 1890. Jarman's first work is acknowledged as *The Collection of Sacred Music* (known as volume one); Lightwood dates this as about 1803. The edition in the British library is dated as 1821 but this is almost certainly a reprint as the succeeding volumes are dated c.1810 . This first

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50 *Northamptonshire Baptist Association Circulars*, British Library 4139 g4
51 T. S. H. Elwyn, *The Northamptonshire Baptist Association*, London 1964, Appx B pp101 – 102
52 op cit.., 28/3/1890
53 op cit., 28/3/1890

volume includes the hymn tune *Nativity* as part of the thirty-three psalm and hymn tunes, a funeral ode and two anthems.

It is possible that Jarman was living in Braybrooke in 1804 as his name appears in the *Day-book,* but in the same year he purchased two 'tenements' at Clipston, possibly in preparation for marriage. His brother John preached at Clipston on March 4th that year. In 1806 Jarman was serving writs on behalf of Samuel Goodman (who lived in Market Harborough).

Two subsequent volumes of *Sacred Music* appeared around 1810, and an individually-published composition *An Anthem for Christmas Day* in 1818.

The Anglican choirmaster and organist at this time was W. Bonsor, who arranged his own concerts, and built an organ in the village in 1817. The history of the Anglican choir is related by Ethel Lucie Fisher.[54] She notes that the organ at the parish church was opened by Bonsor in 1825 and that he was allowed ten guineas a year as organist. This organ replaced a barrel organ with twenty two psalm tunes, which in turn superseded a large choir band of 'first fiddle, bass viol, tenor fiddle, serpent, clarinet and oboe'. It appears that the Baptist chapel did not have an organ until the 1940s, this replacing a harmonium of only slightly earlier date. It is possible that the chapel band consisted of two treble and one bass instruments; where the continuo part in Jarman's work is realised, there are often three parts with movement in thirds in the treble; the instruments may have been two violins and a cello. Some part books, in Jarman's hand and retained by the family in Leicestershire, are for this combination.

Sacred Music Volume One, includes an anthem, 'expressly composed for the opening of Clipston New Chapel'; this event was on October 12th 1803. This anthem, *Enrobed in Light,* with words by Frank Cox of Hackney, was later criticised by Andrew Fuller, who had preached at the opening: 'both the words and the music were a flagrant departure from the stern spirit of Baptist worship in those days'.[55]

Fisher states that in the parish church the choir sat in the gallery and the old people from the hospital in the lower gallery. A significant event for Clipston musical life was

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54 E. L. Fisher, *Clipston,* Kettering 1926, p12
55 *Kettering Leader,* 4/4/1890

the appointment of John Bull as curate of the parish church. As a musical reformer he successfully abolished the choir-band. Kant[56] notes:

> the music and the Harmony at Clipston was moiled [*sic*] by the arrival in 1820 of the Rev. John Bull, who was appointed master of the grammar school and curate of the parish. He took up his residence in the rectory house and advertised for boarders. He had his own views about music in public worship and he promptly abolished the church choir. Then affairs were in ferment. Jarman, who prided himself in his ability as a rhymster, though he hardly ever deserved the name, dipped his pen in gall and wrote doggerel against the cleric, and what was worse, set the words to music. Clipston youth eagerly caught the strains and delighted in lusty singing within earshot of the rectory. It became unbearable. Several had to make an appearance before the magistrates and pay the fines imposed upon them. Jarman escaped and wrote more verse and more tunes. One set was about Josephus, the clerk, performing the offices of the church choir. The clergyman played the same game. He wrote verses himself and got them published in the Northampton Mercury, conscious that they were immensely better than any Jarman could produce. Jarman retorted in scurrilous verse which the Mercury refused to publish. Consequently others were written and circulated in the village and district, finding fault with the curate's theology in approved fashion. So the contest wore on until the combatants were worn out, and Mr Bull removed from the village. He died in London in 1852.

It is surprising in view of these problems, to find in Jarman's *Northamptonshire Harmony,* an Anthem *The Still Small Voice* with words by 'Rev. J Bull A M Curate of Clipston.' Another musical aspect related to these events is the inclusion of a work entitled *Josephus – an easy overture* in the cello and violin part books in the Leicestershire manuscripts. Jarman's doggerel is exemplified, again in these manuscripts, in the following verse written below a psalm tune:

> The man that can't sing/this tune off at sight/if he thinks he is a singer/he does not think right.

Jarman's major work of local interest is the *Northamptonshire Harmony,* in printed form at the Northamptonshire Record Office.[57] The title page notes:

> ADVERTISEMENT
> The following publication was undertaken at the request of the Author's friends, that they might be furnished with a work consisting entirely of original music, adapted for Congregational use; this, together with the collection of the numerous impressions that have been sought of his former works, has induced him again to appear in public: presuming that the present work will meet with as favourable a reception.

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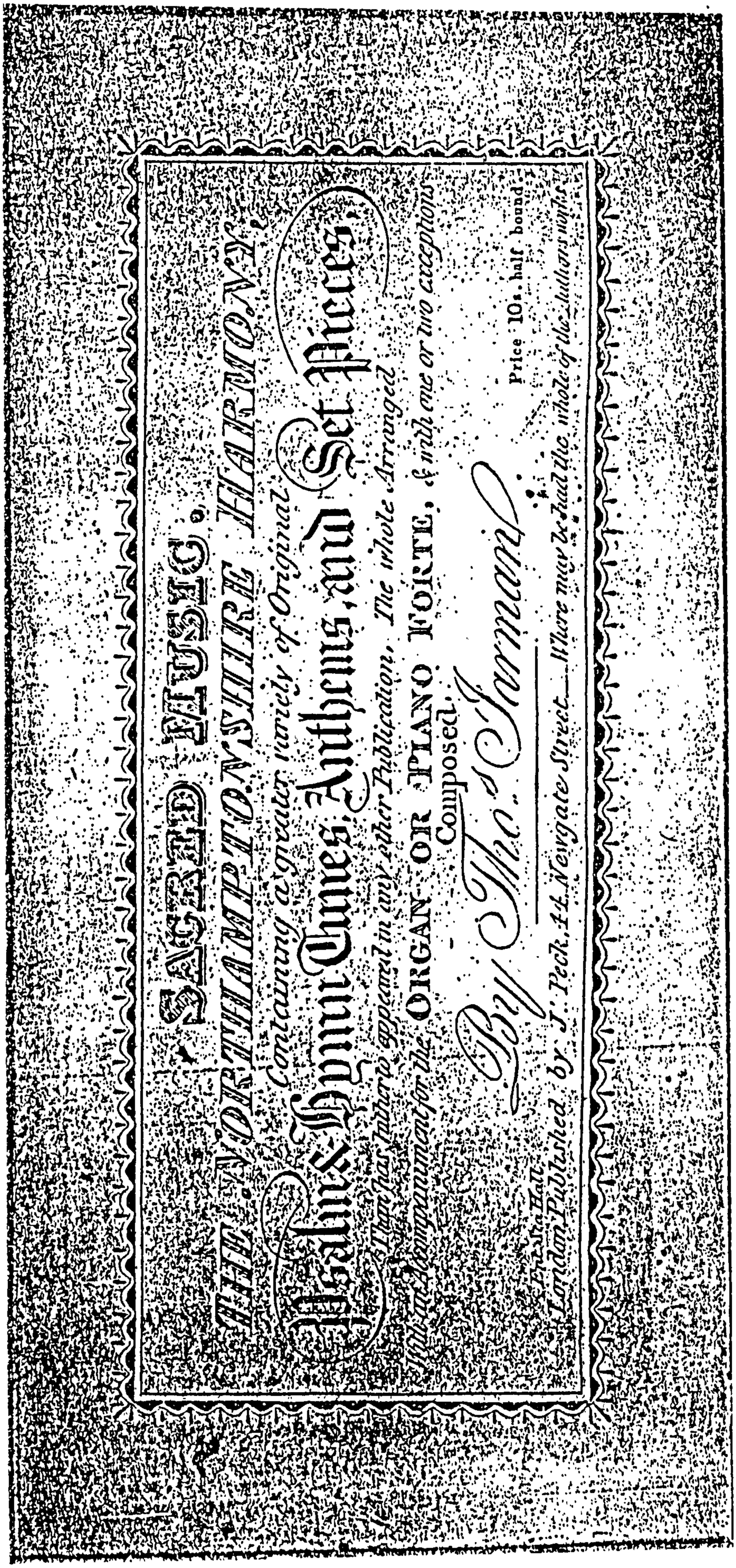
56 op cit., p62

57 YZ 9374 It is also found in the Northamptonshire Studies Collection, at Northampton Reference Library.



The title page of Jarman's Northamptonshire Harmony (1826) from a copy in Northamptonshire Studies Collection.

It is not the intention of the Author to depreciate the merits of other popular publications of this nature tho' with the Public in general, he cannot but complain of being under the vexatious necessity for purchasing so many old tunes, mixed up with so small a portion of new ones; while many of our old and beautiful National Tunes are altered and mangled according to the taste and caprice of almost every compiler of Tunes.

In this work no adaptation from popular profane Duets or Glees will appear: as it is the Author's design to present the public with a copious set of psalm and Hymn Tunes, Anthems and Set Pieces, composed in as familiar a style as possible: he being persuaded this description of music will prove most acceptable and it is best calculated to answer the important end for which Music was designed, the worship of the Great CREATOR of the world!

Another copy at the British Library,[58] is dated c.1835, but James Lightwood[59] states a definite date of 1826. A cello copy of the anthem *I behold and lo!* appears in the cello part-book of the family manuscripts placed before the Te Deum of 1839.

Jarman's friendship with Thomas Clark of Canterbury is significant, given the similarity of their compositional technique and their dissenting backgrounds. Clark was a co-editor of *British Psalmody*[60] in 1844 and included three of Jarman's hymn tunes. When Clark died in 1859, Jarman composed a funeral ode for him.[61] The following is the title page:

> The memory of the Just is Blessed/A Funeral Ode/Written and composed as a/Tribute of respect to the memory of the late/Mr Thomas Clark/(of Canterbury)/And respectively inscribed (by permission) to/William Reedham Esqre/(of Beaufort Iron Works, South Wales)/By/Thomas Jarman/This Ode is Written and set to music by T. J. an old musical friend of Mr Clark's (aged 82) and is Published under the immediate sanction of Mrs Clark and family.

The work has a structure typical of Jarman's larger anthems. There is an introduction written for two treble instruments and one bass followed by a duet for two treble voices; a chorus in triple time follows, directed to be performed 'lively not fast'. There are two further repeated sections. Jarman notes on the score: 'it may not be improper to sing this piece at the funeral of any who has given proof of their personal piety.' The anthem may be the result of a commission by William Reedham.

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58 A. 660a
59 J. Lightwood, *The Music of the Methodist Hymn Book*, London 1935, p512
60 Op cit.,
61 British Library H1772 P

Jarman also wrote poetry, generally considered to be of the same calibre as the doggerel quoted above; he published glees under the pseudonym 'Christopher Crotchet'.

The Catalogue of Printed Music in the British Library[62] mentions three further sets of sacred music – a second book c.1810, a third book of the same year and a fourth book dated c.1822 because of the watermark.

The village choir festival at Naseby in 1837 is referred to briefly by Page,[63] but is given slightly more attention by Lightwood:[64]

> Jarman was also a successful choir trainer, and the village choir festival held under his direction at Naseby in 1837 was the talk of the district for long after.

A newspaper cutting giving notice of a 'Grand Music Festival' at Naseby in 1837 is in a scrapbook compiled by William Horner,[65] started in 1821 and kept at Northamptonshire Record Office.[66] This, unfortunately gives no mention of Jarman, but neither does it give any details of another conductor:

> Grand Music Festival
>
> By permission of the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Peterborough, and under the Patronage of the Right Hon Earl Spencer, The Right Hon Lord Bateman, and numerous others of the Nobility, Clergy and Gentry. On Thursday the 15th June will be performed, in the church at Naseby, A Selection of Sacred Music, from the works of Handel, Haydn and others of the great Composers of Italy and Germany. Also, a part of Perry's New Oratorio, 'The Fall of Jerusalem,' never before performed out of London. To conclude with Handel's Coronation Anthem. Miss Birch, of the Royal Academy of Music, and Pupil of Sir G. Smart, and several other distinguished Performers, are engaged for the occasion. The Band, which will be led by Mr Perry, with the Chorus will consist of upwards of 100 performers. The Rehearsal will begin precisely at Ten, and the performance at Two. Tickets for the chancel and reserved seats 5s- to be had of the Rev. W. Marshall, Vicar of Naseby. Tickets for the Nave of the Church, 3s; side aisle 1s 6d; to be had at the Fitzgerald Arms and the Royal Oak, in Naseby. The Profits to be devoted to the Funds of the Northampton Infirmary and the Sick Clubs of the Parish of Naseby, under the direction of the Gentlemen of the Committee.
>
> NB A new organ will be erected for the occasion, which has sufficient power for a moderate-sized Church or Chapel, and which is to be disposed of. Particulars may be known of Mr J. Carter of Naseby.

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62 op cit.,

63 op cit., 28/3/1890

64 op cit., p512

65 Horner, William/ his memorandum Book/ Broughton Northamptonshire ADMDCCCXXI, P163

66 ZB 68/1

George Fredrick Perry was a renowned violinist and composer, born at Norwich in 1793. He moved to London in 1822; the oratorio *The Fall of Jerusalem* was first performed in 1832. He later led the orchestra of the Sacred Harmonic Society; he died in 1862. If Jarman were the director of the Festival he must have had a reasonable reputation to enable him to engage such a prominent musician. Miss Birch would appear to be Charlotte Ann Birch (c.1815 – 1901) who was associated with the Three Choirs Festival in the 1840s.

Further evidence of Jarman's association with this Festival is the inclusion of excerpts from *The Fall of Jerusalem* in the family manuscripts, copied in Jarman's hand. It can be assumed that these manuscripts are chronological and the excerpts precede Jarman's *Te Deum* of 1839.

Both Lightwood and Ernest A. Payne[67] mention that Jarman spent some time (six or seven years) with the Methodists at Leamington. It can be assumed that this would be around 1840 as this is the estimated dating of his volume *The Wesleyan Melodist – Containing one-hundred and twenty original congregational tunes: particularly adapted to the various metres in the Wesleyan Hymn Book. The Church and Chapel Melodist,* is dated 'Royal Leamington Spa June 1847.'

While in Leamington he was a close friend of C. Rider, who according to Lightwood was a 'wealthy Methodist who did...much for Psalmody in Lancashire.' Charles Rider's *Psalmodia Brittanica*[68] of c.1820 includes twenty-nine tunes wholly by Jarman and a further three 'Varied from Jarman', one, *Splendour* 'partly from T. Jarman', and *Esther* by Handel 'adapted Jarman.' Other composers represented include Thomas Clark, Isaac Smith and Benjamin Milgrove.

The *Sacred Harmonicon* and *Devotional Melodist* are also from this period. Desborian, the author of the final article in the *Kettering Leader*[69] series, relates an anecdote about Jarman's trying to find work in Leamington. The details are of little consequence to this study although it is noted that Jarman stood nearly six feet tall and weighed over sixteen stones.

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67 Author of the tunes section of the *Baptist Hymn Book Companion* London revised 1967 p189

68 *Psalmodia Brittanica or a Collection of psalm tunes selected from various composers and adapted to different metres used in English Psalmody* 4 Vols. c.1820

69 op cit., 2/5/1890

Further reference to Jarman's *Nativity* is given by William Page in the *Kettering Leader.*[70] Page quotes a manuscript in his possession which includes the following note by Jarman:

> It is now nearly half a century since I composed the tune called'Nativity', and as the time allotted to man upon earth, with me, must soon be over, it is my intention to republish in this work, that tune, with about twenty other of my popular tunes, which are now out of print, some mutilated copies of which have been published by those whose object is to gain by other men's labours.

Jarman, states Lightwood, was always ready to celebrate special occasions with a new anthem, and this would seem to be the case with his last known published work (1856), a *New Ode on Peace with Russia.* The Anthem *Satan's Fall* was discovered at his death, folded ready to be sent for publication.

Jarman's death in 1861 was closely followed by that of his wife Sarah in 1862. His reputation outlived him and many works were published posthumously:

1864 – 73	Eighteen anthems in *The Tonic Solfa Times.*
1868	*The Voice of Melody* (edited by Jarman)
1896	Orchestral arrangement of *Rejoice O Daughter of Zion* (arranged by R. Dyke)
1904	*Zion's Pilgrims*

The anthem *The Lord is Gracious* was published by Banks of York and featured in the catalogue printed on the back of their late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century anthems. This is no longer in print, however, and Banks do not have a copy in their archives. Page's article in the *Kettering Leader*[71] later quoted by Kant[72] states:

> Of his music generally it may be said that it was of a class to suit the popular taste, and so, as it became known, especially the best of it, was bought up with avidity. It abounds with simple flowing and inspiriting melodies and equally attractive harmonies. He excelled as a writer of anthems and choruses.

Lightwood[73] summarises Jarman's talent:

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70 op cit., 4/4/1890
71 op cit., 4/4/1890
72 op cit., p 62
73 op cit., p512

> Thomas Jarman was a notable example of the old time village musician whose gifts enabled him to exercise a great influence for good in the praise worship of the church.

Desborian[74] makes the following tribute:

> Although Thomas Jarman is dead he yet speaketh, and will to the end of time. Many of his tunes are grand when sung by choirs such as there used to be at Wellingborough, Kettering and Clipston.

The quality and prolificity of Jarman's work seem incompatible with a village tailor who remained in his birthplace for most of his life. The esteem in which he was held by the friends who erected the memorial stone thirty years after his death seems to have waned with the availability of his music, and yet that which survives shows a high degree of competent craftsmanship.

Three representative works from Jarman's *The Northamptonshire Harmony* Collection, each with a distinct character, are reproduced here. The canto aria *He Giveth Light* from the large-scale Christmas anthem *Behold* probably had an accompanient for two violins and cello. The work is of a lyrical nature and was obviously written for a very competent singer. The work is tightly structured with a logical form producing an economical and well-balanced result. Stylistically it can be related to a Handel aria with touches of the rococo and early classical in the sub-dominant references.

I Behold and Lo! is a work on a grander scale which bears a strong resemblance to the choruses of Haydn; the Jarman family manuscripts include sections of *The Creation* written out in Jarman's hand. Copying out music would be a standard way of familiarisation, and the influence of Haydn can clearly be seen in the opening recitative, in the setting for three solo voices at bar 43, the chord structure, the references to the sub-dominant and in the final two cadences. The repeated setting of the words 'and ever' show the nineteenth-century's infatuation with Handel's *Messiah*.

The overall effect is a powerful piece of choral music which could, however, be described as pastiche. The plain fact, though, is that Jarman could not be aware of the

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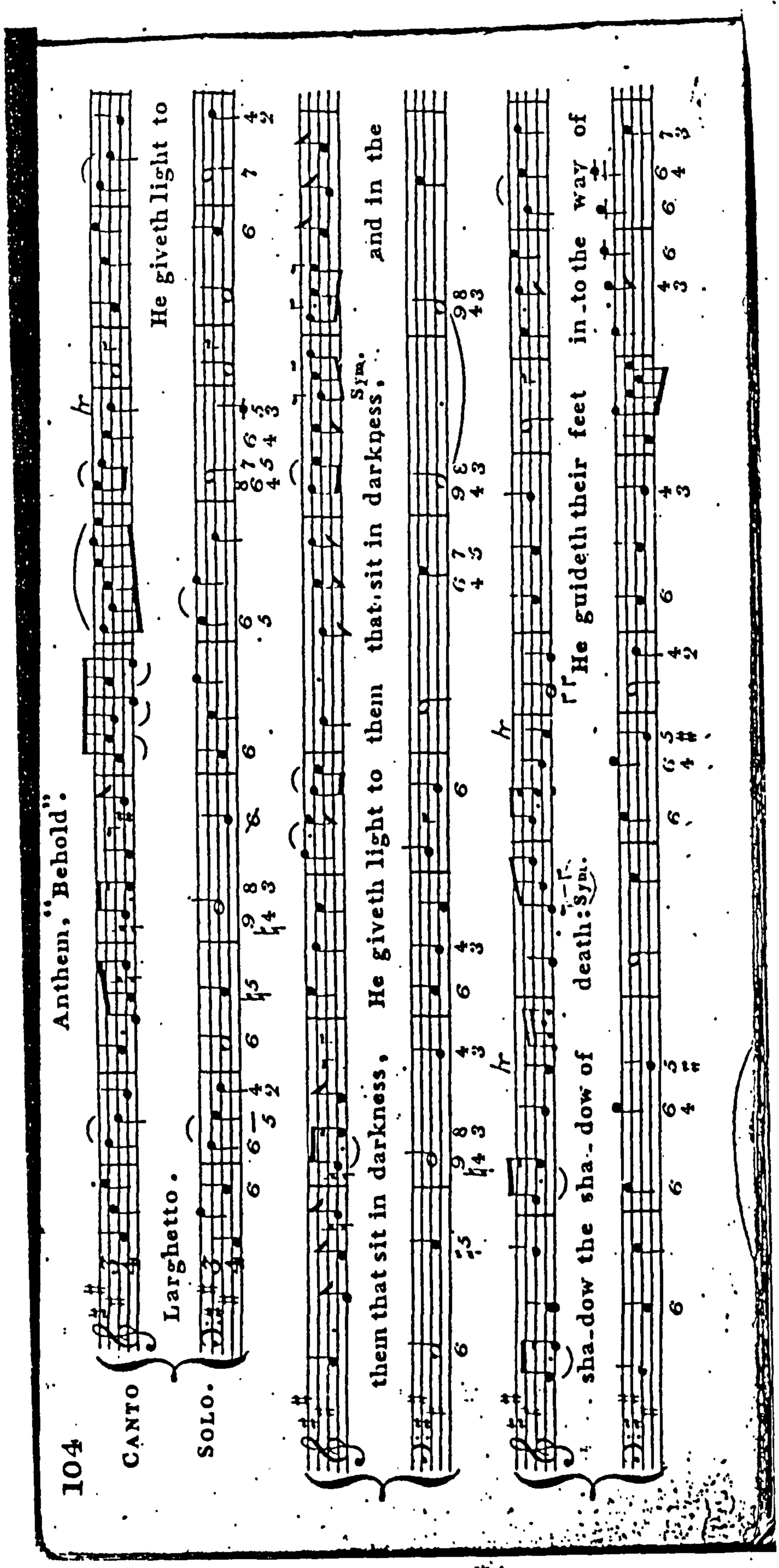
74 op cit., 2/5/1890



Musical Example M: An aria from Jarman's anthem Behold from the Northamptonshire Harmony London 1826. Reproduced by kind permission of Northamptonshire Record Office.

peace. He gui - deth He

guideth their feet in - to the way of peace. in - to the way of peace.

Sym.

He giveth light to them that sit in darkness; He giveth light to them that sit in darkness;

Sym.

Anthem, "Behold".

and in the sha - dow the sha - dow of death: Sym He guideth their feet He

guideth their feet in - to the way of peace. He gui - deth their feet He

gui - deth their feet in - - to the way of peace. ad lib. Sym

Chorus.

Salvation to our God, who sitteth up_on the throne, and un_to the Lamb, for e_ver and ever. Sal_va_tion to our God, who

Moderato.

Salvation to our God, who sitteth up_on the throne, and un_to the Lamb, for e_ver and ever. Sal_va_tion to our God, who

sitteth up_on the throne, and un_to the Lamb, for e_ver and ever. Sal_vation to our God, who sitteth up_on the

Sal_va_tion

sitteth up_on the throne, and un_to the Lamb, for e_ver and e_ver. Sal_va_tion to our God, who

Sal_va_tion to our

N.H.S. No. 4.

throne, and un_to the Lamb, for e__ver and ever. for e__ver and ever.

Solo.

sitteth up_on the throne, and un_to the Lamb, for e__ver and e_ver. for e__ver and e_ver. for e_ver and e_ver. for

Solo.

God and un_to for e_ver and

Sal_vation to our God who sitteth upon the throne, &

Two Trebles.

tutti.

e__ver and ever. for e__ver and e__ver. for e__ver and e__ver. Sal_vation to our God who sitteth upon the throne, &

tutti.

ever. for ever and ever. for e_ver and e__ver and e__ver.

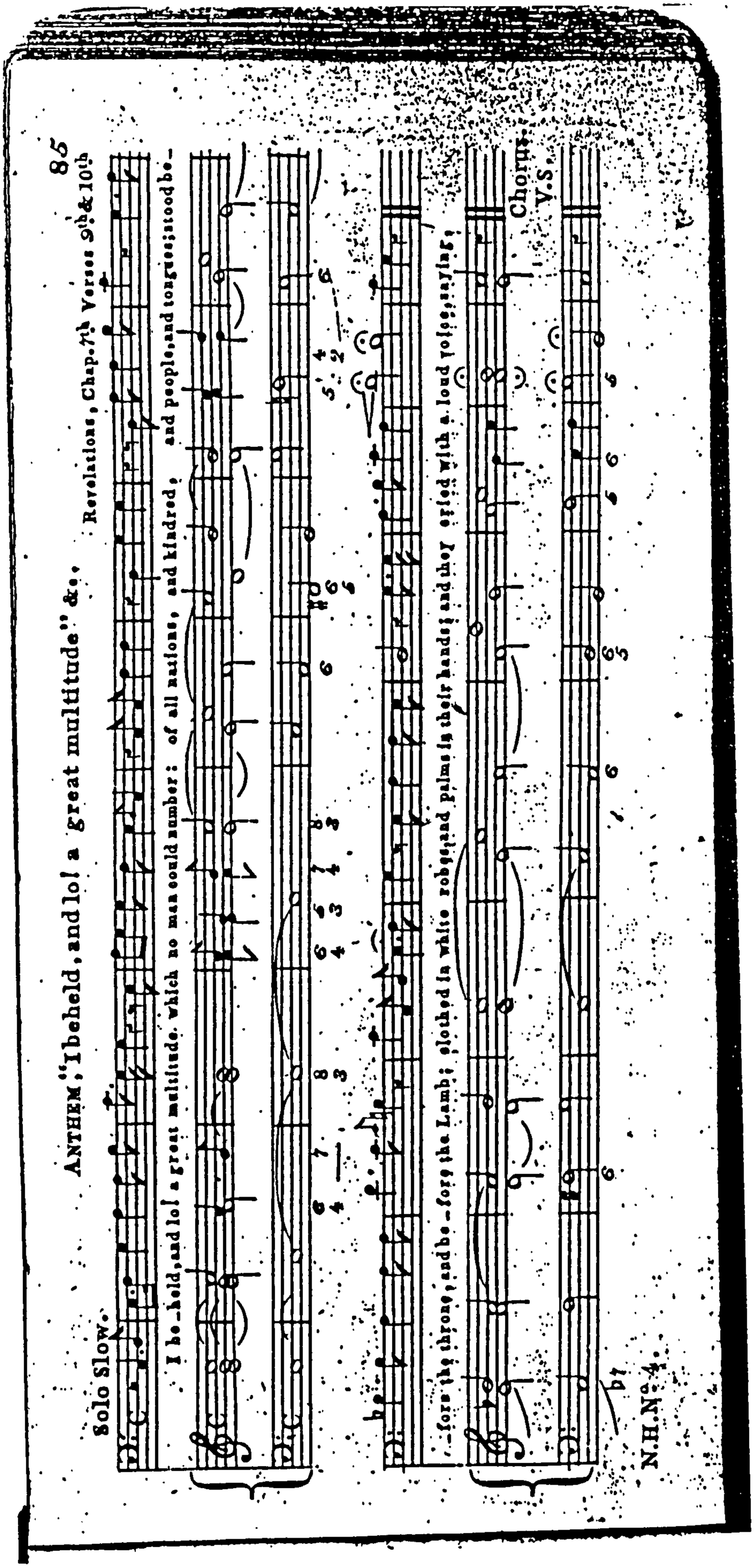
unto the Lamb, for ever and ever. Sal_vation to our God who sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb, for ever and ever. for ever and

unto the Lamb, for ever and ever. Salvation to our God, who sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb, for ever and ever. for ever and

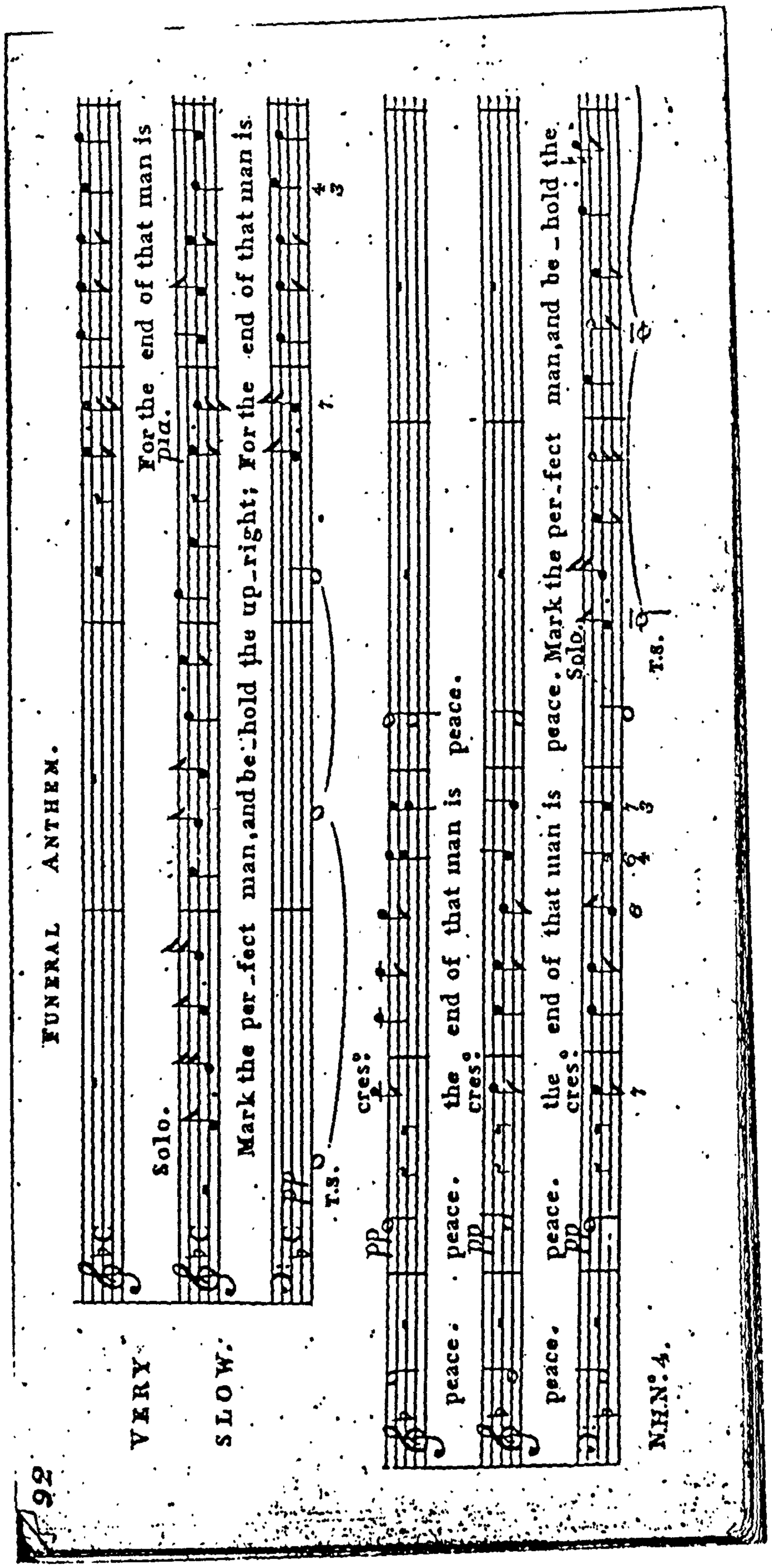
ever. for ever and ever. for ever and ever. Amen. Amen. for e_ver and ever. A_men. A_men. A__men. A__men.

Adagio.

ever. for ever and ever. for ever and ever. Amen. Amen. for e_ver and ever A_men. A_men. A__men. A__men.



Musical Example N: I beheld and Lo! - Thomas Jarman from the Northamptonshire Harmony London 1826. Reproduced by kind permission of Northamptonshire Record Office.



Musical Example O: Funeral anthem - Thomas Jarman
from the Northamptonshire Harmony London 1826. Reproduced by kin
permission of Northamptonshire Record Office.

pp cres.

For the end of that man is peace. peace. the end of that man is peace. the

pp cres.

upright: For the end of that man is peace. peace. the end of that man is peace. the

pp cres.

end of that man is peace. peace. the end of that man is peace. peace. peace.

pp cres. p pp

end of that man is peace. peace. the end of that man is peace. peace. peace.

pp cres. p pp

most contemporary music, situated as he was in rural Northamptonshire; he had to rely on the available material.

The funeral anthem *Mark the Perfect Man* (text Ps 37 v 37) is written in three parts. There is no separate accompaniment apart from a sustained low F at the beginning and a similar low C at bar 8. This probably implies a cello accompaniment. The alto line divides on occasion; the dynamic markings are untypically clear. The anthem was composed in 1821 and revised by Jarman in 1857 for the funeral of William Haddon of Naseby.[75]

(i) Lesser Northamptonshire Composers

There are several composers to whom occasional reference is made in collections or other sources. There is a whole group associated with Thomas Jarman, including the Randall family of Wellingborough. It seems that there was a significant amount of local composition in Northamptonshire, possibly inspired by Jarman's relative success, and the Jarman school will be dealt with here.

George Clarke (1780 – 1868) is detailed in Chapter 5 of this thesis, in relation to Lamport. Although better known as a painter, he was also a cellist, flautist and composer; his tune *Lamport* was apparently well known, and an *Easter Ode* was published in Jarman's *Voice of Melody*[76] c.1840. It is difficult to establish the relationship between the three Randalls of Wellingborough, Samuel, John and William, who may have been three brothers or belonged to different generations. William was the most prolific, compiling the *Wellingborough Melodist* published in 1846.[77] Five other works appear in the *Juvenile Melodist* Of 1861.[78] These are three anthems, one hymn tune and a double chant composed for Northamptonshire church choirs, one each for Slipton, Isham, Moulton, Podington and Wellingborough. These later works really post-date the choir- band period, but the earlier work relates closely, although it shows a stage in advance of Jarman's part allocation. The parts, top to bottom, are treble (treble clef at pitch), alto

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75 *Kettering Leader*, 4/4/1890

76 BL c505 (5) and F607 (18)

77 W. Randall, *New Sacred Music, The Wellingborough Melodist, a Collection of Original Psalm and Hymn Tunes For Four Voices* BL c509 (I)

78 These appear in a scrapbook of music, BL H1980

(treble clef one octave higher), tenor (treble clef one octave higher) and bass. The tunes in this book are less florid than Jarman's although there is some use of passing notes. This shows the steady simplification of rhythm which was a feature of reformed Victorian Church Music. William Randall lived in Wellingborough's Knight Street, and may have been associated with Salem chapel, as No. 35 was a 'favourite Tune comp^{d} for the Salem Sunday School'. The works of 1861, however appear to be Anglican in origin. William Randall's non-conformist origins can also be seen in the use of abstract nouns for tune names, and the settings of Rippon, Watts and Wesley. There are several items by William Randall listed in the British Library. Of these the latest is *Ho! Everyone That Thirsteth* (1875).

The Wellingborough Melodist also contains a tune by John Randall, *Sickness,* which is a solid work, moving in minims, with only one pair of crochets to give rhythmic interest. John Randall is noted by John Askham[79] as 'one of our noted singers'. He sang the recitative in Jarman's anthem *Emancipation,* which celebrated the emancipation of slaves in 1839. The choirs involved were those of Wellingborough's Cheese Lane, West End and Salem Chapels.

Samuel Randall may have been more contemporaneous with Jarman. His *Christmas Piece*[80] is published by one of Jarman's publishers, J Hart of Hatton Garden; the part allocation is the same as Jarman's: tenor (treble clef one octave higher), alto or second treble (treble clef one octave higher), treble (treble clef at pitch), bass. This work, along with Samuel Randall's tunes in the Wellingborough Melodist show a much more florid line in the style of the older school. In the light of its similarity to the older style it would seem to be a possibility that Samuel was the father of William and John.

Jarman's *The Church and Chapel Melodist*[81] 1847, includes, in addition to tunes by Warwickshire composers, the piece *Job's Piety* 'kindly presented to this work by E. Butlin, Esq^{e}. Spratton, Northampton'; Butlin's tune *Spratton* appears in Jarman's *Sacred Music Volume One* of 1803. Nothing further is known of E. Butlin, but he may be related to two later church musicians; Walter Isaac Butlin c.1850 – c.1920 was organist of the

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79 *Kettering Leader,* 9/5/1890

80 *Hark what mean those Holy Voices*

81 Copy in Northamptonshire Studies Collection

Congregational chapels of Rothwell and Kettering; his *Lords' Prayer* (1898) was well known throughout the area. His son Cyril had a considerable reputation as a composer and organist.

Jarman's 1847 collection also includes tunes by W. Bonsor, organist of Clipston Parish Church. Bonsor organised annual concerts of secular music in the village. Jarman supported him against the reforming zeal of the curate John Bull. A third example of a tune named *Daventry* appears in Jarman's *Sacred Music Volume Three* of 1810. This is by John Hillyard who does not appear to feature in any other works.

One of the correspondents in the revival of interest in Jarman in 1890 was William Page, whose father Samuel was in Jarman's singing class at West Haddon, early in the nineteenth-century. William Page refers to the publication of his own collection *The Golden Lyre.*[82]

At the same period James Mursell became minister at the Baptist Church in Kettering. He was a competent musician of the reformed school, but still approved of instrumental music in Church. He brought the choir-band, which included a clarinet and bass viol, down from the gallery and seated them at the 'table pew' at the front of the church.[83] When the new church building opened in 1861 there were seats for string players below the pulpit. Mursell compiled the *Fuller Tune Book,* containing two hundred and fourteen tunes, in the 1850s and included ten of his own tunes, all of the later solid style. Only one, *Carisbrooke,* has a repeating line; another, *Scarborough,* changes from double to triple time. Each of Mursell's hymn tunes has a place name for a title, and this in itself is a departure from dissenting practice.[84] Another Baptist composer, but one who is not known to have a Jarman connection, is Jonathan Whittemore, minister of Rushden Baptist Church. Marianne Farningham, the pseudonym of Mary Anne Hearne of College Street Chapel, Northampton, wrote extensively in the latter years of the nineteenth-century, contributing hymns, poems and articles to Christian journals. In her autobiography[85] she remembers Whittemore, who compiled a work called *The Standard*

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82 *Kettering Leader,* 4/4/1890

83 S. J. Weston ed., *Ten Hymn Tunes by James Mursell of Kettering,* Oecumuse, Ely, 1991

84 There is another Jarman link at the Kettering Baptist Church, for Mr W. F. Dorr's reminiscences note that Jarman had been in the gallery on occasion (Fuller Church archives)

85 M. Farningham, *A Working Woman's Life,* London 1907, pp59ff

Tune Book in 1831; this work has not been traced. Whittemore was born in Bedfordshire in 1802 and was a publisher at Brighton before becoming minister at Rushden. In 1852 he moved to Eynsford in Kent, where he died in 1860.

Chapter 3 – Instrumentation

a) The Use of Instruments 1644 – 1770

There has been much confusion over the date of the emergence of the choir-band. It was formerly thought that instrumental music in churches ceased with the parliamentary ordinance of 1644, and recommenced at the Restoration of 1660. MacDermott[1] notes:

> The main cause of their being [the choir-bands] was the insertion of the single word 'organs' in an order of Council issued in 1644. The order is as follows:
>
> 'Two Ordinances of the Lords and Commons in Parliament for the speedy Demolishing of all Organs, Images and all manner of Superstitious Monuments in Cathedrall, Parish Churches and Chappells throughout the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales: the better to accomplish the blessed Reformation so happily begun...'

On the same page MacDermott remarks:

> ...any year between AD 1660 and 1860...you will hear a band of keen rural musicians...Why was it that for about 200 years nearly every church in England, in towns and villages, at one part of the period or another had its own band or a barrel-organ or pitch-pipe as the background for the singing?

Trevor Herbert[2] has shown that cornets, sackbuts and other instruments were used on occasion in several cathedrals before the Commonwealth. At Canterbury the instrumentalists were reinstated at the Restoration, but dispensed with by 1682.[3] The 1752 inventory for that cathedral[4] noted two sackbuts and the body of an old bass viol which had not been 'us'd for a grete number of years past'.

It would appear that the particular phenomenon which is dealt with in this study had a relatively short life of about ninety years. Gammon[5] estimates slightly longer:

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1 K. H. MacDermott, *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels*, London 1948 p1
2 T. Herbert, *The Trombone in Britain before 1800*, Open University, Ph.D. Thesis
3 *op. cit.*, p465
4 Noted by Herbert, op. cit., p293
5 V. A. Gammon, *Parochial Music in Sussex*, M.A. Thesis, University of Sussex m.355 1977

> for a period of a hundred years or so these amateur, and often untrained groups, dominated the musical life of the church in rural areas.

MacArthur[6] however, suspects a shorter period:

> Village church bands began to come into existence about 1780 and were dying out in 1850.

It is interesting to note that MacArthur was writing at the same time as MacDermott. Temperley[7] has corrected the 1712 date of the Bunbury, Cheshire bassoon noted by Langwill[8] to 1762, and so the earliest documentation appears to be the 'viole' at Youlgrave, Derbyshire in 1742, unearthed by J. C. Cox[9] in *Churchwardens' Accounts*. Cox also notes:

> The close study of hundreds of early churchwardens' accounts has only resulted in the discovery of a single entry of a musical instrument for church use other than organs, until the seventeenth century was far advanced.

This single entry relates to a 'shalm' at Wimborne in 1531, which Cox takes to mean a shawm. This thesis however is not concerned with the use of instruments at such an early date. The matter has become totally confused because of Cox's use of the phrase 'until the seventeenth century was far advanced.' He may mean that there were no instrumental references until well into the seventeenth-century, or that there were no references until a period in advance of the seventeenth-century. Another explanation may be that the word seventeenth should read eighteenth. Cox's work deals with a period up to the end of the seventeenth-century and so it may be that he refers to a period after the seventeenth-century was long over. Had there been a seventeenth-century reference, then Cox would surely have quoted it.

Gammon[10] assumes that there are references in the seventeenth-century:

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6 D. MacArthur, Old Village Church Music, *Musical Times*, April 1, 1923, p264
7 N. Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, Vol. 1, Cambridge 1979, p149
8 L. Langwill, *The Bassoon and Double Bassoon*, London 1985
9 J. C. Cox, *Churchwarden's Accounts*, London 1913, p204
10 *op. cit.*, p17

Cox cautiously stating that there are no records of instruments in Churchwardens' accounts before the late 17th century, thereby implying the 18th century as the time of development.

Luke Milbourne, author of *Psalmody Recommended* (1712) is quoted by Gammon:[11]

> if Singing Praises to God with tuneable voices be heavenly music...will the addition of instruments to voices any way pall the harmony?

The various editions of Arnold's *Complete Psalmodist* first published in 1741 mention instruments in the preface. The edition of 1779[12] remarks on the use of treble instruments, implying that bass instruments had been in use earlier:

> ...and since 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, etc...

It is perhaps significant that Dearnley,[13] chronicling the period 1650 – 1750, gives little mention of instruments, in spite of a section called 'The Musickers' within the 'Parochial Music' chapter.

Temperley[14] mentions the possibility of two instruments – 'the Psalmody' (invented by John Playford), and the 'Psalterer' – having been used in a church context, but is unable to offer any confirmation:

> no direct evidence exists to show that any of these special instruments was ever in use in a church.

An article devoted to the psaltery, by Susie Jeans (Galpin Society Journal XXXIX 1986, p2) is still unable to confirm the use of the instrument in churches. A reproduced psalterer, built by Christopher St John Stevens, is pictured as plate 1 in the above article. Of the earliest researchers into choir-bands, Galpin[15] seems to have the clearest perception:

> Towards the end of the 18th century, however, an awakened interest was roused around the country in the better care of church fabric and the more hearty rendering

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11 *op. cit.*, p24
12 J. Arnold, *The Complete Psalmodist*, 7th edition, London 1779
13 C. Dearnley, *English Church Music 1650 – 1750*, London 1970
14 *op. cit.*, p148
15 F. W. Galpin, Notes on the old Church Bands, *The Antiquary*, vol. 42, 1906, p101

of the Church Service. The old pitch-pipes were discarded...more tuneful portions of the service were undertaken by a select company of 'singers and musicians'.

Pitch-pipes were generally wooden pipes built on the recorder principle, but with a variable graduated stopper for raising or lowering the pitch; many are square-bored although some are round. There are numerous examples in museums and churches: the 1969 Galpin Society Exhibition showed three examples, ranging in length from 23. 5 cms to 34. 6 cms when closed.

It is interesting to note that although the pitch-pipe predates the use of instruments, (Temperley giving a print of a 1770 choir with a pitch-pipe, by Samuel H. Grimm, plate 16), they were not completely discarded at the introduction of instruments. I have noted their use in Northamptonshire parishes where there had already been instruments. It is possible that the instruments had ceased to play for one reason or another, and that a pitch-pipe was the only alternative.

Moses Heap (1824 – 1913) was the member of the 'Larks of Dean', a group of musicians who served non-conformists chapels in Rossendale, Lancashire. His diaries[16] note that the Larks were founded in 1745. The group was supported by instruments, including a serpent, cello, violin and clarinet, although not necessarily at this early date.

An example which may possibly pre-date 1742, is the fragment of an instrument, supposed to be a bass shawn, at Malmesbury Abbey. A description given to me by Mr. R. F. G. Bartholomew is of an instrument in two parts, one brass and the other wooden ('considerably worm-eaten'). The brass section is of cylindrical tubing, 37. 5 cms long expanding finally to a small bell of 13. 4 cms diameter. The wooden joint is incomplete (43 cms) and has signs of three former keys. The instrument is reputed to have been in use until 1845 when the abbey organ was installed. It seems very doubtful that this is a bass shawm, particularly as brass is used in its construction. It is more likely to be a very rare brass-belled bassoon or an early contrabassoon with an upright brass bell.

Other early instrumental uses in the eastern counties which are in addition to the Youlgrave example are given below:

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16 Quoted in J. Elliott, *Rossendale Music and Musicians*, Rossendale 1983

W. B. Bunting[17] mentions a very early bassoon at Chapel-en-le-Frith in 1752, noted in the churchwardens' accounts; this is for a repair, so the bassoon itself is from an earlier date. Derbyshire would seem to have been well in advance of the rest of the country. One reason for this may be because of the popularity of Derbyshire as an area of country retreats and spa visits for the London gentry; this, however, would depend on instrumental use in churches being prevalent in London, which does not appear to be the case. A more likely contributory factor was the growing industrialisation of the north-west, an area of close proximity to Derbyshire, and one which had great influence throughout the choir-band period. Amateur music-making became significant in Lancashire and also in the Potteries to the west of Derbyshire.

Pevsner[18] who is very occasionally inaccurate in non-architectural matters, estimates that the Briston, Norfolk, metal cello was made about 1700. This may be the result of local information, which is often exaggerated, or even guesswork. I think that this very early date is unlikely, but cannot be disproved; further details are given in the Norfolk section of Chapter Four.

J. H. Beardsmore[19] mentions 'reeds for the bassoon' at Hucknall from 1771. He also mentions that:

> a gallery was erected about 1740 for the accommodation of choristers and instrument players.

The use of choristers is a probability at that date, but instrumentalists would appear to be unlikely. A dubious comment is made by Muggleton[20] regarding Lubbenham in Leicestershire:

> Since the early 17th century the small village orchestra and the choir had been accommodated at All Saints in a musicians' gallery at the back of the nave. The orchestra [had]...various instruments ranging from fiddles to vamping horns.

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17 W. B. Bunting, *The Parish Church of St. Thomas a Becket, Chapel-en-le-Frith,* Manchester 1925, pp137–143

18 N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, North-East Norfolk and Norwich,* Harmondsworth 1962, pp19–103

19 J. H. Beardsmore, *History of Hucknall Torkard,* Mansfield 1909, p26

20 J. Muggleton, *All Saints, Lubbenham,* n.d. chap 7

Unfortunately Muggleton gives no documentary reference to support his statement which is of such a loose nature that it must be discounted here. This epitomises the problem surrounding research of this nature; the researcher must be selective in this type of documentary evidence. Muggleton was obviously aware of the type of instruments used in choir-bands and automatically ascribes them to his church. For details of the vamping horn, which is not a true musical instrument, see the section 'The Vamping Horn in Northamptonshire' later in this chapter.

For the time being at least, the earliest dating for instruments in a choir-band context must remain at 1742.

b) The Use of the Bassoon

Most prominent in the early choir-bands, and in many cases the only instrument used with the choir, was the bassoon in its eighteenth-century, short-belled three or four-keyed version. The instrument was very much in vogue in the late eighteenth-century. Langwill's article in the fifth edition of Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*[21] quotes Douane's *Musical Directory* of 1794, which gives the names and addresses of 202 wind players. Amongst these are 49 bassoonists, which is more than any other wind instrument player. If this were the number of professional players, then the total number of amateur players, including church musicians, must have been very large indeed. MacDermott's survey of Sussex[22] notes the use of 29 bassoons in 87 churches, and my own survey of Northamptonshire shows 47 in 132 churches.

The popularity of the instrument is hard to account for. It is not a particularly easy instrument to play, although the modern instrument has been considerably complicated by the mechanism. The purchase and maintenance of reeds must have been a problem, and it is not an ideal instrument for use in outside festivities, as it has a relatively quiet sound and suffers in wet and cold conditions.

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21 London, 1954, vol. 1 p493

22 K. H. MacDermott, *Sussex Church Music of the Past*, Chichester 1923, p91

The price of a new bassoon varied immensely. Northamptonshire prices between 1777 and 1836 are as follows (taken from churchwardens' accounts at Northamptonshire Record Office).

		£	s	d
Northampton St. Giles	1795	4	13	6
Moulton	1787	4	4	0
Greatworth	1795	4	13	6
Spratton	1790	3	15	0
Preston Capes	1777	3	13	0
Cold Ashby	1781	3	9	0
Tiffield	1836	2	19	9
Sulgrave (second-hand with reeds)	1797	2	18	0
Hargrave	1826	1	0	0
Yardley Hastings	1793	0	10	6
Great Harrowden	1788	0	4	0

It is not clear how many of these are new instruments. The latest purchases, 1826 and 1836, were relatively cheap and probably second-hand instruments, whereas the bassoons at Yardley Hastings and Great Harrowden were surprisingly cheap. Perhaps these were down payments (although there appear to be no further payments) or they were nominal amounts paid to beneficent parishioners. A new joint for the bassoon at Norton, Northamptonshire, cost one guinea in 1828, and a new crook for the bassoon at Old in 1790 was 6/-.

A consideration in ascertaining the relative value of instruments is the wage of £4. 0. 0. paid to Luke Buckingham, bassoonist of Wappenham, as his annual salary from 1815 as parish clerk. This was not a full-time position, and would augment the wages he gained from his other work which was of a manual nature around the parish. Gammon[23] notes that an artisan's wage in the mid-nineteenth-century would be c.15/- per week. A labourer would earn less than 10/6.

Temperley[24] notes some prices on a national basis:

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23 V. A. Gammon, *Popular Music in Rural Society, Sussex 1815 – 1914*, Sussex 1985, p33
24 *op. cit.*, p20

		£	s	d
Bunbury, Cheshire	1762	5	5	0
Milford, Hampshire	1776	4	8	7
Lymington, Hampshire	1782	5	5	0
Swalcliffe, Oxfordshire	1783	5	5	0

It can be seen that bassoons could be purchased at a reasonable price, but no less cheaply than the cello which replaced them.

The earliest bassoon documented was thought to be that at Bunbury which Langwill[25] noted as 1712. Temperley,[26] however, corrects this to 1762 and it now appears that the earliest bassoon used in a choir-band context was that of Rodborough, Gloucestershire in 1748. The earliest Northamptonshire examples are those at Clipston and Greens Norton in 1773.

By the end of the eighteenth-century the bassoon was formally established in the symphony and opera orchestra. The Royal Artillery Band, formed in 1762, included two bassoons.[27] Many local militia bands appeared at the time of the Napoleonic wars and for some functions replaced the old town waits.

Where there is only one instrument in a choir-band it is almost invariably a bass instrument (cello, serpent or bassoon), which would provide a practical support for the choir. It is much easier to sing upper parts over an instrumental bass, than to pitch a bass line below the instrumental parts, and it seems that this function suited the bassoon well.

Separate bass lines are sometimes included in village psalmodies. One example, particularly suited to the bassoon, is given below, taken from a manuscript tune-book (NRO 191P/63) from Lamport, Northamptonshire where a bassoon is known to have been used; a bassoonist is featured in George Clarke's Watercolour 'The Lamport Choir' c.1825 (Northamptonshire Central Museum).

This is the generally accepted function of the bassoon; it has a different role, however, in John Munden's prelude to his Old Version Psalm III (Ex. Q).[28] This work uses the bassoon and cello imitatively in a slow-moving passage. After this prelude both

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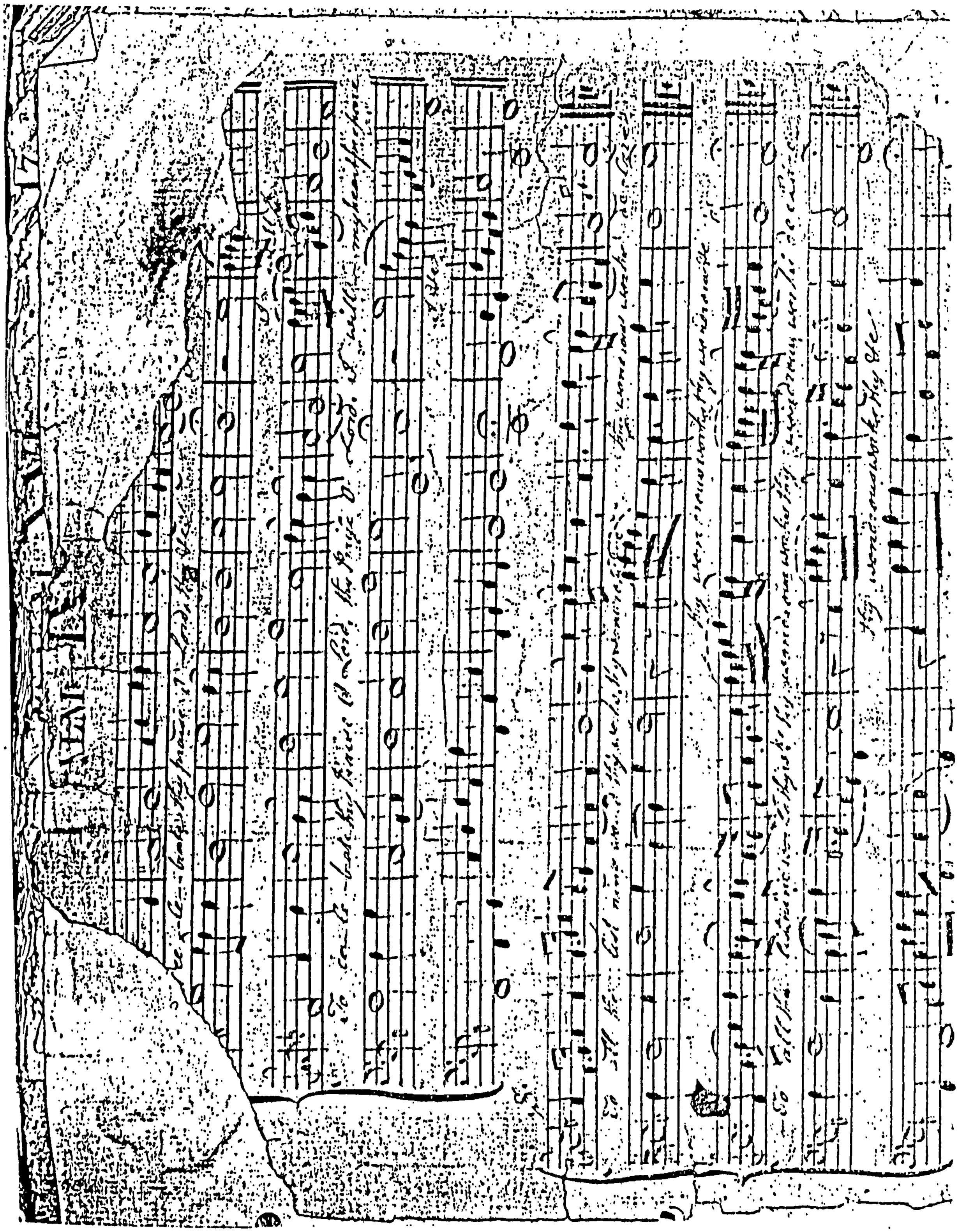
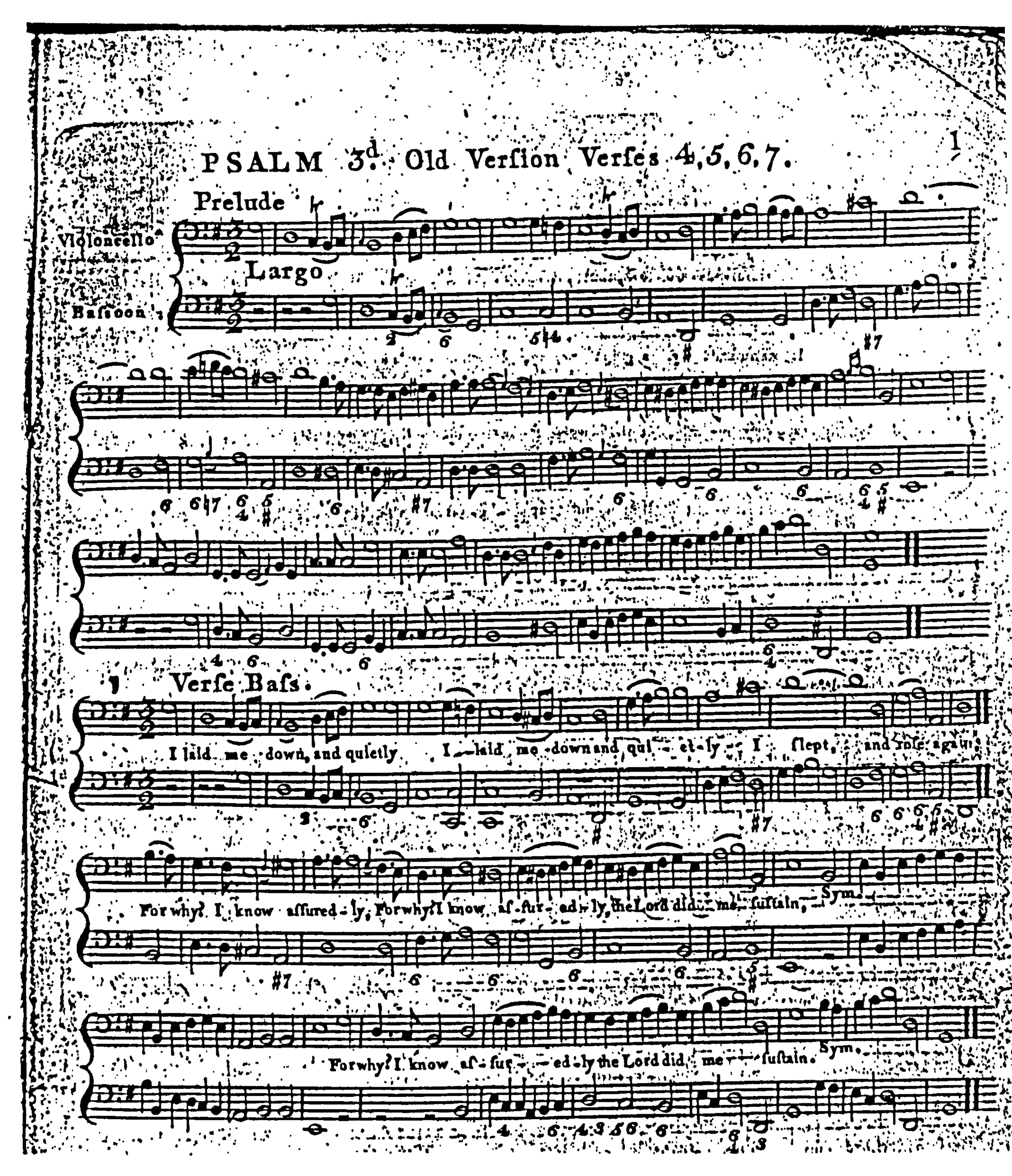
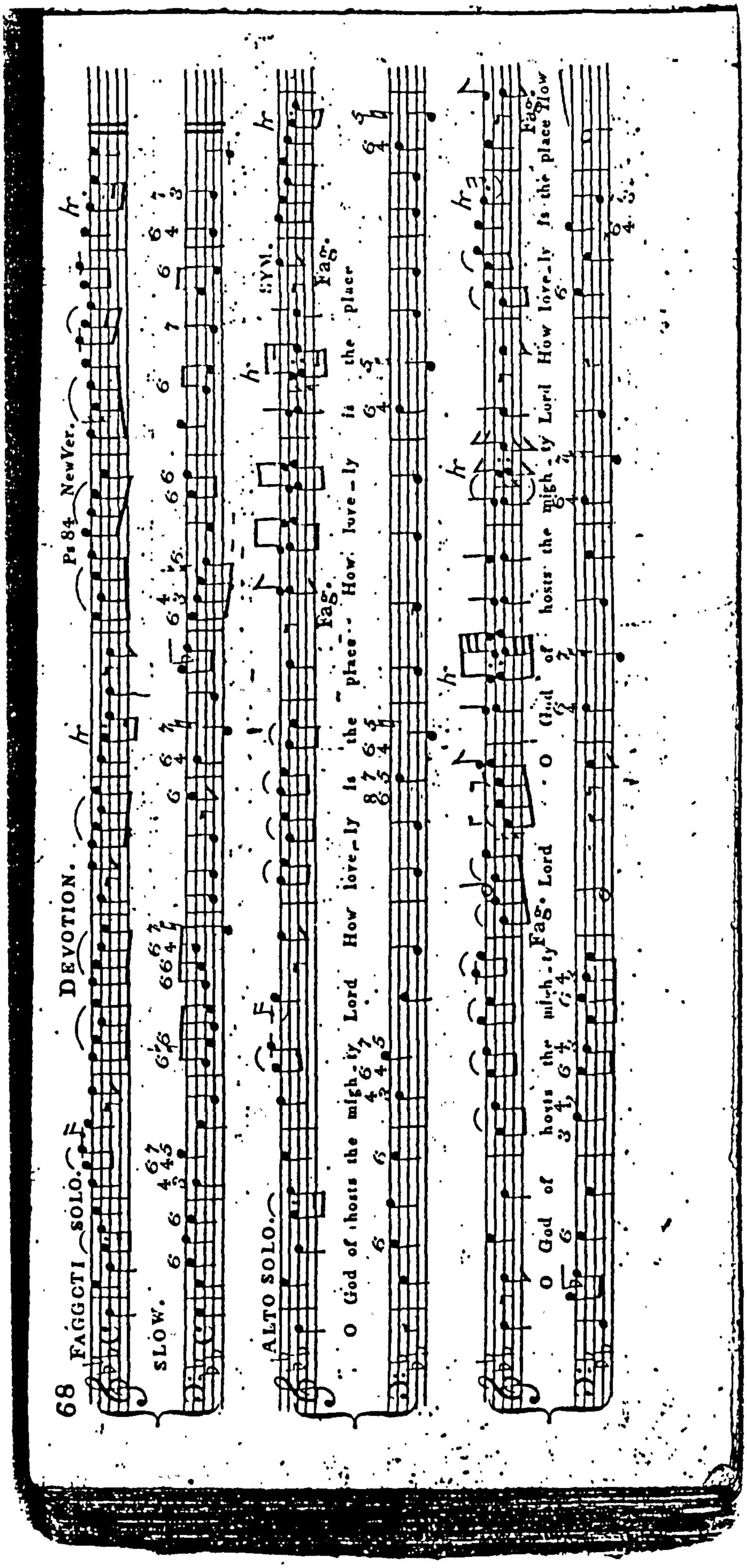
25 *op. cit.*, p20
26 *op. cit.*, p149
27 H. G. Farmer, *Military Music*, London 1950, p28
28 *Church Music, Vol. 1*, London 1787

Musical Example P: An example of probable bassoon writing taken from tune-book associated with Lamport (NRO 191P/63).



Musical Example Q: Prelude to Psalm 3 - John Munden
from Church Music Vol I London, 1788.





Musical Example R: Opening of Jarman's Devotion from the Northamptonshire Harmony London 1826. Reproduced by kind permission of Northamptonshire Record Office.

instruments revert to their more usual bass doubling, apart from a brief interlude near the end of the work; treble instruments are also used in this psalm.

An altogether uncharacteristic, but effective use of the bassoon, is the obbligato passage (Ex. R) forming a prelude to Jarman's anthem *Devotion*.[29] This is florid, ranging (in the tenor clef) between B flat below middle C and the A flat above. A highly competent and musical player, able to blend well with the alto soloist, must have been known to Jarman, possibly at his own chapel at Clipston. This raises the possibility that the bassoon was not always used in a bass capacity, but, where a cello, serpent or other bass instrument was available, may have doubled the air at tenor pitch, or added an inner part to psalm and anthem interludes.

c) Bassoons and Cellos in Northamptonshire

The most commonly encountered instruments in Northamptonshire Churchwardens' Accounts are two bass instruments – the bassoon and the cello. In studying the occurrences of bassoons and cellos, two periods of popularity seem to emerge in many cases. The periods are not distinct, but from 1770 onwards a bassoon is much more likely to appear than a cello, whilst a cello tends to feature more often from around 1810. The earliest bassoon uses are at Clipston and Greens Norton in 1773; the latest introduction of a bassoon is 1836 at Tiffield. The earliest use of a cello is the all-string band at Geddington (1789) whereas the latest introductory cello use is 1860 at Ashby St. Ledgers. These are extreme cases, however; a complete picture of these instruments, taken from churchwardens' accounts, is given below:

Parish	NR0 No.	Bassoon	Cello	Concurrent Use
Aldwincle St. Peter	9		1821 – 1824	not applicable
Arthingworth	14		1802 – 1851	n/a
Ashby St. Ledgers	15	1804 – 1826	1860	no
Ashley	16		1824 – 1839	n/a

29 Northamptonshire Harmony, NRO Y29374 n.d.

Parish	NR0 No.	Bassoon	Cello	Concurrent Use
Ashton	16	1817 – 1832		n/a
Blakesley	33		1812 – 1840	n/a
Bozeat	40		1827	n/a
Boughton	39	1813		n/a
Brampton Ash	45		1852	n/a
Bradden	43	1813 – 1831		n/a
Braybrooke	47	1784 – 1808	1809 – 1845	no
Brigstock	48		1836	n/a
Castor	60		1817	n/a
Chipping Warden	66		1850 – 1851	n/a
Clipston	70	1773 – 1795	1798 – 1814	6 years
Cold Ashby	72	1781 – 1821	1795 – 1839	26 years
Cosgrave	81	1796 – 1810		n/a
Cottingham	85	1812 – 1815	1822 – 1823	no
Crick	92		1812 – 1841	n/a
Culworth	90	1785 – 1815	1824 – 1825	no
Dallington	95		1833	n/a
Daventry	96		1814 – 1816	n/a
Desborough	103	1789	1789 – 1831	1 year?
Duston	109		1844 – 1852	n/a
Easton on the Hill	113	1807 – 1838	1831 – 1832	7 years
Easton Maudit	111	1833 – 1845	1819 – 1849	16 years
Everdon	119	1813 – 1816	1813 – 1837	3 years
Eye	121	1817 – 1819		n/a
East Farndon	122		1849	n/a
Geddington	137		1789 – 1835	n/a
Greatworth	139	1812		n/a
Greens Norton	140	1773 – 1801		n/a
Grendon			1834 – 1857	n/a

Parish	NR0 No.	Bassoon	Cello	Concurrent Use
Hardwick	151	1826		n/a
Hargrave	152	1826		n/a
Harlestone	153	1809		n/a
Harpole	154		1825 – 1839	n/a
Harrington	155		1825 – 1839	n/a
Harringworth	156	1798		n/a
Gt Harrowden	157	1786	1795 – 1808	no
Lt Harrowden	158	1788	1815 – 1843	no
Helidon	161		1819 – 1843	n/a
Helpston	163		1823 – 1830	n/a
Holcot	170	1806		n/a
Gt Houghton	175		1835 – 1844	n/a
Irthlingborough	178		1812 – 1839	n/a
Isham	179	1794		n/a
Kingsthorpe	189	1784 – 1809	1797 – 1816	12 years
Lamport	191	1825	1842	no
Loddington	196	1813		n/a
Lowick	199	1774 – 1799		n/a
Marston Trussell	706		1847 – 1872	n/a
Mears Ashby	209		1832	n/a
Middleton Cheney	211		1833 – 1861	n/a
Milton Malsor	212		1813 – 1847	n/a
Moreton Pinkey	213		1800 – 1826	n/a
Moulton	214	1787	1812 – 1829	no
Northampton St. Giles		1795 – 1812	1816	no
Northampton St. Sepulchre			1818 – 1824	n/a
Norton	243	1827 – 1828		n/a
Old		1774 – 1794		n/a
Oxendon	251		1829 – 1842	n/a

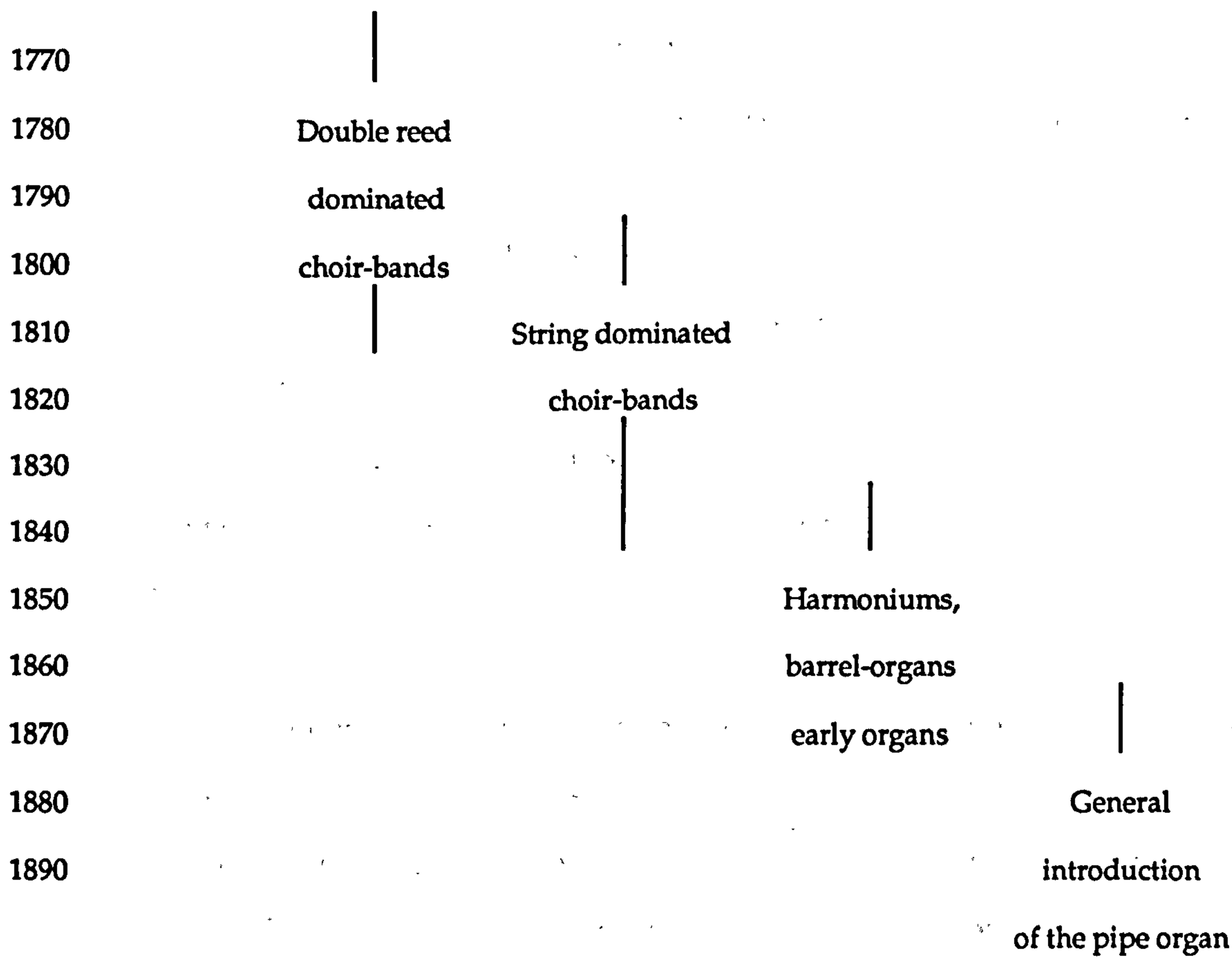
Parish	NR0 No.	Bassoon	Cello	Concurrent Use
Preston Capes	273	1777 – 1813		n/a
Pytchley	275		1834 – 1857	n/a
Raunds	278	1809 – 1835		n/a
Rushden	285		1814 – 1836	n/a
Ringstead	280		1834 – 1835	n/a
Rockingham	282	1809		n/a
Silverstone	290		1777 – 1820	n/a
Spratton	295	1790		n/a
Stamford Baron	296	1782 – 1800		n/a
Stoke Albany	302		1816 – 1855	n/a
Stoke Bruerne	303	1774 – 1833	1810 – 1813	3 years
Sulgrave	310	1797 – 1801		n/a
Tiffield	327	1836		n/a
Titchmarsh	328	1805 – 1833		n/a
Towcester	329	1791 – 1814		n/a
Weldon	348	1874		n/a
Werrington	357		1833 – 1841	n/a
Weston by Welland	358		1802 – 1855	n/a
Wicken	364	1778 – 1792		n/a
Woodford	371		1811 – 1852	n/a
Yardley Hastings	372	1793		n/a
Yelvertoft	379		1831 – 1840	n/a

A closer analysis shows that there are 25 instances of bassoon use in the eighteenth-century compared to eight cello references. Introductory bassoon use in the nineteenth-century is represented by only 20 cases compared to 49 introductory cello entries.

It can be seen, then, that although there are many exceptions, and the period designation is of necessity very vague, in Northamptonshire the bassoon had an earlier

period of popularity than the cello. It is possible that this is also true throughout the country. A very loose picture of instrumental accompaniment can be drawn:

A generalised plan of instrumental accompaniment



d) The Double Reed Period

In this early double reed period, the bassoon predominated. However, there are cases where a bassoon and oboe were used together. The texture of this reed-band must have been less refined than that of the later string bands, and was possibly considered archaic and primitive by the exponents of the succeeding groups. The virtues of the

string-band, extolled by William Dewy, in Hardy's *Under the Greenwood Tree*[30] are to a certain extent echoed by the incumbent of Ashton, Northamptonshire, in 1853, who immediately upon his induction removed the wind instruments from the choir, leaving only a cello.

It is interesting to note that two of Northamptonshire's mixed bands – Clipston and Wollaston – evolved into small string ensembles. Wollaston's choir-band originally consisted of cello, violin and oboe; the oboe was replaced by a flute, and then a string trio is noted. Clipston had a larger band of three strings, clarinet, oboe and serpent. The strings are reputed to have continued until 1867.

Northamptonshire churches which had concurrent use of a bassoon and oboe before 1815 are:

Braybrooke: 1805 Bassoon and oboe reeds, oboe purchase

Cold Ashby: 1781 Bassoon purchase, 1789 oboe reeds

Cottingham: 1812 Bassoon reeds, 1815 oboe reeds

Culworth: 1785 Bassoon and oboe reeds

Harringworth: 1796 Oboe purchase, 1798 bassoon repair

Stamford Baron: 1784 Bassoon reeds, 1786 bassoon repair

Towcester: 1786 Oboe reeds, 1791 bassoon repair

A particularly early double reed band is noted by Temperley[31] from Porter[32] at Hope, Derbyshire in 1759. Ribchester, Lancashire, had two oboes and a bassoon in 1773.[33] Byrne[34] writes of the oboe, vox humana (tenor oboe) and bassoon at Swalcliffe (Oxfordshire) in 1783. This last was a short-lived double-reed band as it was joined by a cello in 1785.

A florid example of oboe writing is given in Musical Example S. The texture of a double reed band can be recreated by use of a bassoon on the bass line.

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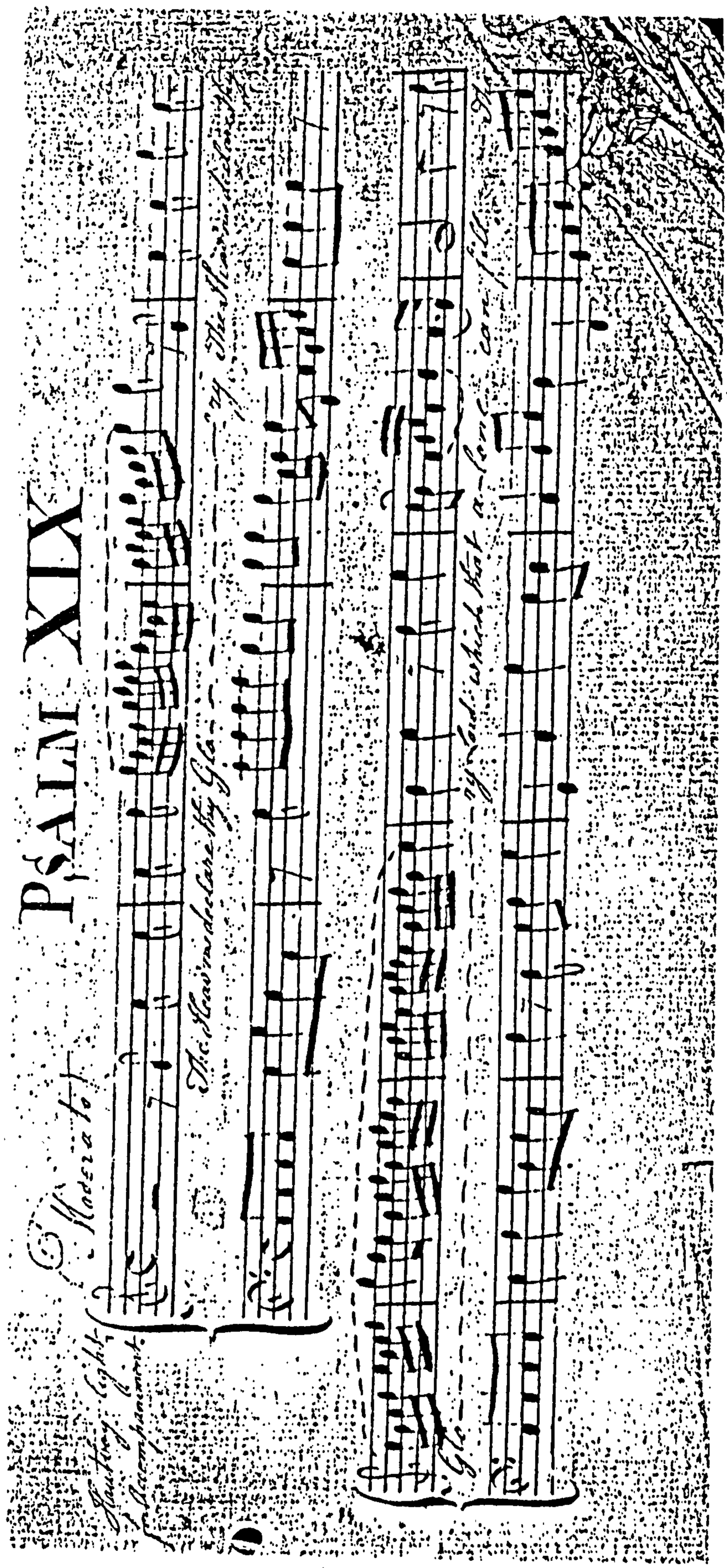
30 T. Hardy, *Under the Greenwood Tree*, London 1872 Chapter 4
31 *op. cit.*, p149
32 W. S. Porter, *Notes from a Peakland Parish*, Sheffield, 1923
33 Temperley, *op. cit.*, p149
34 M. Byrne, The Church Band at Swalcliffe, *Galpin Society Journal* XVII 1964, p89



Musical Example S: Opening of Munden's Psalm 19, showing oboe and probable bassoon writing, from Church Music Vol I London, 1788.

e) The String Period in Northamptonshire

In designating a separate 'string period' there should be an awareness that there are several examples of very early (pre-1800) cellos in Northamptonshire and, indeed, throughout the country; there are also many instances of 'mixed bands', including both double reed and string instruments. However, in some churches there were two distinct instrumental periods, and it is on these which this section focuses.

J. A. La Trobe despised the bassoon and recommended its replacement by a single cello which would give 'every requisite support for plain psalmody'[35]

> The bassoon must be dispensed with at all hazard; and if a violoncello can be introduced into its place an important object is effected.

La Trobe also recommends

> a complete set of violins, first, second, tenor and violoncello, which, when united as they should be, if introduced on a sacred occasion, form but one instrument.[36]

We have seen that there is a 25: 8 ratio of the eighteenth-century bassoons to cellos in Northamptonshire; the nineteenth-century reverses the trend, 49: 20 cellos to bassoons. Temperley's Table 7[37] (detailing references to instruments before 1785) notes eleven instances of stringed instruments compared to twenty-four cases of double-reed instruments. Only one entry relates to both strings and wind. Examples from Northamptonshire churchwardens' accounts are noted below:

At Ashby St Ledgers, bassoon reeds were purchased between 1804 and 1826 and then a cello is referred to at the very late date of 1860. At Braybrooke a bassoon and oboe are mentioned from 1784 until 1808; a cello appears in 1809, with a latest date of 1845. Cottingham has double reed entries (bassoon and oboe) between 1812 and 1815; a cello is referred to in 1822 and 1823. A bassoon and oboe were in use at Culworth from 1785 until 1815. A cello appears in 1824 and 1825. At Great Harrowden a bassoon was purchased in 1788 but receives no further mention. A cello was bought in 1795; it is not clear if this

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35 J. A. La Trobe, *The Music of the Church considered in its various branches*, London 1831, p91
36 *op. cit.*, p327
37 *op. cit.*, p149

replaced the bassoon, but it seems likely as no reeds were purchased, but strings appear up to 1808. In 1814 the choir returned to unaccompanied singing, tutored by Mr. Hobbs and using a pitch-pipe. At neighbouring Little Harrowden a bassoon appears in 1788 (the same year as Great Harrowden) but again has no further mention. A clarinet is referred to in 1835; it is possible that a clarinet was considered to have the right timbre to blend with strings, whereas double reeds may have been too harsh. The churchwardens' accounts for Lamport give the impression that there was non-concurrent use of bassoon and cello (1825 bassoon, 1842 cello); however, George Clarke's watercolour[38] of 1825 shows a flute, bassoon and cello. At Moulton a cello noted between 1812 and 1829 succeeds a bassoon of 1787. Serjeantson, in his history of Northampton St Giles,[39] notes a bassoon in 1795 and a cello in 1816. Wappenham has very detailed accounts, first noting a bassoon in 1783 with many reed purchases until 1824. The cello entries are from 1828 until 1836.

All the above examples are of non-concurrent use of bassoon and cello. There are numerous examples of string bands with no preliminary double reed use.

The most interesting Northamptonshire string choir-band is the one at Geddington which includes one of the only authenticated examples of viola use. The band first appears in the churchwardens' accounts of 1789 with reference to a cello; a violin is noted in 1796 and the viola in 1799. Entries continue until 1831. There is a parallel here with the fictional string band at Hardy's Mellstock, which we are told consisted of 'treble violin, second violin, tenor violin and violoncello'. The characters here make no reference to double reed instruments, but the use of the clarinet and serpent in other churches is mentioned.

> They should have stuck to strings as we did, and keep out clar'nets, and done away with serpents.[40]

38 Northampton Central Museum and Art Gallery

39 R. M. Serjeantson, *A History of the Church of St. Giles*, Northampton 1911, p215

40 *Under the Greenwood Tree*, Chapter 4

Another viola is mentioned being in the Clipston band, but the source is not completely reliable.[41] This mixed band apparently disbanded to be replaced by a barrel-organ. Fisher notes that a band of string instruments was still in use until 1867.

A band with at least two string instruments was that at Middleton Cheney, with cello and violin entries between 1833 and 1861. It is, of course, possible that references to a violin may have meant a cello, which is sometimes referred to as bass violin or bass fiddle. The parish church at Rushden is supposed to have had a band of violin and cello, according to Mary Ann Smart, quoted by Hall and Harding.[42] The Baptist Church in the same town used strings between 1832 – 1851.[43]

The *Annals of Wollaston*[44] note a mixed band at that church, but Cummings[45] mentions a string trio before the installation of the first organ in 1840.

The last use of strings in Northamptonshire appears to be at Marston Trussell, – a cello mentioned between 1847 and 1872. It is interesting to note that this is a neighbouring village to Clipston where the first Northamptonshire reference to a cello appears.

f) The Clarinet

The clarinet was a very popular member of choir-bands and occurs generally throughout the country. In some cases it was used at a relatively early date, alongside the double reeds, but it was equally acceptable with the later strings. Very occasionally one clarinet constituted the entire choir-band (Sussex – West Wittering, Northamptonshire – Little Billing), but it was normally part of an ensemble. Its role is unclear; it seems that it either doubled the air at the octave or the alto. Temperley[46] quotes two sources relating to this:

a) An anthem by W. Jackson (1815 – 1866):

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41 E. L. Fisher, *Clipston*, Kettering 1926, p12
42 D. Hall and R. Harding, *Rushden, A Duchy of Lancaster Village*, Rushden 1985, p189
43 S. E. Bayes, *These Years Have Told*, Rushden 1951, p25
44 A. Wighello, *Annals of Wollaston*, Wellingborough 1894, p13
45 R. Cummings, *The Parish Churches of St Mary the Virgin, Wollaston and St Rumwald Strixton*, Ramsgate 1964, p9
46 *op. cit.*, p149, 190

in choirs where there is not an organ, the upper notes of the organ part may be taken by a violin or clarionet, the note below forming a second.

b) *Psalmody Improved* by William Gresham 1797:
the treble is often omitted and the counter made completely to overpower the air by being played on a clarinet or two, and in the treble octave.

MacDermott offers no clues as to the clarinet's use, while Galpin, reflecting on the Winterbourne Abbas choir-band,[47] notes that the clarinet started on the soprano line and then changed to the alto. This was for a psalm-chant performance, so must be considered untypical.

Part-books and psalmodies appear to be written for concert-pitch instruments, and so the obvious clarinet to choose would be one in C. However B flat and E flat instruments were also used and the following sample of extant instruments in the Eastern Counties gives an interesting insight into this point. Twenty-two extant clarinets were considered; the churches given are not necessarily present locations, but where the instrument was used:

East Anglia: Gressenhall (Norfolk), Rumburgh (Suffolk), Fingringhoe, Cressing, Crishall, Sudbury, Lion Walk Baptist (Essex)
East Midlands: Egginton, Matlock (Derbyshire), Waltham, Ridlington (4), Syston (Leicestershire)
Mid-Anglia: Harringworth, Lamport, Oxendon (Northamptonshire), Biddenham, Ravensden, Toddington, Westoning (Bedfordshire)

C clarinets were used at Rumburgh, Sudbury, Egginton, Matlock, Waltham, Ridlington (1), Harringworth, Lamport, Oxendon, Ravensden and Toddington. E flat clarinets were used at Gressenhall, Ridlington (1) and Biddenham. B flat clarinets featured at Fingringhoe, Cressing, Crishall, Lion Walk, Ridlington (2), Syston and Westoning.

It can be seen that there are eleven examples of the C clarinet, eight of the B flat, and three of the E flat. The C clarinet was favoured in Northamptonshire, but the B flat instrument in Essex.

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47 op. cit., *Musical News* 1893, Vol. 5, p31

Other observations which could be made from this group of instruments are the ratio of boxwood instruments to those made of darkwood, and an analysis of the dating to see if a pattern emerges.

The actual types of instrument in this sample are as follows:

boxwood in C – 10

boxwood in E flat – 3

boxwood in B flat – 6

darkwood in C – 1

darkwood in B flat – 2

Most of the instruments have inscriptions and so the dates of manufacture can be approximated by use of Langwill's *Index of Wind-Instrument Makers*,[48] and the others can be estimated by the keywork; a boxwood with square keys, for example, dates from before 1825; a thirteen-keyed darkwood instrument would be after 1840.

The following table shows the periods of manufacture, from the earliest possible dates to the latest. It should be noted that this is not the period of use; this cannot be identified but probably stretches overall from 1770, until the Westoning clarinet ceased to be used in 1917. It can be seen that the boxwood C and B flat periods are similar, the E flat entering use considerably later, and the darkwood instruments overlapping the boxwood period, but occupying the latter part of the century. It does not seem that the C clarinet belonged to an earlier period than the B flat (which was my impression before undertaking this research) or that the opposite was true. The C instrument was certainly more popular, and convenient for reading vocal parts. It is possible, however that the B flat and E flat instruments were considered to be non-transposing instruments by the village players, who may have worked out the fingerings, rather than transpose the part-books. An untaught player would discover that, on the B flat, the thumb and first two fingers of the left hand (nominally D) gives a middle C and that the six-fingered note was F; he may have been unaware of the intended nature of the instrument. This would account for the absence of transposed part-books, and the variety of differently-pitched clarinets.

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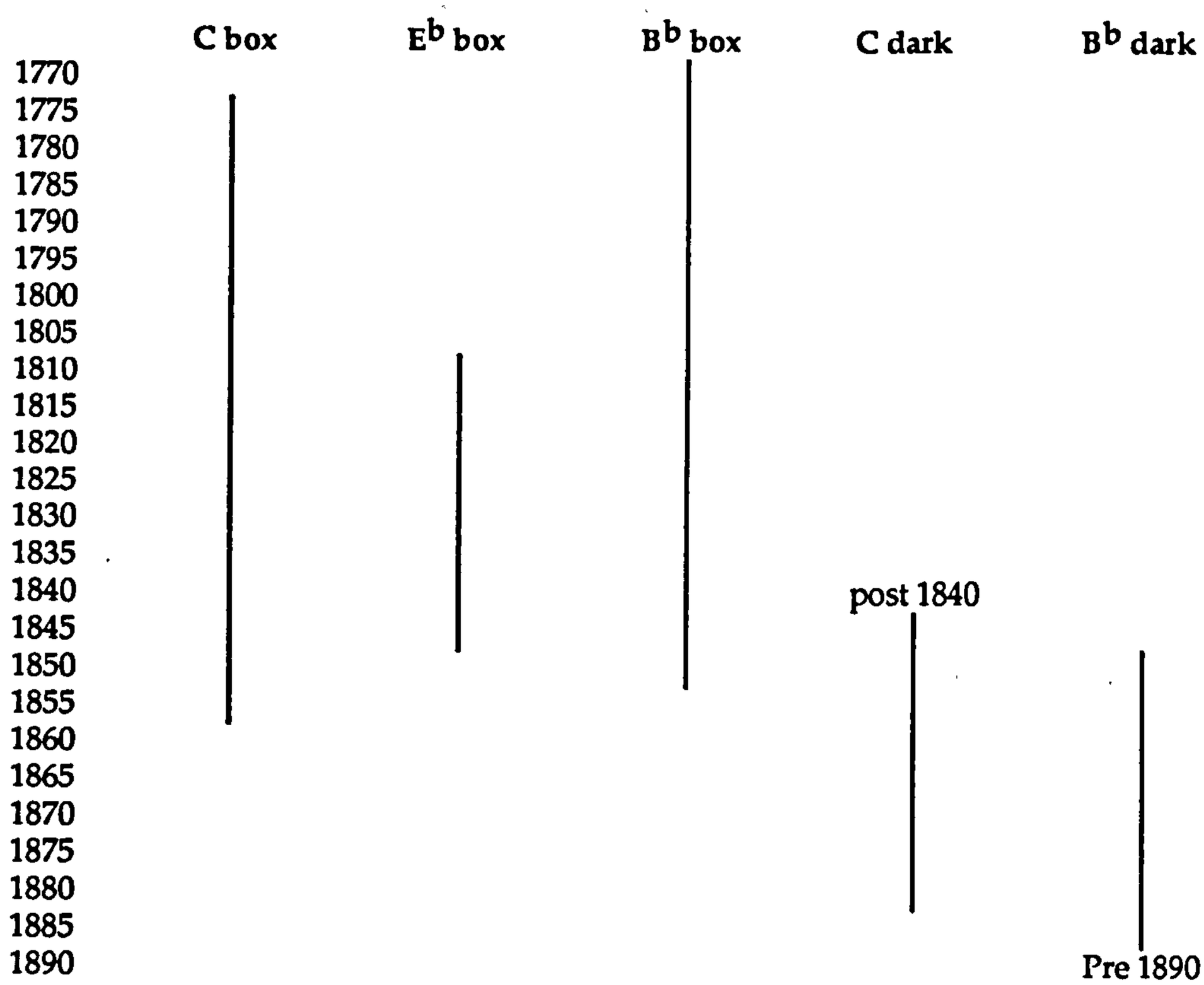
48 L. G. Langwill, *An Index of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers*, Edinburgh, 5th ed. 1977



The dating of extant clarinets in the Eastern Counties

g) Harmoniums, Early Organs and Later Choir-Bands

Evidence of the gradual return of organs into churches after the Restoration is represented by the instruments by Bernhard Schmidt, Renatus Harris, the Jordans (father and son) and from 1742, Johann Schnetzler. The last builder is the subject of a thesis by Alan Barnes[49] who notes the following Schnetzler instruments in the Eastern counties: Belper (Derbyshire), Blickling (Norfolk), two in Cambridge, King's Lynn, St. Martins, Leicester (now the Cathedral), Norwich Cathedral, two in Nottingham, Openwood (Derbyshire), Sculthorpe (Norfolk), Southwell Minster (Nottinghamshire), Swithland (Leicestershire), Theddingworth (Leicestershire), Whaddon (Cambridgeshire), and Wingerworth (Derbyshire). It can be seen that half of these are in major towns and cities, and half in villages. Villages that could actually afford a first-class instrument must have been very rare.

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49 A. Barnes, *Johann Schnetzler (John Snetzler): An Eighteenth-Century Organ Builder*, Leicester Ph.D. Thesis 1982, p432

Barnes[50] considers the reasons for Schnetzler's arrival in England, which has sometimes been considered part of a major programme of rebuilding organs in English churches:

> In trying to establish a reason for Schnetzler coming to England we must not overlook the possibility of his being advised and encouraged to come to this country by Charles Burney, who would have been aware of the opportunities. He could well have convinced Schnetzler that England was the place to commence and extend his organ-building career. It is possible that Schnetzler came to this country because of the financial rewards that were thought to be available to foreign organ-builders. Cecil Clutton (*The British Organ,* London 1963) points out that according to information related by Burney, the demand for organs immediately after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 was so great, and the numbers of surviving organ-builders so small, that premiums were offered to foreign organ-builders to settle in this country. Clutton goes on to say that this story 'is without foundation'. The reason for doubting the existence of such premiums for organ-building is that the presiding government would not have the money required to offer such incentives and also that native craftsmen would not have allowed or welcomed an intrusion of foreigners to what was to them a golden opportunity to make good.

In any case there was no great resurgence in organ-building until the nineteenth century. Gammon[51] suggests three reasons:

a) the shortage of organ-builders

b) the reluctance of country churches to find funds for organ-building and then organists' salaries

c) the suspicion that organs were 'popish'

After the theological reforms proposed by the Oxford Movement, the Cambridge Camden Society, (known as the Ecclesiological Society after 1846) promoted the restoration and internal rearrangement of churches. This had a far-reaching effect on choir-bands, Nigel Yates[52] notes the aims of the Ecclesiologists:

> They were particularly anxious to alter the internal arrangements of most Anglican churches, which had become preaching houses, with the pulpit dominant, and cluttered with galleries and pews. They wanted to clear the chancels of pews, have a proper sanctuary with the altar raised on steps and with a proper reredos, a clear view of the altar from the nave with a pulpit and reading pew placed well to the side of the chancel opening, and the font placed at the west end. Later they advocated the introduction of lecterns, choir-stalls in the chancel with robed choristers, lighted candles and frontals on the altar, screens, side chapels, organs removed from the west end galley to an organ chamber off the chancel, sedilia and piscinae, credence tables,

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50 *op. cit.,* p51

51 *op. cit.,* p8

52 N. Yates, *The Oxford Movement and Anglican Ritualism,* London 1983

representational stained glass, in fact a return, according to their own interpretations, to what English churches might have looked like in the fourteenth-century before the late mediaeval corruption had set in.

The nineteenth-century's romantic interest in things mediaeval also brought a revival of Gregorian chant; this did not reach the villages however, but *a cappella* four-part singing did. Three Cambridgeshire choirs were reformed on this principle in the 1840s – Over (1841), Cottenham (1842) and Elsworth (1846). The office of Evensong took on a new choral complexion. A solitary keyboard instrument, for tasteful support, was needed, and small organs and harmoniums supplied that need. The 1857 harmonium at Goostrey, Cheshire, however, was used to accompany the choir which had been reformed by William Dixon in 1846, 'only in emergency'.[53]

Choirs began to be resited in the chancel, and organs and harmoniums were often placed in transepts or nearer to the choirs, although many were simply erected in the old galleries. At Hannington, Northamptonshire in 1867, the vestry meeting 'agreed that the present gallery be taken down and a platform for the harmonium and fittings for the choir be placed in the chancel'.[54]

Temperley,[55] referring to a report of the Church Congress in 1886 states:

> The new standards hastened the demise of the few remaining gallery choirs and bands, which were replaced by organs. By 1886 it was said that 'the cases are so very rare in which even the smallest country church is without either an organ or [a] harmonium'.

An 1843 tract by J. M. Neale, published by the Cambridge Camden Society[56] and dealing with the position of the organ is given in part here:

> The position of the organ is one of the things which is often great trouble. Nine-tenths of the organs in this country stand in a western gallery. This, of course, falls under the condemnation we have agreed to pronounce on all galleries; and there are many other objections to this position, whether for organs or singers. In country churches the singing loft, during the performance of the psalm or hymn, becomes the cynosure of all eyes: the worshippers, or they who should be such, generally turned to it as to a centre of attraction. Messages, too, pass during the time of Divine Service between

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53 P. M. Young, A Village Choir in the Age of Reform 1848 – 58, *Musical Times*, April 1987, p225
54 NRO, 149P/20
55 *op. cit.*, p280
56 J. M. Neale, *Church Enlargement and Church Arrangement*, pp15–17

'first violin' and the clerk, if that anomalous person be employed, and the noise on the gallery stairs frequently overpowers every sound. Then, what can be more ludicrous than the slate, suspended in front of the gallery, stamped with the letters AN or PS. Nothing, too, can be worse as respects the singers. Removed too great a distance from the clergyman's eye, having a separate entrance to their seats, possessed of a strong esprit de corps, and feeling themselves indispensable to the performance of a certain part of public worship, and too often, alas! privileged to decide what that part shall be, – what wonder if they generally acquire those feelings of independence and pride, which make the singers some of the worst members of the parish. The radicalism both of singers and of bell ringers is notorious. And where women-singers are allowed, and part-anthems sung, the notice which they attract from the their station in front of the gallery might well enough befit a theatre, but is highly ludicrous in the house of God.

This was mainly true of course, and the bigotry of clerks and singers is well-documented, but the resiting of choirs in the chancel has not solved all the problems; the body of singers is still separated from the people, and the general poor quality of congregational singing is the result of this. The behaviour of choir-members under more public scrutiny throughout the service is better than that of their forebears, but the 'independence and pride' continue.

Neale mentions various positions for the organ, and the problems encountered, but makes no recommendations apart from the need for the organ to be on the floor. Once a church had dealt with the problem of siting an organ or harmonium, an even greater one was to find to find a player. This was solved in some churches by use of a barrel-organ or even, as at Easton-on-the-Hill, Northamptonshire, a dumb organist, which could be fitted on to the organ manual, but removed for normal playing. Temperley[57] notes that 'sometimes the vicar's wife or daughter could oblige, but a professional player was unlikely to reside within easy distance of the church.' Women, then, were able to fulfil a new role; the choir-bands appear to have used only male instrumentalists (apart from Phoebe Brown, the Matlock cellist), and were often dominated by a male parish clerk. It is unclear why women could be accepted as singers but not instrumentalists.

Below is a list of the first appearances of harmoniums in Northamptonshire churchwardens' accounts. These dates, and the dates of the early organs in the next table may not be the actual dates of erection in churches, but merely the first documentation. It should be noted that equal numbers of harmoniums seem to have arrived during the 1860s and 70s, but that the 1840s was a period of great activity for organ-building.

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57 *op. cit.*, p234

Northamptonshire Harmoniums

1.	Isham	1855	
2.	Woodford	1858	
3.	Nassington	1862	
4.	Chipping Warden	1863	
5.	Werrington	1863	
6.	Lt. Billing	1864	
7.	Cranford St. Johns	1865	1860 – 69
8.	Wakerley	1866	
9.	Harrington	1867	
10.	Barby	1868	
11.	Wilby	1868	
12.	Cranford St. Andrew	1868	
13.	Duston	1870	
14.	Thorpe Mandeville	1870	
15.	Newnham	c. 1870	
16.	Woodnewton	1871	
17.	Stoke Albany	1871	1870 – 79
18.	Gt. Doddington	1872	
19.	Gt. Houghton	1872	
20.	Marston Trussell	1876	
21.	Arthingworth	1876	
22.	Northampton St. Matthew	1889 new church	
23.	Wadenhoe	(late nineteenth-century)	
24.	Wellingborough	n.d.	
25.	Milton Malsor (small organ)	n.d.	
26.	Lamport	n.d.	
27.	Silverstone	n.d.	
28.	Clipston Chapel	c.1935	

Pre – 1850 organs in Northamptonshire

1.	Stanford	(seventeenth-century)
2.	Finedon	1717
3.	Northampton All Saints	1725

4.	Thrapston	1785	
5.	Gt Brington	1790	
6.	Whittlebury	1812	1810 – 19
7.	Oundle	1813	
8.	Clipston	1815	
9.	Kettering	1817	
10.	Stoke Doyle (early nineteenth-century)		
11.	Peterborough St John	1829	
12.	Dingley	1830	1830 – 39
13.	Welford	1834	
14.	Towcester	1835	
15.	Pilton	1837	
16.	Harrington	1840	1840 – 49
17.	Wollaston	1840	
18.	Crick	1842	
19.	Wicken	1843	
20.	East Haddon	1843	
21.	Dallington	1846	
22.	Barnwell St Andrew	1846	
23.	Helpston	1848	
24.	Oxendon	1848	
25.	Farthinghoe	1848	
26.	Weldon	1848	
27.	Blakesley	1849	
28.	Syresham	1849	
29.	Brackley St Peter	1850	

Organs must have been prohibitively expensive for many churches, which is probably why harmoniums were used instead. In Northamptonshire few prices are noted, but an estimate can be seen from the following:

The organ at Wicken, purchased from Leatherhead Church, Surrey, cost £120. 0. 0., raised by subscription. The Harrington alterations in 1859, which involved an organ, cost £10. 14. 0., of which £10. 11. 3. was raised by subscription. The 1887 organ at Harrington, which came from Barnetby, Lincolnshire cost £91. 13. 0. The organ at Brampton in 1897 cost £45. 0. 0. A harmonium for Nassington in 1862 cost only ten guineas; in 1863 the balance of the Chipping Warden harmonium was 2 guineas. A further solution was found at Duston, where the harmonium was hired for 2/6d. (unspecified period). At Ringstead the organ was owned by the vicar, Alfred J. Sandilands, who loaned it to the church, 'during his pleasure' in 1857.

The instruments had to be maintained, and unlike the wind and string instruments, already discussed, professionally tuned on a regular basis. There are many Northamptonshire examples of maintenance and tuning, given below:

			£	s	d
Barnwell	1846	organ tuning	0	10	0
Lt Billing	1864	harmonium tuning	0	10	0
Brackley	1850	organ tuning	0	12	0
Broughton	1852	organ repair and clean	1	10	0
Bugbrook	1896	organ repairs	1	1	0
Cold Ashby	1869	organ tuning	0	10	0
Cottesbrook	1864	organ repairs	0	3	4
Cranford St Andrew	1868	harmonium tuning	0	10	0
Cranford St John	1865	harmonium repair	0	7	1
Crick	1842	organ repair and tuning	2	0	0
Gt Doddington	1872	mending hamonium	0	2	0
Earls Barton	1866	new bellows and stops	30	0	0
Etton	1866	cleaning organ	1	11	6
Helpston	1848	one-year organ tuning and regulating	1	1	0
Horton	1851	work at the organ	0	16	6
Kilsby	1854	organ tuning	2	2	0

Maidwell	1872	organ repairs	0	5	0
Marston Trussell	1876	harmonium repair	0	7	6
Milton Malsor	1852	organ tuning	1	5	0
Pilton	1837	organ tuning	1	0	0
Pytchley	1862	organ repairs	1	5	0
Raunds	1878	organ repairs	0	6	6
Rockingham	1863	organ tuning	1	11	6
Stoke Bruerne	1867	organ repairs	8	0	0
Sutton	1860	organ tuning	0	7	6
Syresham	1849	moving and repairing organ	1	5	0
Thorpe Mandeville	1870	harmonium tuning and repair	1	1	0
Thrapston	1785	organ repair	2	1	10
	1796	organ repair	0	2	6
Thurning	1881	organ tuning and regulation	0	18	0
	1882	organ tuning and regulation	1	1	0
Weldon	1848	organ tuning	0	4	0
Welford	1834	organ case cleaning	0	0	6
Werrington	1863	work at harmonium	0	2	6
Wilby	1868	carriage of harmonium to and from Northampton	0	3	0
Woodford	1858	harmonium repair	0	3	0
Woodnewton	1871	harmonium tuning	1	1	0

A further expense was the salary of the organist. Many churches had paid no salary to the instrumentalists, and some had merely supplied a feast for the singers at Christmas. Salaries range from very small amounts to the £25. 0. 0. Edmund Larkin was paid annually at Peterborough St John from 1829. At Daventry the 'singers fund' of £1. 0. 0. per year became an organ fund in 1852.

Other churches note the fees paid to the organ blower but have no reference to an organist. At Stanwick the organist was originally paid by subscription; later, a salary of

£12. 0. 0. was given. The organist at Warkworth was paid £2. 0. 0. in 1897, but this was raised to £5. 0. 0., the difference being a product of an offering from a Sunday service in the summer. Examples of organists' fees are given below:

			£	s	d
Cogenhoe	1871	Eliza Valentine	0	10	0
Culworth	1859	Organist salary	2	12	0
Dallington	1846	Organist salary (1 year)	2	12	0
Dingley	1830	Organist	5	0	0
Guilsborough	1873	Organist 1 year salary	20	0	0
Lowick	1863	William Horn playing organ	0	15	0
		4 Sundays			
Maxey	1866	Organist	5	5	0
Middleton Cheney	1874	Organ blower	2	0	0
Milton Malsor	1852	Organist fees (annual)	0	5	0
Oundle	1813	Boy blowing organ	0	2	6
Oxendon	1848	26 weeks organ playing	1	6	0
Peterborough St John	1829	Edmund Larkin (per year)	25	0	0
Spratton	1864	Organist	2	12	0
Stanwick	n.d.	Organist Salary	12	0	0
Stoke Albany	1871	Harmonium player	3	0	0
Warkworth	1897	Organist salary	2	0	0
		then	5	0	0
Yardley Hastings	1869	Organist	2	15	0

Many churches suddenly found that they had considerably larger bills to pay; Stoke Albany, for example, had paid the ringers and singers 15/- between them annually until 1897, when the harmonium player was given £3. 0. 0. For Guilsborough to find £20. 0. 0. per year where nothing had been spent before must have been a real hardship; an extra

£2. 3. 6. was given to a choir-boys' club. Churches must have been very determined to reform music, and put the period of the choir-band behind them.

An important and possibly typical event was the inauguration of the organ at Titchmarsh on May 30th 1860. The programme for this (NRO 328P/65) shows that two services were held, morning and afternoon, and two distinguished preachers visited. Peterborough Cathedral Choir 'officiated' at both services and Mr. Speechley 'presided at the organ'. At the morning service the choir sang *Awake Up My Glory,* by Wise, and *In Jewry is God Known* by Clark Whitfield, along with canticles in F by Nares. Nares' evening service in F was performed later, with Kent's *Blessed be Thou* and Handel's *Hallelujah Chorus*. Each of these was standard cathedral repertoire at the time and appear in a listing of anthems performed at Norwich Cathedral.[58]

A new period of church music had begun, but Galpin[59] regretted that the two diverse elements of nineteenth-century worship could not co-exist:

> We are inclined to believe that, after all, the suppression of these bands as relics of a barbarous age, and the introduction of organs too large for our village churches, has not been an unmixed good. Reformation was needed, but not annihilation; for the practice of these wind and stringed instruments gave occupation and recreation to the peasant folk.

The bulk of instrumental music in churches was obsolescent during the 1850s, and many organs were erected around 1860, coinciding with the appearance of the first edition of *Hymns Ancient and Modern.*[60] Some bands continued later, however, the classic example being Winterbourne Abbas, Dorset, documented by Canon F. W. Galpin in 1893 as 'an interesting survival'.[61] The band was composed of John Dunford (thatcher), clarinet; Richard Tomkins (farm labourer), flute and William Dunford (shepherd), cello. Galpin gives details of the position of the band (under the tower) and notes the 'sounding off the tune' (presumably an introduction) which the players apparently transposed to suit the subsequent tune. It seems that the canticles and the Hundredth Psalm performed on the occasion of Galpin's attendance, were set to chants. The band still had psalm-tunes in

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58 *A Collection of Anthems used in Norwich Cathedral,* Norwich, 1859
59 op. cit., *Musical Times,* 1893, Vol. 5, p58
60 W. H. Monk (ed.), *Hymns Ancient and Modern for Use in the Services of the Church,* London 1861
61 op. cit., *Musical News,* pp31 – 32, 56 – 58

their repertoire, but were not allowed to use them in church. The clarinet played the melody, the flute the tenor at the octave, and the cello the bass part. In the second and subsequent verses, however, the flute and clarinet exchanged roles. Galpin makes the point that there were rarely instruments of tenor pitch in choir-bands but refers to the tenor 'viol' formerly at neighbouring Abbotsbury. This must be the Dorset viola to which MacDermott referred.[62] Galpin states that the viola in this case played the alto line; and in another village the trombone played the bass line. It is interesting to note that the Abbotsbury cello has been destroyed only in recent years.[63] A further viola was played at Thornbury, Gloucestershire by Joseph Bennett, documented in the *Musical Times* in October 1898. Galpin quotes from an 1831 manuscript containing works by local composers including Samuel French, a tailor from Winterbourne Stapleton (a parallel here to Thomas Jarman of Clipston, Northamptonshire).

Galpin's later article about the Winterbourne band[64] contains much similar material but notes that 'it is, however, only ten years since one of the last, if not the last of these bands in its original form...disappeared in our country'.

An article in the *Dorset Year Book*,[65] however, notes that a cello was used in the church until 6th October 1940 played by William Dunford who died in 1943. The text of this article gives the impression that there was an unbroken choir-band tradition until this date.

The last documented Northamptonshire band is that at Marston Trussell in 1872, while Gammon could not trace a church-band in Sussex beyond 1870. At Yarnscombe in North Devon the cellist Anthony Tucker ceased to play in 1855 when the harmonium was introduced. He joined the choir as a singer, however, until around 1895 when an enlightened vicar (J. B. Singleton) invited him to play his cello alongside the harmonium. Curwen's article in *The Strand Musical Magazine*[66] gives a picture of Tucker with his cello

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62 K. H. MacDermott, *Sussex Church Music of the Past*, Chichester 1923, p44

63 This information was received by the author in response to a request for information sent to the incumbent.

64 F. W. Galpin, Notes on the Old Church Bands and Village Choirs of the Past Century, *The Antiquary Vol. 42*, 1906, pp101 – 6

65 H. E. Trask, The Last of the Church Bands, *Dorset Year Book*, 1945, p126

66 J. Curwen, Old Village Musicians, *The Strand Musical Magazine Vol. 6*, 1897, pp137 – 9

and remarks 'may he be spared for many years to play!' Curwen notes a revival in the use of bands in 1897:

> In many places the church-bands have sprung into life again during the past few years...the revival of the church-bands is a most gratifying sign of the times.

Temperley notes a survey documented by A. D. Donaldson (*The Bishopric of Truro, The First 25 Years 1877 – 1902*, London 1902) where, in 1895, 18 out of 219 parishes reported 'using orchestral instruments, varying from a fairly complete band down to a single cornet'. The band at Great Braxted, Essex, continued to play into the 1890s.

Information about the two chapels at Carlingcott, North Somerset, which both had bands, has been provided by Bob Patten of Crediton, Devon. He notes the building of one chapel in 1851 which emulated the one already existing by forming an instrumental choir. This band continued well into the twentieth-century, having a dual purpose, and two different instrumentations. The chapel instrumentation (of uncertain date) was two cornets, two cellos, double bass, five violins and a 'pedal organ'. Concerts were given with an augmented band including two autoharps, a zither, concertina, banjo etc. Patten notes that the break-up of the musical tradition in the area began with the closure of the local collieries in the 1920s and 30s, and the emigration of the miners to other coal fields. The choir at Carlingcott chapel was not restarted after the Second World War, and the orchestra only numbered four or five (c.1980) and has probably now ceased altogether. Although the use of instruments with the organ is not altogether an authentic choir-band, there seems to be an unbroken link here with a mid-nineteenth-century band. Patten also notes the Exford band which used clarinets. These were used for carols until the First War. It is uncertain whether this was within the church or for carol rounds only.

Probably the last relic of traditional instrumentation, in the eastern counties, is the single clarinet used at Westoning Church, Bedfordshire, until 1917. This instrument, a 13-keyed darkwood instrument by Wallis of Paris (post 1887), is now at Luton Museum and Art Gallery. When this instrument was made nearly all choir-bands were obsolete. It is not known whether it was used in conjunction with the organ.

h) The Vamping Horn in Northamptonshire

One of the continuing controversies surrounding the English choir-band concerns the use of the vamping-horn. This cannot be classed as a musical instrument as it is merely a metal (usually tin) megaphone intended for amplification, but there are many references to its use in choirs, in addition to the varied uses suggested by MacDermott:[67]

> The word 'vamp' is derived from the French avant-pied, originally applied to the piece of leather attached to the front part of a boot to add strength; and thus 'vamping' came to mean making the best of anything by helping it out in some way. In music the term is used in reference to supporting a soloist with an extemporised accompaniment, and no doubt the vamp-horns fulfilled a somewhat similar duty for the choirs. But as the statements and conjectures that have been made as to the use of the instruments still in existence in England differ considerably, it will be well to place before the reader all the information on the point that has reached me. According to this, vamp-horns have been used from the church towers: to call the cattle home, in the days when lands were unenclosed; to call people from the fields to the services in the church; to summon assistance in time of danger; to give out the psalms and hymns; to augment the voice of the clerk; for one of the singers to sing the bass through it; to supply a missing part to the band; to reinforce the voice of the celebrant at High Mass in the Middle Ages; to give forth the tune before singing; for 'Precenting'; for shouting; to rouse labourers in the morning and call them home at night; for a signal to gleaners to begin or leave off work; by the parish clerk to announce events (as a crier).

It is significant that there seem to be no contemporary accounts of choir-band use, although MacDermott's reported cases are convincing. He notes church details of three of the eight known examples

> An old Sussex parish clerk who formerly used the Ashurst vamp-horn stated that he merely sang or shouted down the instrument to make more sound for the singing...The one at East Leake, the largest of the group, was last used about 1850. It hangs in the vestry of the church and has an inscription under it to the effect that 'it was formerly used in the gallery for one of the singers to sing the bass through'...The Charing, Kent...horn was anciently used in the minstrels' gallery for augmenting the voices and 'the effect was rather like that of the ophicleide one hears abroad, and they suit the Gregorians capitally', says an old writer.

By far the most authoritative article on vamping-horns is that by Alan C. Cox in the *Journal of Northampton Museums and Art Gallery*.[68] Cox traces the vamping-horn from its invention in 1671 by Sir Samuel Morland who designated it 'Tuba Stentorophonica'. The

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67 K. H. MacDermott, *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels*, London 1948, pp33 – 35

68 A. C. Cox, Vamping Horns, *Journal of Northampton Museums and Art Gallery* 3, June 1968, pp19 – 23

importance of Northamptonshire can be seen in the purchase of one of these megaphones by Sir William Langham of Walgrave in 1672. Sir Justinian Isham of Lamport was impressed and purchased a further specimen in the same year; Thomas Isham noted a demonstration of Langham's device in his journal and states that the user's voice could be heard a mile away.

The Isham tuba stentorophonica is not one of the surviving church instruments as this was reputedly destroyed in the nineteenth-century. There is no further record of the Walgrave example.

Both the Northamptonshire specimens are from churches near Lamport, namely *Harrington* and *Braybrooke*. The other horns are spread around the East Midlands and the South East – two in Lincolnshire, one in Nottinghamshire and one each in Buckinghamshire, Kent and Sussex. It may be that Northamptonshire is responsible for the church use of these horns, and this would account for the even dispersion. However, Cox refers to the work by J Charles Cox[69] where two vamping-horns formerly used in the Lake District are mentioned; this seems to dispel the Northamptonshire theory.

The dating of the discovery of the presently-known eight examples can be seen by reference to the main works on vamping horns – the articles by both Coxes and the section by MacDermott, already mentioned; an article in the *Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*,[70] *A History of East Leake* by S P Potter;[71] an article in *Country Life* of December 11th 1958;[72] and two letters by Gyles Isham to the *Northamptonshire Advertiser* in January 1958, probably noted from F W Galpin's article in the fifth edition of *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*.[73]

The original locations of the eight examples are Braybrooke and Harrington, Northamptonshire; East Leake, Nottinghamshire; Willoughton and Potterhanworth, Lincolnshire; Haversham, Buckinghamshire; Charing, Kent; Ashurst, Sussex.

It is interesting that MacDermott was aware of seven horns in 1948 whereas Galpin knew only of five in 1954. The latest horn to be documented was at Potterhanworth,

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69 J. C. Cox, *English Church Fittings and Accessories*, London 1923, pp239 – 40
70 Florence Peacock, *Vamping Trumpets*, Oct 1898, pp238 – 241
71 Nottingham, 1903, pp55 – 56
72 Stanley Godman, *Trumpets as Loudspeakers*, pp 145 – 6
73 Vamp-horn, London 1954, Vol. 8, p667

Lincolnshire; it presumably became known when it was acquired by Lincoln Museum. Potter also notes that there was formerly an example at Thorney in Lincolnshire, which is actually in Nottinghamshire, but quite near the border. This is not mentioned in the other sources. It was apparently used for summoning worshippers.

The measurements of the Braybrooke horn have varied from 1898 to the present day because of the loss of the mouthpiece and rebuilding of the middle section. Both Northamptonshire examples are of telescopic design, presumably for ease of transportation. The Braybrooke example is heavily restored and repainted whereas much of the original structure of the Harrington one can be seen because of its poorer condition. The bell of the Braybrooke horn has a patterned garland of forty-three circular indentations.

The very term 'vamping-horn' gives the impression of a musical connection and the evidence, albeit second-hand, adds weight to the theory of a bass singer supporting the harmonic texture of a choir-band. Alan C. Cox[74] notes that the Braybrooke horn was used by the Rector's daughter in the 1830s to amplify her singing voice.

Peacock states that the Kent specimen was supposed to be used for 'giving out' the psalms; the implication is that the intoning of the first line of a metrical psalm, normally given by the parish clerk, would be amplified through a vamping-horn, but that the rest of the psalm would not necessarily be amplified in the same way.

Peacock also notes that she

> never heard of anyone who could remember either the Harrington or Willoughton 'vamp' being used in the church.

She states that the Braybrooke horn was used by the sexton for summoning the people to church. Godman gives a similar list of uses to MacDermott and also refers to the bass singer theory.

Gyles Isham's first letter to the *Northamptonshire Advertiser*, referring to an earlier article about Braybrooke, when Ronald Loxston, the rector, had surmised on the use of the vamping-horn, contains the following statement:

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74 *op cit.*, p23

> I fear I cannot accept the suggestion that it was used in churches without an organ to lead the choir or congregation.

In his second letter, Isham refers to Galpin's article in *Grove's Dictionary* and withdraws his earlier comment:

> In other words the Rector of Braybrooke is quite right and Morland's invention was put to a use that he did not foresee.

Pevsner's[75] brief mention of the Braybrooke horn states that its purpose was to 'rouse the village choir to more fervent singing', while Arthur Mee[76] makes no references to choir use in the case of Braybrooke, but states in the Harrington section that 'a loud humming noise could be made to accompany the choir'.

To add to the controversy, the present author, in reading churchwardens' accounts for Harrington and Braybrooke for the relevant period of choir-band usage (c. 1770 – 1860), has found references to bass instruments in use in both parishes. Braybrooke used a bassoon from 1784 until 1808 and then a cello from 1809 until the last entry for new strings in 1845. Harrington used a cello from 1825 until 1839, played by Thomas Barmford and then by Thomas Nickels. (The organ was in place by 1840, when James Smith's bill 'for the Organ etc.' amounted to £1. 3. 0.)

A vamping-horn, used in conjunction with either the bassoon or cello, would undoubtedly make these instruments redundant. It is strange that neither horn features in the accounts for this period; it may be that the vamping horn, if it ever did fulfil a role in the choir-band, predates the accepted instrumental period – it is, after all, a seventeenth-century device. This, coupled with Peacock's statements about the Northamptonshire instruments noted above (Peacock being the earliest writer), seems to deny the two horns a place in the traditional eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century choir-band.

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75 N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Northamptonshire*, 2nd ed., Harmondsworth 1973, p121
76 A. Mee, *The King's England, Northamptonshire*, revised ed., London 1975, pp59, 169

Chapter 4 – Documented Choir-band use in Eastern England

a) The Eastern Counties

The eastern counties chosen for this study comprise three distinct areas. The most northerly are the East Midland counties of Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire. These three are an interesting combination of industrial areas and open countryside; the three industrialised county cities form a nucleus in the centre of the region, south, east and north-east of which are agricultural lowlands. The north-west of the region, however, including the Peak District, is rugged hill country reaching to the heavily industrialised north-west. Many of the villages in the northern part of Derbyshire have more in common with large-scale choral traditions characterised by the 'Larks of Dean' than the psalmody of the farming communities of the south. Villages such as Chapel-en-le-Frith, Charlesworth, Hope and Tideswell belong to this northern style of choir-band use.

The East Anglian counties offer a complete contrast. Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex all have a seaboard with a fishing industry and ports. The rest of the region is flat agricultural land including Thetford Forest, some low hills in Norfolk and a belt of Essex which borders London.

Equally distinct are the counties of Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire, designated Mid-Anglia for purposes of this study. The landscape historian Christopher Taylor justifies the use of this term.[1]

> There is no familiar name attaching to that part of England which covers the modern counties of Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire. The term Mid-Anglia is perhaps reasonable, in that the ancient Saxon kingdom of the Middle Ages certainly included most of the region under discussion.

Northamptonshire is often considered one of the East Midland shires, and yet it has little in common with those industrial brick-built areas, sharing an identity with Bedfordshire in its stone villages. The county before 1965 included the Soke of

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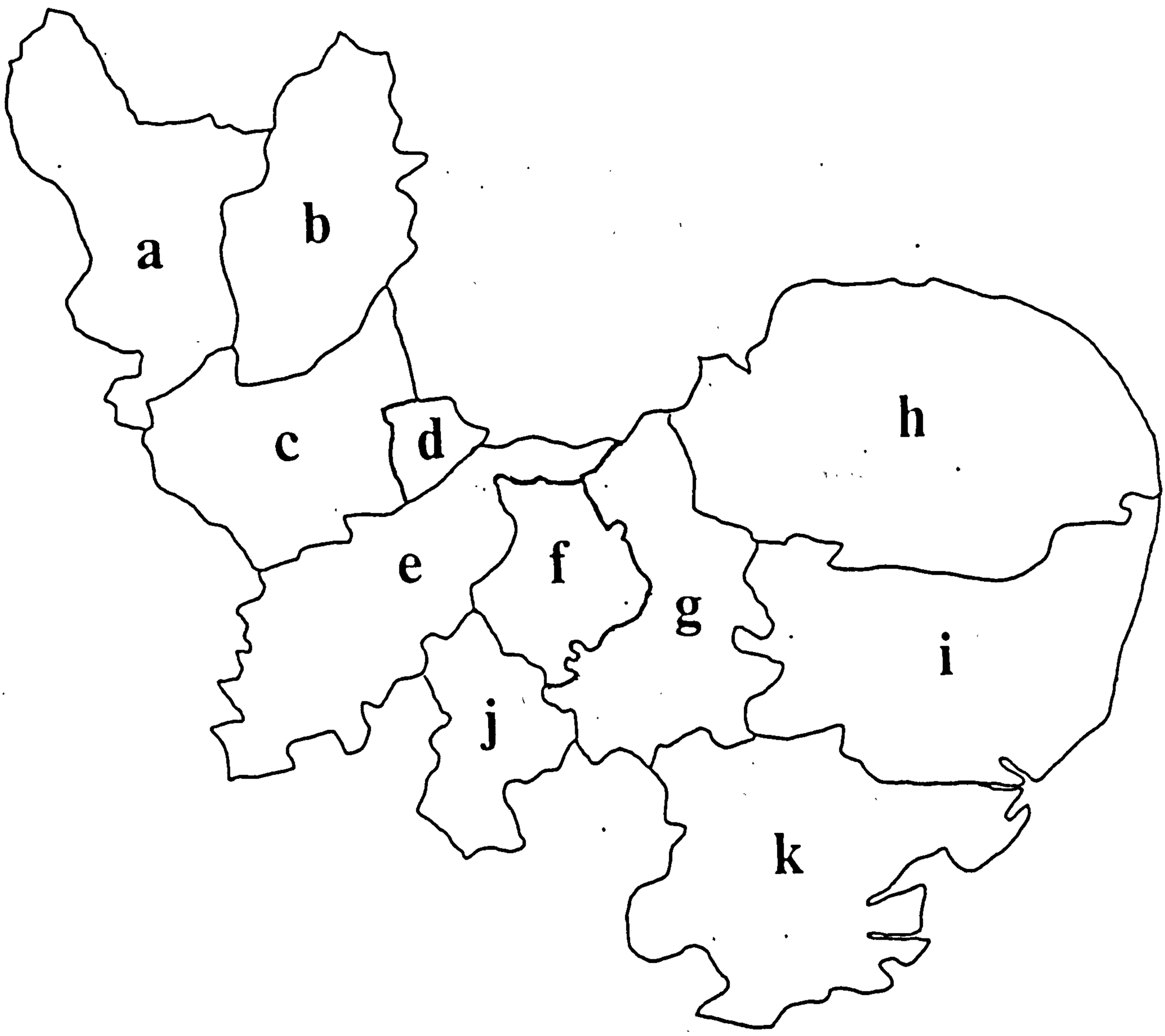
1 C. Taylor, *Cambridgeshire and Mid-Anglia*, London 1984, p10

Map A The Eastern Counties before 1904

a) Derbyshire
b) Nottinghamshire
c) Leicestershire
d) Rutland
e) Northamptonshire and the Soke of Peterborough
f) Huntingdonshire
g) Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely
h) Norfolk
i) Suffolk
j) Bedfordshire
k) Essex



Peterborough, and this area of fenland draws Cambridgeshire into a region having features of both the Midlands and East Anglia, and yet no heavy industry or coastline.

Each of these counties, with the exception of Northamptonshire, is considered here by use of readily-available secondary sources – church histories, notes in listings of instruments and references in larger works. Only in the case of Northamptonshire is the research exhaustive, based on primary sources such as church records, in addition to the source material given above. The results for Northamptonshire are remarkable and a considerable amount of musical activity has been uncovered. This information then, invites similar research on other counties. The overall picture of instrumental dispersion throughout Eastern England can be seen in chapter six.

b) The East Midlands

i) Derbyshire

There is evidence of instrumental activity in the following Derbyshire churches:

Ashford on the Water: An eighteenth-century collection of music is at Derby Record Office; also rules of a society of singers.

Ashover has a memorial to David Wall (1739 – 1796), bassoonist. MacDermott[2] quotes the inscription:

> To the memory of David Wall whose superior performance on the bassoon endeared him to an extensive musical acquaintance. His social life closed on the 4th December 1796 in his 57th year.

More information is given by Lugard[3] who shows an illustration of Wall's manuscript book. John Drackley,[4] a Derbyshire clergyman with a wide knowledge of church music is unable to trace the present whereabouts of the manuscript book. The churchwardens' accounts give details of a clarinet in 1793. Three instruments, reputedly

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2 K. H. MacDermott, *The Old Gallery Minstrels*, London 1948, p26

3 C. E. Lugard, (i) *The Saints and Singers*, Leicester 1924
(ii) *The Ins and Outs of Ashover*, Ashover 1928

4 Unpublished notes on Derbyshire Church Music, Turnditch, Derby

from Ashover, were in private ownership in Crich in the 1930's – a cello, a boxwood flute and a boxwood clarinet.

Aston-on-Trent: retains the oboe and bassoon in a wall-mounted display case at the rear of the nave. Both instruments are by Milhouse, of Newark. The bassoon may be of a later date; it has six keys and could be one of Milhouse's London instruments. The church had a gallery between 1788 and 1873.

Baslow: The church instruments are now missing, but were in private ownership in 1935. They were (a) Milhouse bassoon (8 keys); (b) unmarked four-keyed bassoon; (c) Gerock one-keyed flute; (d) boxwood Bilton clarinet (6 keys). The band also included another clarinet, a violin and a drum. Milhouse is noted in the churchwardens' accounts as repairing a bassoon in 1788.

Beeley has an unmarked bassoon with four keys in a glass case in the church. An inscription on the case remarks:

> This bassoon was presented to Beeley Church in 1958 in memory of James B. Hulley, late of Carlton Leas. It was played by him, by his father George Hulley, and by his grandfather Samuel Twigg both of Carlton Leas Farm. It is believed to date from about 1750 and was used to provide music before an organ was installed.

The bassoon was restored by Tony Bingham (The Sign of the Serpent, Pond Street, Hampstead) in 1973. A cello is mentioned in the churchwardens' accounts between 1764 and 1847.[5]

Brailsford: has references to instrumental use in the churchwardens' accounts:[6]

1794 – bassoon and oboe

1811 – two new bassoons

1824 – new cello

1825 – cello strings and bassoon reeds

1827 – reeds and strings

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5 Information provided by John Drackley
6 Information provided by John Drackley

St Thomas a Becket church at *Chapel-en-le-Frith* has a well-documented musical history thanks to W. B. Bunting,[7] who gives churchwarden account references between 1752 and 1774:

		£	s	d
1752	paid for repairing the bassoon for singers	0	8	0
1759	paid for a crane for the bassoon for singers	0	2	6
	[Bunting makes no explanation of the word crane which must be a mis-reading – possible chane (chain) for a sling?]			
1766	paid for two Bassoon Reeds for Singers	0	2	0
1770	spent at proving the bass violin [improving?]	0	4	0
1772	paid for two bass violin strings and other repairs	0	1	4
1774	paid Isaac Watts for the bassoon ordered two years since	0	18	6
	John Frith for Hautboy reed and case	0	5	0

The 'loft for the psalm singers', was in existence before 1774, when a faculty for improvement was granted. This scheme replaced the old loft with a south gallery for the choir. An east gallery over the chancel arch was built in 1778 with an organ by Parker of Manchester. The event was celebrated by the performance of Handel's *Messiah* and *Judas Maccabeus,* with professional orchestral players and choristers. The total expenses of this performance were £85. 9. 0. and a loss of £19. 5. 6. was incurred; the performance aroused a violent reaction amongst parishioners who wrote verses in criticism:

> ...strolling Fiddlers did defile the place, and Heaven and Earth afront, by making a vile playhouse on't.

Clearly, here, instruments were used in conjunction with the organ; Abraham Lomas, a barber, played the cello and serpent, in addition to being a noted singer. It is possible that the bass of the small 'box organ' needed reinforcing and so this unusual situation

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7 W. B. Bunting, *The Parish Church of St Thomas a Becket, Chapel-en-le-Frith,* Manchester 1925, pp137 – 143

occurred. It can be noted here that J. A. La Trobe[8] supports the use of instruments with organ, but does not imply that it was regular practice.

Charlesworth, in the far north-west of the county, lost its choir-band when John Adamson, a Scottish Calvinist, who would be a member of the unaccompanied tradition, was appointed minister at Charlesworth Chapel. He published his pamphlet *A Few Candid Reasons why Instruments of Music should not be used in the service of God* (Manchester 1823). Adamson, immediately upon his appointment, reformed the Charlesworth Choir, and persuaded other chapels to do likewise. One instrumentalist continued to take his instrument to the chapel and played in spite of the minister's displeasure.[9]

A bassoon at *Church Broughton* noted by Boston and Langwill[10] as 'much worm eaten in 1913' is, surprisingly still extant. There are many references in churchwardens' accounts between 1780 and 1837 including a clarinet repair and bassoon reeds in 1831.

Darley had a boxwood clarinet which is now missing.

Eggington, a church in particularly good order, has a secure glass case on the west wall of the nave in which a clarinet by D'Almaine (1836 – 58) and a flute by Gerock, Astor and Company (1821 – 1831) are kept. The church guide (p41) notes that a cello and bassoon were also used.

Boston and Langwill note that an oboe at *Hartshorne* cost 19/- in 1789. The use of the *Hayfield* bassoon in 1772 is noted by J. C. Cox[11] and an oboe for the same church is mentioned by Boston and Langwill[12] although no other sources have this.

Bunker[13] gives documentation of the village of *Holmsfield.* There was a cello in 1826 (August 21st paid Wm Siddall for new Violen Celle, Bow repairs of Musical Instruments, Book etc. 11/2d), and a bassoon in 1827 (October 23rd paid Robert Rogers for new bassoon and reeds – 7/8d). The plural 'instruments' implies that there may have been a violin as well – the use of two cellos being unlikely, but possible.

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8 *The Music of the Church considered in its various branches...,* London 1831, p326
9 T. J. Hosken, *Memorials of Charlesworth,* Burnley 1894, pp79 – 83
10 *op cit.,* 1st ed., p111
11 J. C. Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts,* London 1915, p206
12 *op cit.,* 1st ed., p111
13 B. Bunker, *All Their Yesterdays,* Sheffield 1973, p149

A bassoon, an oboe and a cello were used at *Hope*.[14] The minutes of the vestry meeting of May 16th 1759 include the following:

> The undermentioned inhabitants of the parish of Hope met in vestry this day have agreed to pay and allow unto the singers of the parish church of Hope the sum of sixteen shillings and sixpence towards paying for a Bassoon and Hautbois to be used in the parish church of Hope, which money is by the Present Vestry to be paid by Elias Marshall one of the present Churchwardens in consideration that the said Bassoon and Hautbois shall be and remain the property of the Parish of Hope & continue in the Parish Church of Hope for the use of Singers in the said Parish Church of Hope...
>
> ...we Thomas Fox & Edmund Ashmore who purchased the above Bassoon & Hautbois do hereby promise & agree that the said instruments shall be & remain the property of the Parish of Hope.

Other references from the churchwardens' accounts are as follows:

1759 September 18th pd William Jefferies Bull for reeds 7/6d for a box for the Reeds 2/- for the bassoon 2/6d.
1766 to William Jeffery for playing the bassoon £1. 6. 0.
1769 paid for bass viol £1. 10. 0.
1777 paid for a collection of anthems by Hall of Sheffield £0. 6. 0.

An organ was in place by 1809 when David Pearson was paid £5. 16. 0. as an organist. He was replaced by William Burgham in 1810.

David Pearson was a blind clockmaker from Sheffield who reputedly played the ophicleide at *Peak Forest*.[15] This church, however, dates from 1876, which is very late for choir-band activity. The ophicleide is still in the church.

Marston-on-Dove is noted as having a band (see MacDermott's appendix[16]). Unfortunately the instrumentation remains unknown.

Matlock St Giles is noted by Boston and Langwill[17] as having concurrent organ and instrumental use: 'in 1870 a small organ was accompanied by fiddles, clarinet and bassoon'; the clarinet is still in the church and is noted in the 1925 church guide as having been used in 1870. It is a thirteen-keyed darkwood C instrument; this type of instrument confirms the very late use of instruments at Matlock. An earlier 2-keyed boxwood oboe

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14 W. S. Porter, *Notes from a Peakland Parish*, Sheffield, 1923, pp91 – 94
15 Unpublished information given to me in 1983
16 K. H. MacDermott, *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels*, London 1948, p67
17 *op cit.*, 1st ed., p111

by Milhouse is in the possession of John Drackley. Statham[18] mentions that the instruments (fiddles, clarinet, bassoon) were used in conjunction with a small organ. The cellist was Phoebe Brown (died 1854), the only female choir-band instrumentalist known to the present author.

The *Morley* bassoon referred to by Boston and Langwill as c.1820 is now in Derby Museum. This is a six-keyed instrument by Parker, said to have been in use at Morley around 1800. C. Kerry[19] refers to the 'old instrumental choir with all kinds of music, conducted by Mr. Samuel Ottewell' at *Smalley*. The choir sat in the front seats of the gallery. An organ was installed in 1863.

Shirland has churchwardens' account references to an oboe purchased in 1744, a very early date indeed, only two years after the Youlgrave cello. A cello from *Tansley* church was in the possession of Nottingham High School in 1974. Frank Dodman has made an unpublished list of church-band instruments, a copy of which he has kindly offered for the present study. This includes the following note about *Tideswell*:

> Some years ago I spoke to someone who had a battered ophicleide which he said used to be played in the parish church.

John Drackley notes that Tideswell was 'a great musical centre'.

The Tissington clarinet, used 1826 – 1840 and formerly kept in a glass case in the church, has now been stolen. John Drackley had given advice on security, which went unheeded. The instrument was a thirteen-keyed instrument by Key; it was played by Thomas Wright (died 1877) between 1826 and 1840.

Boston and Langwill[20] note that a violin was used in *South Wingfield* church. J. C. Cox's analysis of Derbyshire churchwardens' accounts[21] is a source for Boston and Langwill and Temperley regarding the 1742 viol and the 1752 bassoon at Youlgrave. The 1742 date is the earliest documented instrumental use in the country. Coupled with the

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18 W. M. Statham, *History of Matlock Parish Church*, Matlock 1925
19 C. Kerry, *Smalley, its History and Legends*, London and Derby 1905, p29
20 *op cit.*, 1st ed., p112
21 *op. cit.*

Matlock 1870 band a very long period of instrumental use (128 years) is represented in Derbyshire.

ii) Nottinghamshire

Although instrumental activity in Nottinghamshire seems to be relatively scarce, the county includes one of the largest documented bands (nine players) the names of whom are all known.

MacDermott[22] gives a list of Nottinghamshire bands, but no details of instrumentation. Those with no other documentation are *East Drayton, Dunham, Gamston* and *Ordsall. East Leake's* vamping horn is well-documented (see the section *Vamping Horns in Northamptonshire*), but J. Charles Cox's[23] reference is worth quoting:

> In the vestry a 'shawm' or long tin trumpet measuring 7ft 9ins when extended, and 4ft 1ins when closed; the mouth 21ins in diameter. It was used in 1855 as part of the gallery orchestra; the bass singers vamped through it. Four similar vamping trumpets are extant in English churches, viz. at Braybrook and Harrington, Northamptonshire; at Willoughton, Lincolnshire and at Charing, Kent.

MacDermott includes East Leake in his appendix noting bands, but it is not clear whether he had evidence of a band in addition to the vamping horn, or if he considered the vamping horn as a band instrument.

There is no clear evidence for instruments at *Greasley* but Von Hube[24] notes:

> There was, of course, instrumental music in the church before the introduction of a ...harmonium.

From an instrumental standpoint, Hucknall is the most significant village in Nottinghamshire. Beardsmore[25] gives the following information: a gallery was built around 1740 'for the accommodation of the choristers and instrument players', who continued to occupy it until the year 1871, the wind and stringed instruments being superseded by a harmonium in 1854. From the churchwardens' accounts, it is known that

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22 K. H. MacDermott, *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels*, London 1948, p69
23 J. C. Cox, *Country Churches in Nottinghamshire*, London 1912, p134
24 R. Von Hube, *Griseleia in Snotinghscire (History of Greasley)*, Nottingham 1901, p127
25 J. H. Beardsmore, *History of Hucknall Torkard*, Mansfield 1909, pp26, 142 – 3

reeds were purchased from 1771. Beardsmore notes a list of instrumentalists of seventy years ago (i.e. c.1840):

> Bassoons, Ben Carey and Joseph Hutchinson; clarionette, Robert Widdowson; Bass Fiddle, George Starr; fiddles, Luke Wagg and Richard White; Ophicleide, John Brown; Trombone, James Widdowson; The Serpent (a bass instrument), Mr. Dabill. The singers were Elizabeth Bell, Elizabeth Allan, Ann Brown, Leah Hankin, Elizabeth and Mary Mellows, Thomas Brown, Thomas Farrands, Samuel Barnett, John Wagstaffe, and John Cutts.

James and Robert Widdowson, together with Joseph Hutchinson, were also part of the original brass band in Hucknall, which in common with many 'brass' bands in the nineteenth-century, included some woodwind instruments.

Henry Brown was the last 'leading singer' to announce the numbers and opening lines of the psalms and hymns from the gallery, but Beardsmore gives no date for this. The harmonium players were Ann Needham Ball, William Farrins, Miss Widdowson, Mr. Coombs and Fred Gration.

The school anniversary services at the Methodist Chapel included 'classical selections such as the Hallelujah Chorus' with orchestra. The Methodist Chapel had an organ in 1858. The instrumentalists at the Baptist Chapel were Zachariah Green (bass fiddle), George Wagg (violin) and Abraham Wagg (cello). It is possible that Green's 'bass fiddle' was a double bass. The Waggs had both Anglican and non-conformist members of their family.

A lasting effect on the musical traditions of Hucknall is shown in one of the last paragraphs of Beardsmore's section on music;

> The name of a Hucknall born boy, Mr. Eric Coates, is worthy of mention here. Although very young, he stands in the forefront of British viola players, and his musical compositions are fast obtaining for him a national reputation. He is also a prize winner at the Royal Academy of Music.[26]

At *Lambley* a bassoon is extant, and in a case in the church. It has two keys and retains its crook. It was played early in the nineteenth-century by W. Burrows. It is noted that

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26 *op. cit.*, p145

payment for reeds in the eighteenth-century relate to the use of a bassoon to accompany services. And in 1780 provision for a new bassoon was made by the Vestry.[27]

Samuel Butler's semi-autobiographical novel, *The Way of All Flesh*, 1903, refers to the choir-band at 'Battersby-on-the-Hill'. Richard Hoggart[28] identifies this fictitious village as *Langar*, where Butler was born, and where his father was incumbent. The band described comprises a cello, clarinet and trombone, but these cannot be included in the analysis, as they may be fictional. It may be assumed, however, that there was a band at Langar.

Lenton had a bassoon in 1791 (repaired for 12/-), two clarinets and a further bassoon, purchased in 1810. The bassoon cost 5 guineas, as did the pair of clarinets.[29] An anecdote about *East Retford* is recounted by Christopher Weir:[30] the band were given a mug of hot toddy on Sundays during the winter, but this stopped when they played a polka during a service. The instrumentation is not noted.

West Retford, noted by MacDermott[31] as having a band, receives its documentation in *A History of St Michael the Archangel, West Retford, Nottinghamshire*.[32] A subscription was raised for a cello in 1844. This was played at an annual salary of £2. 0. 0. by George Gill. The band also comprised a clarinet and flute.

MacDermott[33] describes a mahogany bassoon with brass fittings dated 1763 at *Stapleford*. He neglects to refer to its whereabouts or provenance, but Stapleford is included in his appendix 1 (p69).

Another use of an ophicleide was at *Winkburn*, between Newark and Mansfield, and not too distant from the ophicleide at Hucknall. MacDermott[34] remarks that the instrument was in private ownership in 1948.

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27 T. T. Hosken, *Memorials of Charlesworth*, Burnley 1894, pp79 – 83
28 Notes to Penguin English Library edition of *The Way of All Flesh*, p435
29 J. T. Godfrey, *The History of the Parish and Priory of Lenton*, London 1884, p286
30 C. Weir, *Village and Town Bands*, Aylesbury 1981, p13
31 K. H. MacDermott, *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels*, London 1948, p69
32 Ramsgate 1961
33 *op cit.*, p26
34 *op cit.*, p31

Weir[35] notes a parish register of *Walkeringham* where a bassoon and clarinet were purchased by subscription in 1809.

iii) Leicestershire

Evidence of instrumental activity in Leicestershire is given below:

At *Appleby Magna* a boxwood oboe, basically by Cahusac (1755 – 98) was in use around 1770. The instrument is now in Newarke Houses Museum, Leicester.[36] The bell is later, by Milhouse. A bassoon[37] from *Bagworth* is in the same museum. This is noted in the church inventory in 1780; it is a five-key instrument.

Two galleries are referred to in the church history of *Barkby*:[38]

> The higher of the two galleries, reached from the clock chamber in the tower, is the musicians' gallery which was previously used by the singers and instrumentalists in the days before there was an organ in the church. Some of the instruments used to accompany the singing were violins, cellos, bassoons and serpents. The last reference to the band of Barkby church is in the mid-nineteenth century when William Pochin presented each member of the band and choir with a top hat and morning coat as a kind of uniform. At each end of the gallery were cupboards for the musical instruments.

It may be that the instruments mentioned above are pure conjecture, but a large band cannot be ruled out.

Temperley,[39] quoting the *Torrington Diaries,* notes a flute, clarinet and two bassoons at *Bottesford* in 1789.

The serpent at Newarke Houses Museum, Leicester,[40] was formerly used at two churches – *Desford* and *Newtown Linford*. This has given confusion in the past as it is noted as two separate instruments by Boston and Langwill.[41] The provenance of the instrument is documented in a series of letters in the files of Newarke Houses Museum. It appears

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35 *op cit.*, p13
36 Accn. No. 179'1954
37 Accn. No. L/1969/120
38 *The History of the Church of St Mary, Barkby, Leics*, n.d.
39 N. Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, Vol. 1, Cambridge 1979, p197
40 Accn. No. 117011951
41 *op cit.*, p113

that the instrument was played at Newtown Linford by William Wesley, and the instrument was donated to the museum in 1951 by Isaac Wesley, great-grandson of William. The Newtown band is described by Sir Robert Martin, whose great-great-uncle was the vicar of Newtown from 1798 – 1832. He was succeeded by Martin's grandfather (1833 – 1870); Martin's letter (24th November 1951) continues:

> There has always been a story in the family that when my great great uncle was first appointed to Newtown and saw the serpent being played upon as part of the orchestra in the gallery, he said 'take that thing away, it reminds me of the devil'.
>
> The choir at Newtown consisted very largely of members of the Wesley family. I have an old manuscript book written by one of my great uncles which describes life in the Newtown Linford neighbourhood in the first half of the last century, in which the following passage occurs: – 'Old John Wesley, who died at 92, sang a bass, George Smith, the clerk, gave out the hymns and played the clarinet and having only one front tooth made that instrument yell in an odd way; big William Wesley played the serpent...Joseph Wesley, called Shuff (he had a way of shuffling on the ground) played the bassoon'.

It appears that William Wesley's son took the instrument with him to Desford, where he was parish clerk for thirty years. The serpent is by F. Pretty (1829 – 40) formerly with three keys.

Broughton[42] notes the possibility of a band of string and woodwind until about 1865 at *Enderby*. He remarks that there was certainly a gallery. The band was remembered by villagers in the 1920s.

Some notes of the church by *Gaddesby*[43] Historical Society mention that

> ...the church had no organ until towards the end of the nineteenth century; in its place there was a wooden gallery at the north end of the nave adjoining the tower; here the band would officiate.

Geoffrey Brandwood has doubts about the north gallery; he feels that the padstones and mortice holes in the tower arch, show a former west gallery.

At *Lubbenham* Muggleton[44] takes some of the credibility from writers of church histories, by declaring that

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42 A. C. Broughton, *St John the Baptist, Enderby*, 1954
43 *Notes on St Luke's Church in the nineteenth century*, n.d.
44 J. Muggleton, *All Saints, Lubbenham*, n.d. section 7

> since the early seventeenth century the small village orchestra and the choir had been accommodated at All Saints in a musicians' gallery at the back of the nave. The orchestra with its various instruments ranging from fiddles to vamping horns...

The only example of a ballad horn (upright concert pitch sax horn), used ecclesiastically is at the Newarke Houses Museum, Leicester;[45] this was used at *Lyddington* (Rutland). A fine instrument by Gautrot Ainé, it has been given concert use by the present author.

Market Harborough is notable for its north and south galleries of 1836. John Bland[46] writing in 1924 states

> The musicians who played in Harborough church with the singers constituted perhaps the only musical body in the town, and doubtless they provided, in the times referred to, the necessary music at any public function, or convivial gathering of our ancestors.

He quotes Harrod:[47]

> The church had no organ to boast of, and yet it cannot be imputed to the want of either money, spirit or religion in the inhabitants. They only want eliciting, but we can boast of singing men, singing women and singing children, accompanied by instruments most meet.

Bland suggests that these instruments were 'violins, viola, flute, clarionet and bass vial'.

MacDermott[48] notes that a violin, formerly used in *Melton Mowbray* (for over a hundred years), was in the possession of O. F. Wainwright of Belton, Lincolnshire in 1934.

Boston and Langwill[49] quoting Sharpe's *History of Preston in Rutland* note that the band at *Preston* consisted of B flat and C clarinets, cello, bassoon and flute, until 1846.

The *Quorn* churchwardens' accounts quoted by Keeting[50] note a set of strings for the violoncello in 1840.

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45 Acc N° 23'1950

46 J. Bland, *Bygone Days in Market Harborough*, Market Harborough 1924, p81

47 Harrod, *The History of Market Harborough in Leicestershire*, Market Harborough 1808, p22

48 K. H. MacDermott, *Old Church Gallery Minstrels*, London 1948, p21

49 *op cit.*, p114

50 S. F. Keeting, *A Guide to St Bartholomew's Church*, Quorn, 2nd ed. 1970, p22

A fine set of instruments survives at *Ridlington* Church, Rutland, all formerly played by members of the Scott family before 1860. They are as follows: (a) Boxwood flute (4 keys) (b) E flat boxwood clarinet by Wolf (6 keys) (c) C boxwood clarinet by Preston (5 keys) (d) B flat boxwood clarinet by Milhouse (6 keys) (e) B flat boxwood clarinet by Wolf (8 keys) (f) bassoon by Kohler (9 keys) (g) violin. This band must have had a remarkable sound.

Tyldesley[51] notes that

> Sapcote church had a fine orchestra of violins, oboes, clarinets, bass fiddle and bassoons.

Joseph Smith (died 1808) was able to sing a countermelody and play a bass part on his cello simultaneously.

The instruments at *Seagrave* are still extant and in a glass-fronted case, high on the north wall of the nave. They are a serpent by Pretty, played by Edmund Priestly between 1830 and 1850, and an 11-keyed ophicleide in C by Ebblewhite.

A thirteen-keyed clarinet by Distin, formerly used to lead the 'hymn singing' at *Syston* Church is at Newarke Houses Museum, Leicester.[52] It is unusual for a thirteen-keyed instrument being of boxwood.

Hulme[53] comments on the music at *Thurlaston* thus:

> There was of course no organ [c.1832], the singing was led and accompanied in the gallery at the west end of the nave by various instruments (string and otherwise), and there are performers still living who remember with satisfaction a connection with the choir and instruments of that day.

Two instruments from *Waltham on the Wolds* are in the possession of Leicestershire Museums. A flageolet with one key, made by Butler, is at Newarke Houses Museums, Leicester;[54] this is a very rare instrument for a choir-band. MacDermott[55] only notes a

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51 D. W. Tyldesley, *A History of the Parish Church of All Saints, Sapcote, Leicestershire*, Sapcote 1981, p29

52 Accn. No. 192'1968

53 J. O. Hulme, *The History of Thurlaston, Leicestershire*, Leicester 1904, p76

54 Accn. N. 292'1955/2

55 K. H. MacDermott, *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels*, London 1948, p23

cross-blown flageolet at Buxted, Sussex. An eight-keyed boxwood clarinet[56] by Astor and Horwood is at Melton Mowbray Museum. The accession of 1955 also includes two music books (a non-conformist tune-book, and a secular cello part-book), a slate with the stave engraved on it, and an oak music stand.

c) East Anglia

i) Norfolk

When MacDermott[57] wrote that

> there can be no doubt that the great majority of country churches all over England had bands or barrel-organs, and probably Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and Norfolk had more than Sussex

he was presumably making a calculated guess based on the size of those counties. It seems, however, that Norfolk is somewhat of a disappointment, and, although there are many barrel-organs, there are surprisingly few instances of documented choir-bands. These are as follows:

MacDermott[58] gives an anecdote about a Norfolk flautist, but does not give the parish. The *Barsham* double bass noted by Boston and Langwill under Norfolk is dealt with under Suffolk in this work.

The remarkable metal cello at *Briston* is extant in the church. It is noted by Boston and Langwill[59] and Pevsner[60] who calls it a 'curiosum – a cello made of metal by a local blacksmith about 1700'. The present incumbent remarks that the instrument, of tin plate, was allegedly made by William Clitheroe, blacksmith 1699. If the dating were correct this would be the earliest choir-band instrument nationally providing it was used in the church at that date; however, even if Clitheroe were to be confirmed as working at that

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56 Accn. No. 292'1955/1
57 K. H. MacDermott, *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels*, London 1948, p71
58 *op cit.*, p22
59 *op cit.*, 1st ed., p113
60 N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, North-East Norfolk and Norwich*, Harmondsworth 1962, p103

time, it is still not necessarily his instrument, as there is no inscription. It has three soundposts and retains its bow.

Boston and Langwill[61] state that the *Gressenhall* clarinet and flute are now in St Peter Hungate Museum, Norwich. In fact the museum also keeps the church cello and violin. The four instruments were donated by Miss Tye in 1975. A tune-book for the cello is in the Boston collection at Horsford vicarage. The clarinet is by Metzler (1812 – 16), with six square keys; the flute by Cramer (post 1824), with one square key; the string instruments have no inscriptions.

MacDermott[62] notes that there was a band at Hempstead by Holt but gives no details. The *Hingham* bassoon 'said to survive in 1958' according to Boston and Langwill,[63] is now at St Peter Hungate Museum along with a violin, both loaned from the Boston Collection, Horsford. The bassoon is an unnamed four-keyed instrument which retains its crook. The scroll of the violin is carved in the form of a head.

Dubious documentation of a band at Holt is given by Radford:[64]

> In 1882 came the new organ...in the eighteenth century there was doubtless a modest orchestra – pipe, fiddle, bassoon, and the like as in other parishes, which, with all its faults, served to keep the musical talent of the town in touch with the service of God.

There had been an earlier organ in 1830.

Another metal cello had been in the church at *Mattishall Burgh* according to Boston and Langwill[65] quoting the *Church Times* of 11. 7. 1947.

Canon Noel Boston[66] remarks

> Recently I bought the clarinet which had led the singing in *Sporle Church,* Norfolk in the 1780s, just after Admiral Nelson's father had ceased to be incumbent.

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61 *op cit.*, 1st ed., p113
62 *op cit.*, p68
63 *op cit.*, 1st ed., p113
64 L. B. Radford, *History of Holt,* Norwich 1908, p91
65 *op cit.*, 1st ed., p113
66 Boston and Langwill *op cit.*, 1st ed., p15

This instrument is still in the Boston collection, although it is unfortunately unidentifiable, as there is no accessions list or noted provenance for any of the instruments.

The Boston collection includes five boxwood flutes, five darkwood flutes, two double flageolets, one single flageolet, two pitch pipes, four boxwood clarinets, one metal clarinet, three bassoons, four keyed bugles, two serpents, three ophicleides, and various violins, fifes and piccolos. A large proportion of these may have been used in churches, but it is not possible to confirm this. There are also psalmodies from *Dereham, Swaffham* and other villages.

MacDermott[67] gives no details for the band he notes at *Weston*. Boston and Langwill note the flute used at *Wretham*.[68] This had a label reading: 'John Leach, Shepherd, Wretham, 1710'. Again this is a very early instrument, but it is not known if it was used in the church at this stage.

Wymondham Abbey had an organ in 1793; it is surprising, therefore, to find that Boston and Langwill[69] note a flute used in the west gallery orchestra in 1830. This was (in 1970) in the collection of Rev. Gordon Paget, Provosts' House, Bury St Edmunds. Pevsner's dating of 1793[70] must have some foundation (it is an unlikely date to guess) and so the possibility of concurrent use, in the Derbyshire manner, must be considered.

ii) Suffolk

Suffolk, like Norfolk, has a great deal of barrel-organ use but few documented choir-band details. Instrumental references occur at the following:

The serpent from *Barking Tye*, noted by Boston and Langwill[71] is still in St Mary's Church. It is an instrument by Pretty (1830 – 31) played by Thomas Emsden (1807 – 1886), parish clerk and carpenter. It has three keys.

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67 K. H. MacDermott, *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels*, London 1948, p68
68 *op cit.*, 1st ed., p113
69 *op cit.*, 2nd ed., p122
70 N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, North-East Norfolk and Norwich*, Harmondsworth 1962, p395
71 *op cit.*, 1st ed., p115

The *Barsham* double bass is in St Peter Hungate Museum, Norwich. MacDermott[72] lists this village under Norfolk, although Boston and Langwill place it in both counties. It was donated to the museum by Mrs Anderson Coates, and stands 185 cms high. The *Battisford* serpent is at Christchurch Mansion, Ipswich. This instrument, mentioned by H. Munroe Cantley[73] is by Key, with two keys, crook and mouthpiece. The *East Bergholt* cello, now at Christchurch Mansion, Ipswich is of particular interest. It is one of the few inscribed church stringed instruments:

> John Dunthorne/East Bergholt/Suffolk/March 11th, 1802.

Dunthorne was a glazier and plumber. The instrument was reputedly played by John Constable, the painter (1776 – 1837), and returned to the Dunthorne family by him, possibly at the abolition of the choir-band. Paterson[74] writing in 1923 states:

> Old people have told me...the centre [of the gallery] was occupied by the singers and a band of instruments...the gallery was taken down in 1861.

Boston and Langwill[75] note that the band of violin, flute and cello was in use until 1863 at *Blaxhall*. The *Cavendish* Band is the only one in Suffolk noted by MacDermott;[76] he gives no details however.

Northcote[77] quotes the churchwardens' accounts for *Monks' Eleigh* but is unable to identify specific instruments:

> music books...for the use of the Monkseleigh singers and instrument players in the years 1802 and 1803.

A barrel-organ was donated in 1852.

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72 K. H. MacDermott, *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels*, London 1948, p168
73 H. Munroe Cantley, *Suffolk Churches and their Treasures*, n.d.
74 T. F. Paterson, *East Bergholt in Suffolk*, Cambridge 1923, p73
75 *op cit.*, 1st ed., p115
76 K. H. MacDermott, *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels*, London 1948, p69
77 A. F. Northcote, *Notes on the History of Monks' Eleigh*, Ipswich 1930, p66

Boston and Langwill mention a serpent from *Needham Market* in the barrel-organ section:[78]

> A serpent in use before the barrel-organ is still in private ownership in the town.

The bassoon from *Polstead* is now in Christchurch Mansion, Ipswich, but unfortunately has an unidentifiable inscription resembling 'Brane of.../London/Pall Mall'. Langwill's *Index*[79] has no entry similar to this and Boston and Langwill[80] do not mention an inscription. The instrument, with six keys, was played by the grandfather of the donor, Mr. H. G. Beatham. The *Rumburgh* clarinet is in the keeping of one of the churchwardens. It is a Dollard, Dublin instrument in boxwood with eight square keys, (1822 – 36) formerly played by James Day.

The only documentation of a possible band at *Theberton* is by Doughty:[81]

> The music of the self-taught company of singers may not have been of the highest order, but it is worth considering that the musicians and their friends...were led to take an interest in the services.

The keyed bugle from *Great Waldingfield* noted by Boston and Langwill[82] as 'well polished...hangs on the wall of the church (1952)' was stolen in 1978.

Two flutes from *Wickham Market* are, according to Boston and Langwill,[83] in Carlisle Museum. One was by Clementi and the other by Goulding. Only the Clementi instrument appears to be extant (Tullie House Museum, Carlisle 1943/2). This is in boxwood with a missing foot key, dating from 1802 – 21.

Aldwell,[84] chronicling *Wingfield* is unable to give details of the village orchestra which led the singing.

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78 *op cit.*, 2nd ed., p94
79 L. G. Langwill, *An Index of Musical Wind Instrument Makers*, 5th ed., Edinburgh 1977
80 *op cit.*, 1st ed., p115
81 H. M. Doughty, *Chronicles of Theberton*, London 1910, p220
82 *op cit.*, 1st ed., p112
83 *op cit.*, 1st ed., p115
84 S. W. H. Aldwell, *Wingfield, its Church, Castle and College*, Ipswich 1925, p50

iii) Essex

Essex appears to be the most populous choir-band county in Eastern England, apart from Northamptonshire, which has been covered by the author in much greater detail. Boston and Langwill's listing[85] has thirteen entries and MacDermott's Appendix 1[86] twenty-four. Hughes[87] lists twenty-five churches which had known bands. Essex church music is recorded in verse by W. E. Heygate – *The old Essex clerk* in Hughes's work (p11).

> We sang them in the gallery, with fiddle and clarionet.
> If yer'd once heerd our band, sir, taint likely as you'd forget.
> If the Parson should wish they'd change the tune by next Lords Day,
> They pops flute and fiddle in bags, and goes right clean away.

The *Battisford* serpent is detailed under Essex by Boston and Langwill, although the village is actually in Suffolk. Boston and Langwill[88] mention a clarinet and keyed bugle from *Bocking* at Braintree Town Hall Museum. This is now in Braintree Museum and Heritage Centre, and while the keyed bugle is extant, the clarinet does not appear to be. There is a clarinet of a doubtful provenance, possibly from *Cressing*. Both these instruments are also mentioned in *The Singing Church in Essex*.[89] The keyed bugle is an unusual instrument by Sandbach of London, with six keys and some crooks; this was played by Henry Saunders. The clarinet is darkwood with fifteen keys which makes its use at Bocking doubtful, as Hughes notes that the instrument was played at Bocking around 1800.

The *Great Braxted* Band is detailed by Gimson[90] who mentions that the band played up to the 1890s, a very late date, and were replaced by a harmonium. The players were:

cello – Mr. Crabbe Senior

piccolo – Mr. Challis Senior

flute – Mr. Challis (his son)

Gimson also notes that two members of the Wood family played clarinets.

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85 *op cit.*, 1st ed., p112
86 K. H. MacDermott, *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels, op cit.*, p68
87 J. Hughes, *The Singing Church in Essex*, Chelmsford 1955, p11
88 *op cit.*, 1st ed., p112
89 *op cit.*, pp12 – 13
90 W. A. Gimson, *Great Baxted 1886 – 1957*, Chelmsford 1958, p12

Boston and Langwill[91] note that the *Broomfield* clarinet was stolen in 1963. It was kept in a glass case in the bellringing chamber.

Chelmsford Cathedral was a parish church until 1914, noted as only 'slightly enlarged' by Antony New.[92] A pitch pipe receives a mention in the churchwardens' accounts of 1764, purchased for 5/-. A band is noted in Chelmsford in MacDermott's Appendix 1;[93] this, according to Hughes,[94] ceased in 1868. The choir leader was Harold Stidolph. Unfortunately neither source note the instrumentation.

The *Chipping Ongar* cello is noted by Boston and Langwill (p120), MacDermott (p28) and Hughes (p13). The fullest account is by MacDermott but this only gives details of the owner in 1948 – Walter Jackson of Cripsey Cottage, whose grandfather had played it.

A clarinet from *Crishall* is at Saffron Walden Museum. This is a boxwood instrument with six keys by Gerock (1832 – 37). It was played by William Cranwell.

No details are available for the *Danbury* band noted by MacDermott.[95] Hughes[96] notes that the gallery was still extant in this church. Boston and Langwill mention that the gallery was still extant in this church. Boston and Langwill note that the *Fairstead* clarinet by McQueen of Colchester was in Chelmsford Museum. McQueen worked between 1848 and 1833;[97] Hughes[98] states that this is 'actually made of bamboo'.

Fingringhoe has a substantial amount of documentation in addition to Boston and Langwill (p123) and Hughes (p11). Both of these sources note the churchwardens' accounts, referring to a bassoon and flute:

		£	s	d
1823	A Bland, Colchester, for a bassoon and a reed case	3	5	0
	ditto to Baize for bag	0	1	0
	J. Chaplin, Colchester, for 3 Ling's Bassoon reeds	0	6	0
	ditto for 1 Introduction to the Bassoon	0	2	0

91 *op cit.*, 1st ed., p112
92 A. New, *A Guide to the Cathedrals of Britain*, London 1980, p77
93 op. cit., p68
94 *op cit.*, p13
95 K. H. MacDermott, *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels*, London 1948, p68
96 *op cit.*, p112
97 L. G. Langwill, *An Index of Musical Wind instrument Makers*, 5th ed., Edinburgh 1972, p112
98 *op cit.*, p12

A. Bland, for a flute, tipt [sic] and with 4 brass keys	1	0	0

Langwill in his *Index*[99] remarks that Thomas Ling was a reed-maker of Fitzroy Square until 1835. The best documentation, which also notes two clarinets is by Benton:[100]

> According to the late Mr. George Page (1854 – 1926) this band was discontinued about 1860, the last performers being, as far as he could recollect, Martin Bonner (foreman at the mill) who played the bassoon; John Lee, who played the clarinet; and possibly Robert Bland, who may have played the flute, otherwise he was a singer. A clarinet said to have been played by John Crickmore in Fingringhoe church was given to the writer in 1926 by his son, the late Robert C. Crickmore, then aged 84 and is now preserved in the vestry.

This clarinet is now in the keeping of Christopher Turner;[101] it is an unnamed boxwood instrument with 8 keys.

Fobbing is noted as having a barrel-organ.[102] Hughes,[103] however, includes it in his list of known bands. Both Hughes (p11) and MacDermott (p68) (the former probably by reference to the latter) note *Greenstead* as a known band. Boston and Langwill[104] note a bassoon and flute in a glass case at *Good Easter* Church. *Hatfield Peverel* had a band according to MacDermott's listing.[105]

The band at *Havering* is another which is well-documented with players' names:

> Before the introduction of an organ, about 1856, there had been an old-fashioned band of instruments, including a clarinet, violin, flute, bass viol and flageolet. The members were Messrs Aylett, Joseph Newland, Wilsher, John Taylor, Junior, John Taylor, Senior, and Dickson. The first notice of singers is in 1787.[106]

Unfortunately the dating of instrumental use is unknown. It is likely that the players named belonged to a period immediately before 1856. The writer would have surely remarked on singers and instrumentalists if both were noted in the 1787 source.

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99 *op cit.*, p107
100 G. M. Benton, *The Church of St Over (alias St Andrews) Fingringhoe, Essex*, Oxford 1938, p4
101 Author of *Sing Unto the Lord*, Fingringhoe 1987
102 Boston and Langwill, *op. cit.*, 1st ed., p112
103 *op cit.*, p11
104 *op cit.*, 1st ed., p112
105 *op cit.*, p68
106 H. Smith, *A History of the Parish of Havering-Atte-Bower, Essex*, Colchester n.d., p169

A rare use of the accordion occurs at *Hutton* according to Boston and Langwill:

> in 1837 an accordion was used to lead the singing.[107]

Another example is noted at *Whiteroding,* also to lead the singing. It seems more likely that the instrumentalists referred to are concertinas which did have occasional church use (Stoke Newington, London; Balcombe, Sussex; Pebmarsh, Essex.) MacDermott[108] states that the concertina was patented in 1829 and that 'it is no more inappropriate to the sanctuary than is a strident harmonium.' MacDermott mentions two examples of accordion (Worth, Sussex and the Whiteroding instrument mentioned above, but gives no details). Prout's entry for the accordion in Grove's fifth edition[109] notes that the accordion was invented in 1829 in Vienna. It seems unlikely that at this date, it would have reached a rural English parish within eight years.

A barrel-organ at *Ingatestone* is mentioned by Boston and Langwill,[110] but this parish is also noted in Hughes's list of known bands.[111]

Boston and Langwill's list[112] gives details of the instruments at *Ingrave* but the source is unstated:

> a band of fiddles, flute, cello, bassoon and clarinet, the last played by the village blacksmith lacked F sharp.

The F sharp referred to must be the lowest one as the others are fingered not keyed notes; in this case the hole left after the loss of the key would have to have been plugged. If the instrument were a B flat, used in a non-transposing way (see the section on the clarinet), then the problem could be remedied by cross-fingering.

MacDermott[113] lists bands at *Laydon Mills* and *Great Leighs,* but gives no instrumentation. A clarinet from the Baptist Chapel at *Lion Walk* is in the Colchester and

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107 *op cit.,* 1st ed., p112
108 *op cit.,* p37
109 E. Prout, Accordion, *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Vol. 1,* London 1954, p29
110 *op cit.,* p79
111 *op cit.,* p11
112 *op cit.,* 1st ed., p112
113 K. H. MacDermott, *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels,* London 1948, p68

Essex Museum; it is a six-keyed boxwood instrument by Parker (1770 – 1815), and was played by Johnson. A band at *Margaretting* is given in Hughes' list.[114] This is not noted by Boston and Langwill or MacDermott. *Navestock* band is only noted by MacDermott.[115]

Bayley[116] quotes 'Miss Reid's' observations about *Pebmarsh*, c.1848:

> tribes of school children sat in the gallery at the west end and formed the choir, and there were five or six men in front who played the cello, flute, violin, double bass and concertina. Only the hymns and metrical version of the psalms were sung, and the congregation turned round and faced the west gallery during the singing of them.

The band, but not instrumentation, at *Prittlewell* is noted by MacDermott.[117]

Details of the parish clerk and band at *Rayne* are given by Eliza Vaughan:[118]

> John Hance...also announced the hymns...in a solemn manner, beginning 'let us all now sing', whereupon the choir, consisting of a clarionet, a bass viol and a fiddle or two, struck up the tune and John's voice led the singing.

A serpent from *Saffron Walden* Church is in the town museum. It is a three-keyed instrument but has no inscription. The vestry minutes of 1816 refer to a bassoon at *Stanford Rivers*.[119]

At *Stondon Massey* the parish clerk, William Wren, was involved in three periods of church music. He was initially a flautist in the band, then barrel-organ operator, from the installation of that machine in 1850 to the cessation in 1873. He continued as parish clerk until 1899, well into the organ period.[120]

A violin from the primitive Methodist chapel at *Stebbing* is in Saffron Walden Museum, but there are no details as to player or a dating of its use. An oboe, bassoon and clarinet from *Sudbury* are at the Colchester and Essex Museum. The boxwood oboe is inscribed Caleb/Gedney; the clarinet and bassoon have no inscriptions but date from the early nineteenth-century.

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114 *op cit.*, p11
115 *op cit.*, p68
116 T. D. S. Bayley, *Pebmarsh Church, Essex*, Oxford 1946, p4
117 *op cit.*, p68
118 E. Vaughan, *The Essex Village in Days Gone By*, Colchester 1928, p17
119 Boston and Langwill, *op cit.*, 1st ed., p112
120 J. Hughes, *op cit.*, p11

A gallery costing £52. 17. 0. was built at *Terling* Church in 1801. A cello was in use in 1832 as the churchwardens' accounts show:

Bow for the Bass Violina 12/-.[121]

Cellos were used at *Tendring* and *Ugley* according to Boston and Langwill[122] and Hughes;[123] that at Tendring was purchased in 1775 and purchase and maintenance occur in the Ugley accounts between 1805 and 1808.

MacDermott[124] gives no instrumentation for the *Widford* Band.

Writtle Band used the rood loft as the 'music-gallery' but Upton[125] merely refers to the accommodation of the choir and musical instruments.

d) Mid -Anglia

i) Cambridgeshire

For purposes of this study Cambridgeshire is considered to be that part of the present county which was called Cambridgeshire before 1965 in addition to Huntingdonshire and the Isle of Ely. The reason for this is to release the Soke of Peterborough to its original standing as part of Northamptonshire as it was at the time of choir-band activity.

There is surprisingly little choir-band evidence in Cambridgeshire, given its proximity to Essex, and there appears to be only one extant instrument.

The instruments at *Balsham,* two clarinets and a bassoon, noted by Boston and Langwill as the only entry in Appendix 3 for Cambridgeshire[126] were stolen in 1986.

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121 *Historical Notes and Records of the Parish at Terling, Essex,* 1958, p70
122 *op cit.,* 1st ed., p112
123 *op cit.,* p13
124 K. H. MacDermott, *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels,* London 1948, p68
125 J. H. Upton, *A History of Writtle Church,* Guilford 1930, p46
126 *op cit.,* 1st ed., p111

Cottenham's choir-band was an early victim of the reformers. The vicar had attempted to make changes in 1842, but 'his endeavours' notes Bernarr Rainbow,[127] quoting the *Parish Choir* (volume 2, p86),

> were met, as is usual in these cases, by a rebellion in the choir, and a voluntary withdrawal of all the singers, together with their fifes, fiddles, clarionets, double basses etc. This was followed by a silence of some months.

The actual instrumentation cannot be relied on as the reforming zeal of the *Parish Choir* would probably attempt to ridicule the choir and give an unlikely representation. For this reason these instruments will not be included in the concluding analysis of this county. At *Elton* at least one reed instrument was used. Whistler[128] states:

> no Churchwardens' Accounts are extant before 1784...the usual church rate appears to have varied from a penny farthing to 4d in the £4...The money raised...was expended upon certain recurring charges, such as...reeds for the church and singers' galleries.

Boston and Langwill[129] note a cello from Glatton, under Huntingdonshire. This is reputedly in Peterborough Museum; however, the only cello in that museum is by J. J. Gilbert of 2 New Priestgate, Peterborough and is of too late a date to be the Glatton instrument.

The surviving instrument of Cambridgeshire is the flute at *Hildersham*. This is a Wallace and Goodman instrument with four keys visible through the glass case in which it is kept. Wallace and Goodman are unknown to Langwill.[130]

At *Wicken*, Knowles[131] notes a clarinet and violin.

> Formerly in Wicken church, under the western arch, there was a small gallery or singers' pew where the village choir collected...from whence the sounds of the clarionet, violin and lusty voices issued forth.

MacDermott[132] notes that

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127 B. Rainbow, *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church*, London 1970, p110
128 R. F. Whistler, *The History of Elton*, London 1892, p123
129 *op cit.*, 1st ed., p113
130 L. G. Langwill, *Index of Musical Wind Instrument Makers*, 5th ed., Edinburgh 1977
131 M. Knowles, *History of Wicken*, London 1902
132 K. H. MacDermott, *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels*, London 1948, p20

the bassoon at Wisbech was somewhat short but was of low pitch; it had a bell 'end'.

This sounds rather like an 'alto fagotto', an example of which (by G. Wood c.1830) is shown in the catalogue of the 1968 Edinburgh Exhibition of the Galpin Society.[133] It is unclear whether MacDermott's use of the words 'low pitch' mean of bass range or of flat pitch. A greater problem, however, is produced by Gardiner's[134] statement that an organ, erected in 1798, replaced one built in 1711. Both dates are exceptionally early for organs and would inhibit, if not prohibit, later instrumental use. Pevsner[135] makes no reference to an early organ, but a Victorian replacement would not be noteworthy. The problem is insoluble and if both sources are correct it would appear to be an isolated case of concurrent instrumental and organ use in the area.

ii) Bedfordshire

Instrumental references in Bedfordshire are somewhat better than those for Cambridgeshire. A boxwood clarinet at *Biddenham*, noted by Boston and Langwill,[136] is now in a glass case on a wall in the locked vestry; this is on the advice of the present author. The clarinet is a Wood and Ivy six-keyed instrument dating from 1836 – 47. The instrument had been very badly damaged by the maker of an original display case, who sawed off the top tenon of the upper joint, in order to make the instrument fit the case; the upper collar of the lower joint was also removed. The instrument was played by James West (1794 – 1861), parish clerk. A Cramer clarinet from *Blunham* reported by Boston and Langwill[137] at Peterborough Museum is now untraceable.

The parish of *Caddington* is of particular interest. MacDermott[138] refers to the purchase of an oboe in 1787. Boston and Langwill[139] 'correct' this to 1786 (£2. 2. 0. for a

133 *An Exhibition of European Musical Instruments*, Edinburgh 1968, No. 230, Plate X(I)
134 F. J. Gardiner, *History of Wisbech*, London 1898
135 N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Cambridgeshire*, Harmondsworth, 2nd ed., 1970, p494
136 *op cit.*, 1st ed., p111
137 *op cit.*, 1st ed., p111
138 K. H. MacDermott, *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels*, London 1948, p24
139 *op cit.*, 1st ed., p111

hautboy and reeds). The latter source mentions the anonymous six-keyed bassoon from the church at Luton Museum. This instrument has, in fact, now been returned to the church. It is of highly polished darkwood, the keys mounted in carved saddles; there is no crook.

A more thorough account of music at Caddington is given in an anonymous booklet of 1937.[140] The writer notes that the bassoon was discovered under the floor of the gallery when the church was restored in 1875. A pitch pipe was purchased for 5/- in 1785 and the oboe mentioned above cost £1. 3. 6. with two psalm books in 1787, and so it would appear that Boston and Langwill are incorrect in this case. The first mention of reeds is in 1806: 'reeds for psalm singers 2s/9d'. Bassoon repairs are again mentioned in 1807 and 1823. Clarinet repairs begin in 1812 and a new one was purchased in 1822, a further bassoon was purchased in 1826. The band may have totalled five players, although concurrent use of these instruments is not certain. The clarinets were certainly used concurrently but the second bassoon may have been a replacement.

The writer of *Notes on Caddington Church* suggests the evolution of the Caddington Band, based on the knowledge that the church was visited by the Luton Singers in 1779:

> the history of the little Caddington orchestra probably followed some such course as this – when music began to come into general use in churches, in due time it reached Luton church, and reports of this and of the prowess of the Luton Psalm Singers reached Caddington. Accordingly they would be invited thither in 1779 to show what they could do. Doubtless the effect was inspiring and stimulating and Caddington would say that it would be a good thing if they could do likewise. So they talked and wondered if anyone was going to do anything about it, for six years, when they started with a Psalmpipe. Then two years later a hautboy, and so the other instruments above mentioned. This must have been in 1787, as one hautboy by itself would have been of no use.

This synopsis seems reasonable, apart from the last sentence; many churches, of course, found that one instrument would suffice. At Caddington it is most likely that a bassoon followed the oboe to make an early double reed band and that the clarinets were slightly later.

Boston and Langwill[141] note repairs to the *Eaton Bray* clarinet and bassoon in 1822–4.

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140 *Notes on Caddington Church*, 1937, Section IV, p31
141 *op cit.*, 1st ed., p111

Temperley[142] mentions the 1791 flute and oboe at *Eaton Socon.* (This information is taken from the *Torrington Diaries* (1781 – 1794) Volume 2, p175 edited C. B. Andrews, London 1934 – 8).

At *Flitton* two clarinets, a violin and a flute were used in the gallery before 1843.[143] Boston and Langwill also note a violin and flute introduced at *Flitwick* in 1834. MacDermott's list of bands[144] gives no details of the band at *Kensworth.* A cello string for *Melchbourne* was purchased, according to Boston and Langwill[145] at an unknown date. A family at Caldecote had the custody of the *Northill* violin (1970).[146]

The Bedford Modern School Museum is now part of Bedford Museum, Castle Lane. The *Ravensden* bassoon is noted by Boston and Langwill.[147] The Museum also keeps a clarinet and cello from the same church, unknown to Boston and Langwill. The bassoon is by Hart of Covent Garden (1830 – 1858); it has six keys and is in a wooden case. The clarinet is by E. G. Williams, London (c.1820). The same museum also has church instruments from Kent and Hertfordshire.

MacDermott[148] notes a band at *Shillington* but gives no instrumentation. *Souldrop* is well-documented because of the diary kept by G. D. Newbolt, incumbent from 1856 – 95. Extracts are given by Patricia Bell[149] who notes that Newbolt on his arrival 'endeavoured to make an improvement in the style' of the music. The choir-band was led by a cellist; but on Christmas Day 1856 (Newbolt was instituted on May 9th) this was replaced by a harmonium. Hymns replaced the metrical psalms and a singing master from Bedford was employed once a week.

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142 N. Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, Cambridge 1979, p197
143 Boston and Langwill, *op cit.*, 1st ed., p11
144 *op cit.*, Appx 1, p67
145 *op cit.*, 1st ed., p111
146 Boston and Langwill, *op cit.*, 2nd ed., p119
147 *op cit.*, 1st ed., p111
148 *op cit.*, Appd 1, p67
149 P. Bell, *The Rev. G. D. Newbolt, Souldrop 1856 – 95*, Bedfordshire Historical Society Publications XL 1960, pp200 – 225

Toddington possessed a considerable band noted by Boston and Langwill[150] as flute, clarinet, bassoon (extant kept in the church) and cornet, double bass and violin (kept in the village). Extracts from the churchwardens' accounts are given by Blundell:[151]

		£	s	d
1806	Paid Mr. Gresham for a new claronett	3	8	6
	paid Mr. Clements for a new bassoon	6	18	0
1814	paid for mending of a Clarionet and reeds	0	13	6
1821	mending singers' instruments	0	6	3
1824	repairing the bassoon etc.	1	10	4
	repairing musical instruments	0	9	6
1829	clarinet repairing	0	5	0
1838	bassoon reeds for musik men	0	6	0

Some of the instruments mentioned by Boston and Langwill are now in a very dusty chamber above the vestry. The room is dry, as the central heating boiler is also there, but there have been problems with pigeons nesting in the room. The instruments are as follows: (a) bassoon by Parker, London, 5 keys, (b) boxwood clarinet by Gerock, 7 square keys remaining (formerly 8), (c) darkwood piccolo, no head, 4 keys, (d) violin, possibly the one referred to by Boston and Langwill as 'made by the Squire of Toddington';[152] it is certainly home-made.

The flute is in private custody in the village and is likely to be restored to playing order. The piccolo is not mentioned by Boston and Langwill and is certainly much later than the other instruments. Inscriptions in the open case to which the bassoon, clarinet and normally the flute are attached, note that they belonged to James Hyde. The clarinet inscription states that he played it for forty-six years; the flute inscription notes that he was parish clerk, while the bassoon inscription notes that the bassoon was played in the 'footman's gallery', but that 'these good old times have passed away, and the gallery

150 *op cit.*, 1st ed., p111
151 J. H. Blundell, *Toddington, its Arrivals and People*, Toddington 1925, pp158, 162 – 3
152 *op cit.*, 1st ed., p111

destroyed'. Hyde died in 1882. A previous parish clerk had been 'Old Neale' mentioned in the *Musical Times*[153] of July 1918.

Possibly the last choir-band in the Eastern counties was that at *Westoning*. Boston and Langwill, presumably using as a source the Bedfordshire Magazine (volume 3, no 19, p101 1951/2), state that a small orchestra was only recently abandoned. It is known that the Wallis thirteen-keyed clarinet at Luton Museum was used at the church until 1917; the instrument itself dates from after 1887.

153 see P. A. Scholes, *A Mirror of Music*, London 1947, p533

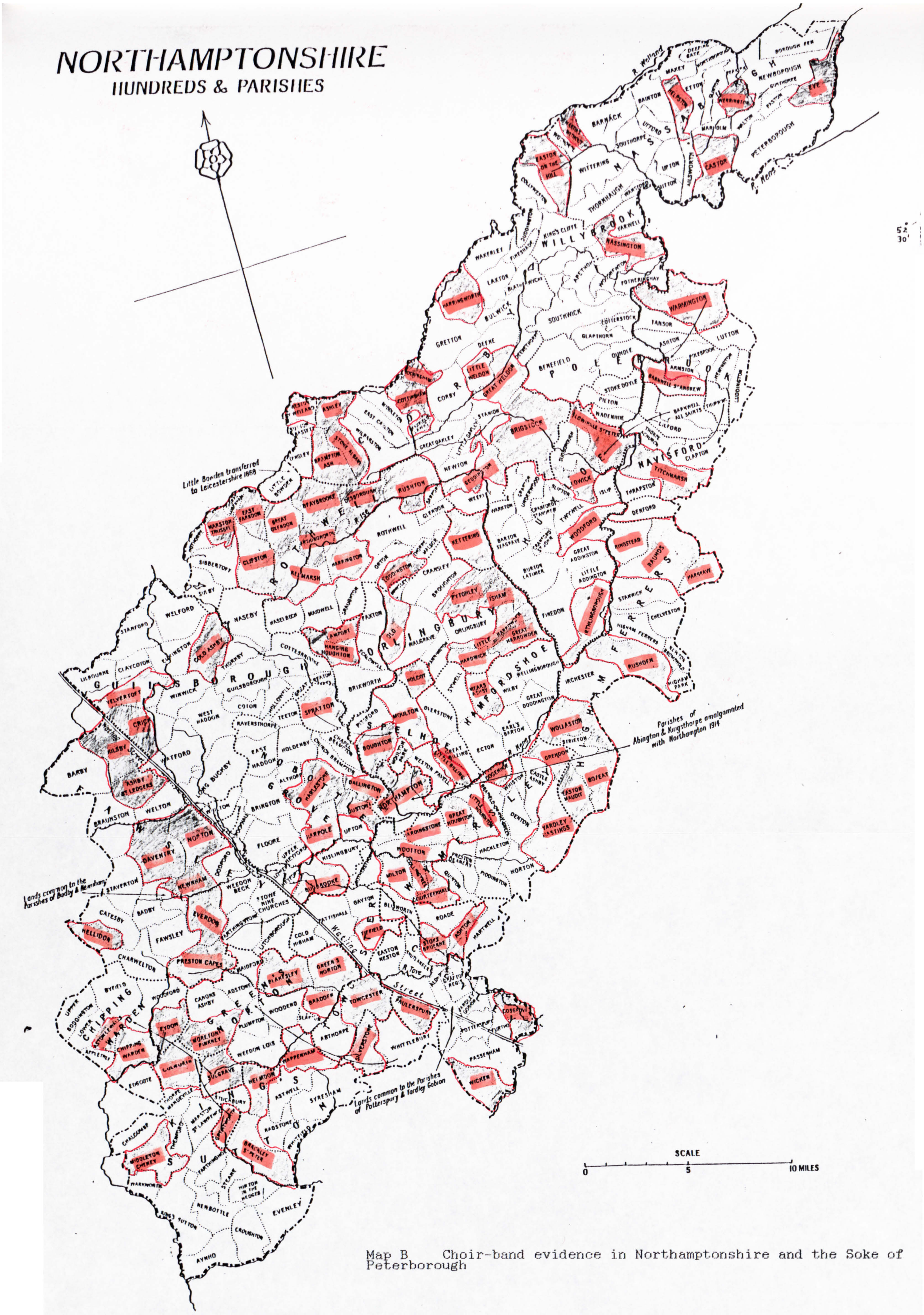
Chapter 5 – A Detailed Study of Northamptonshire

a) Northamptonshire and the Soke of Peterborough as a typical example of choir-band usage with a Parish Index.

b) The Reading of Churchwardens' Accounts

c) Northamptonshire parishes by Hundreds.

1 Chipping Warden
2 Cleyley
3 Corby
4 Fawsley
5 Greens Norton
6 Guilsborough
7 Hamfordshoe
8 Higham Ferrers
9 Huxloe
10 Kings Sutton
11 Nassaburgh (Soke of Peterborough)
12 Navisford
13 Nobottle Grove
14 Orlingbury
15 Polebrook
16 Rothwell
17 Spelhoe (including Northampton)
18 Towcester
19 Willybrook
20 Wymersley



Map B Choir-band evidence in Northamptonshire and the Soke of Peterborough

a) Northamptonshire and the Soke of Peterborough as a typical example of choir-band usage with a parish index.

A detailed county study of distribution and instrumentation of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century choir-bands must cover a county which can be considered a typical example, if the results hope to reflect national trends. It should be a microcosm of the country as a whole, having elements reflected in other counties. This is, of course, an ideal as all British counties are distinct, having individual landscapes, industry and population distribution.

The county of Northamptonshire, including the Soke of Peterborough, seems to fulfil many criteria for consideration as a 'typical' English county. Its use for research can be justified in many ways, and yet the main reason must be admitted – that of convenience for the author. It has proved a fortunate choice, but there is no reason to suppose that other counties would not yield similar results under close scrutiny.

Northamptonshire and the Soke of Peterborough comprise a varied landscape, from undulating low hills in the west to fenland in the north-east. There is a wide variety of settlements from the many villages, small market towns, larger industrial towns to the cathedral city of Peterborough. The main industry is, and always was, agriculture – livestock in the uplands and arable in the east. The main manufacturing industry has been the leather trade from the industrial revolution onwards.

The county includes the Roman settlements of Durobrivae and Lactodorum, Saxon churches at Brixworth, Brigstock and Earls Barton, and many Norman architectural remains, including the cathedral.

Although the county has no coastline, access to the Wash is gained via the River Nene which passes Northampton, Wellingborough, Thrapston, Oundle and Peterborough. The county is bordered by two other rivers which empty into the Wash – the Welland to the North and the Great Ouse to the South, and is bisected North to South by the Grand Union Canal, the first stretch of which opened in 1814. Blisworth and Stoke Bruerne became the country's busiest inland ports. The Roman roads of Watling Street and Ermine Street, and the London-Carlisle trunk road all cross Northamptonshire. The

first railway in the county was built in 1800, Stephenson's London-Birmingham railway in 1834 – 5, the Great Northern through Peterborough in 1850 and the Midland railway in 1857. From an ecclesiastical aspect the county forms one diocese (which includes the former county of Rutland).

The county town has always been Northampton because of its central position. Outlying market towns which became industrialised in the nineteenth-century include Kettering, Wellingborough and Daventry. Important coaching towns include Towcester, Brackley, Higham Ferrers, and Stamford (part of which was in Northamptonshire). There are no university towns, but Oundle is a stonebuilt town centred on a public school. Ironstone is the main building material; this is brown in the West and lighter in the East. The stone quarry at Barnack was used by the Normans, and there were Roman quarries at Castor.

Northamptonshire was bounded in the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries by nine counties – Rutland, Leicestershire, Warwickshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire; it takes characteristics of each of these. There is relatively easy access to the major towns in most of these counties which is important for purchase and repair of instruments, although many parishes purchased instruments from local dealers and some from London.

For the sake of clarity and ease in this study, the county has been divided into its Saxon Hundreds. There is a precedent for this as the Victoria County History (1902, incomplete) divides the county in this way. The areas become manageable, but somewhat uneven, varying from Towcester (five parishes) to Corby (thirty parishes), but each hundred has its own historical background and it seems reasonable to use these as opposed to present-day deaneries, or boroughs and districts.

The map of hundreds and parishes is one reproduced by Northamptonshire Record Office and taken from *'The Place-names of Northamptonshire'* – Gover, Mawer and Stenton, Cambridge University Press, 1933.

An alphabetical listing of each parish mentioned in the text is given here, with its hundred name. Parishes which have no references in churchwardens' accounts or other documented sources are not given, but mentioned at the beginning of each section.

Key:

inst.	=	instrumental use
mus.	=	musical reference, but not instrumental
G.	=	This church had or has a gallery, but no other musical reference.
Ch.	=	Chipping Warden
Cl.	=	Cleyley
Co.	=	Corby
F.	=	Fawsley
G.N	=	Greens Norton
Guil.	=	Guilsborough
Ham.	=	Hamfordshoe
Hig.	=	Higham Ferrers
Hux.	=	Huxloe
K.S.	=	Kings Sutton
Nass.	=	Nassaburgh
Nav.	=	Navisford
N.G.	=	Nobottle Grove
O.	=	Orlingbury
P.	=	Polebrook
R.	=	Rothwell
Sp.	=	Spelhoe
T.	=	Towcester
Wbk.	=	Willybrook
Wym.	=	Wymersley

				Page
A.	Abington	Sp.	inst.	202
	Alderton	Cl.	G.	148
	Aldwincle St Peter	Hux.	inst.	173
	Arthingworth	R.	inst.	197
	Ashby St Ledgers	F.	inst.	155
	Ashley	Co.	inst.	151
	Ashton	Cl.	inst.	148
	Aston le Walls	Ch.	inst.	146
	Aynho	KS.	G.	175
B.	Barby	F.	mus.	154
	Barnwell St Andrew	P.	inst.	195
	Lt. Billing	Sp.	inst.	202
	Blakesley	GN.	inst.	158
	Boughton	Sp.	inst.	203
	Bozeat	Hig.	inst.	165
	Brackley St Peter	KS.	inst.	176
	Bradden	GN.	inst.	159
	Brampton Ash	Co.	inst.	151
	Braybrooke	R.	inst.	197
	Brigstock	Co.	inst.	151
	Gt. Brington	NG.	mus.	184
	Brixworth	O.	mus.	187
	Broughton	O.	mus.	187
	Bugbrooke	NG.	mus.	185
	Bulwick	Cor.	mus.	150
	Byfield	Ch.	G.	146
C.	Castle Ashby	Wym.	mus.	209
	Castor	Nass.	inst.	180
	Chacombe	KS.	G.	176
	Chelveston	Hig.	G.	165
	Chipping Warden	Ch.	inst.	147
	Clipston	Ch.	inst.	198
	Cogenhoe	Wym.	inst.	210
	Cold Ashby	Guil.	inst.	161

	Collingtree	Wym.	inst.	211
	Cosgrove	Cl.	inst.	148
	Cottesbrooke	Guil.	mus.	161
	Cottingham	Cor.	inst.	151
	Courteenhall	Wym.	inst.	211
	Cranford St Andrew	Hux.	mus.	169
	Cranford St John	Hux.	mus.	170
	Crick	Guil.	inst.	162
	Culworth	KS.	inst.	176
D.	Dallington	NG.	inst.	185
	Daventry	F.	inst.	155
	Denton	Wym.	mus.	209
	Dingley	Co.	mus.	151
	Gt. Doddington	Ham.	mus.	162
	Dodford	F.	mus.	154
	Draughton	R.	mus.	197
	Duston	NG.	inst.	185
E.	Earls Barton	Ham.	mus.	163
	Easton Maudit	Hig.	inst.	166
	Easton-on-the-Hill	Wbk.	inst.	208
	Edgecote	Ch.	mus.	146
	Etton	Nass.	mus.	179
	Evenley	KS.	G	176
	Everdon	F.	inst.	155
	Eydon	Ch.	inst.	146
	Eye	Nass.	inst.	181
F.	East Farndon	R.	inst.	198
	Farthinghoe	KS.	mus.	176
	Faxton	O.	mus.	187
	Fawsley	F.	mus.	154
	Finedon	Hux.	mus.	170
G.	Geddington	Co.	inst.	152
	Greatworth	Ch.	inst.	147
	Greens Norton	GN.	inst.	159
	Grendon	Wym.	inst.	211
	Gretton	Co.	mus.	151

	Guilsborough	Guil.	mus.	161
H.	East Haddon	NG.	mus.	185
	Hanging Houghton	O.	mus.	190
	Hannington	O.	mus.	187
	Hardingstone	Wym.	inst.	212
	Hardwick	O.	inst.	188
	Hargrave	Hig.	inst.	167
	Harlestone	NG.	inst.	186
	Harpole	NG.	inst.	186
	Harrington	R.	inst.	198
	Harringworth	Co.	inst.	152
	Gt. Harrowden	O.	inst.	188
	Lt. Harrowden	O.	inst.	189
	Helmdon	F.	inst.	177
	Hellidon	KS.	inst.	156
	Helpston	Nass.	inst.	181
	Holcot	Ham.	inst.	163
	Horton	Wym.	mus.	210
	Lt. Houghton	Wym.	inst.	212
I.	Irthlingborough	Hux.	inst.	173
	Isham	O.	inst.	189
	Islip	Hux.	mus.	170
K.	Kelmarsh	R.	inst.	198
	Kettering	Hux.	mus.	170
	Kilsby	F.	inst.	156
	Kingsthorpe	Sp.	inst.	203
	Kislingbury	NG.	mus.	185
L.	Lamport	O.	inst.	190
	Lowick	Hux.	inst.	174
M.	Maidwell	R.	mus.	197
	Marston Trussell	R.	inst.	199
	Maxey	Nass.	mus.	169
	Mears Ashby	Ham.	inst.	164
	Middleton Cheney	KS.	inst.	177
	Milton Malsor	Wym.	inst.	214

	Moreton Pinkney	GN	inst.	158
	Moulton	Sp.	inst.	203
N.	Nassington	Wbk.	inst.	207
	Newnham	F.	inst.	154
	Northampton All Saints	Sp.	mus.	201
	Northampton St Giles	Sp.	inst.	203
	Northampton St Andrew	Sp.	G.	202
	Northampton St Matthew	Sp.	mus.	202
	Northampton Holy Sepulchre	Sp.	inst.	204
	Norton	F.	inst.	187
O.	Old	O.	inst.	189
	Oundle	P.	mus.	195
	Oxendon	R.	inst.	199
P.	Passenham	Cl.	G.	148
	Pattishall	T.	mus.	205
	Paulersbury	Cl.	inst.	149
	Peakirk	Nass.	mus.	179
	Peterborough St John	Nass.	mus.	179
	Piddington	Wym.	mus.	210
	Pilton	Nav.	mus.	183
	Pottersbury	Cl.	G.	148
	Preston Capes	F.	inst.	157
	Pytchley	O.	inst.	189
R.	Raunds	Hig.	inst.	167
	Ringstead	Hig.	inst.	167
	Rockingham	Co.	inst.	152
	Rothwell	R.	G.	196
	Rushden	Hig.	inst.	167
	Rushton	R.	inst.	200
S.	Silverstone	GN.	inst.	159
	Spratton	Sp.	inst.	204
	Stamford Baron	Nass.	inst.	182
	Stanford	Guil.	mus.	161
	Stanwick	Hig.	mus.	165
	Staverton	F.	mus.	155

	Stoke Albany	Co.	inst.	153
	Stoke Bruerne	Cl.	inst.	149
	Stoke Doyle	Nav.	mus.	183
	Sulgrave	Ch.	inst.	147
	Sutton	Nass.	mus.	180
	Syresham	KS.	mus.	176
T.	Thorpe Mandeville	KS.	mus.	176
	Thrapston	Nav.	mus.	183
	Thurning	P.	mus.	195
	Tiffield	T.	inst.	205
	Titchmarsh	Nav.	inst.	183
	Towcester	T.	inst.	205
U.	Upton	NG.	mus.	185
W.	Wadenhoe	Nav.	G.	183
	Walgrave	O.	mus.	188
	Wakerley	Co.	mus.	151
	Wansford	Nass.	G.	180
	Wappenham	KS.	inst.	177
	Warkworth	KS.	inst.	176
	Warmington	P.	inst.	196
	Weldon	Co.	inst.	153
	Welford	Guil.	inst.	161
	Wellingborough	Ham.	mus.	163
	Werrington	Nass.	inst.	182
	Weston by Welland	Co.	inst.	153
	Weston Favell	Sp.	mus.	202
	Whiston	Wym.	mus.	210
	Whittlebury	GN.	mus.	157
	Wicken	Cl.	inst.	149
	Wilby	Ham.	mus.	163
	Winwick	Guil.	mus.	161
	Wollaston	High.	inst.	168
	Woodford	Hux.	inst.	174
	Woodnewton	Wbk.	mus.	207
	Wootton	Wym.	inst.	215
Y.	Yardley Hastings	Wym.	inst.	215

Yarwell	Wbk.	mus.	207
Yelvertoft	Guil.	inst.	162

b) The Reading of Churchwardens' Accounts

The reading of churchwardens' accounts is a fascinating and illuminating pastime, yet also tedious and full of obstacles when looking for a particular type of entry. Some accounts, particularly later ones, are neatly written in lined account books; others, mainly eighteenth-century ones, are unwieldy, often in poor condition and in almost illegible hand. Many of these early accounts itemise pest control (sparrows, hedgehogs etc.) in an almost obsessive way which can be very disruptive for a reader looking for musical references. I have restricted my research to the years 1760 – 1870, occasionally following organ and singers' references past that date.

Spelling throughout the period was not at all standardised and a wide variety of spellings of the word bassoon, for instance, can be encountered: baſsoon, basone, baszoon, bason, bassen, baſsoun. Cellos are normally referred to as 'bass viols' or simply 'basses'. Spellings include: baſs voial, baſs voil, base viol, base vial. The cello can also be noted as bass fiddle, bass violin or violincello. Occasionally the now standard spelling of violoncello is encountered. The oboe is often referred to as 'hautboy' (from French hautbois) or simply 'hoboy'; occasionally 'vox humana' is used, although this would normally represent a tenor oboe.

Further confusion can arise between the words 'ringers' and 'singers', where a capital R can look like an S; 'Sallery' (salary) can resemble 'Gallery' and 'recd' (received) look like 'reed'. A bafin (for cleaning etc.) can be confused with a spelling of bassoon, and a 'bafs', an obsolete term for a mat, is identical with an abbreviated 'bafs viol'. A study of the price and numbers of occurrences can be the only way to differentiate.

Where names are mentioned it is not always clear whether it is the player or the dealer who is noted. Some parishes gave money for the players to buy their own reeds/strings, while others paid the dealers' bills when presented. Some dealers' names appear often so the point is clarified. Some names appear in two different parishes and these may be players who have moved.

Many churches gave an annual amount to the singers, usually to cover expenses for a feast at Christmas. Sometimes a choir leader or 'Singing Master' received a salary; it is not clear whether this included instrumental expenses.

A survey of this type cannot be complete; many accounts are missing and there must be a great many cases where churches refused to support their instrumentalists, particularly those who owned their own instruments. As it is, instruments which require little maintenance – flutes, cornets, serpents, etc. – receive no mention in Northamptonshire churchwardens' accounts, and parish histories have to be relied upon for details of this sort. Most entries are for reeds (bassoon, oboe or clarinet) or strings, (violin, cello and, rarely, viola and double bass). It should be mentioned that the word organ can also represent a barrel-organ or harmonium, and it is often impossible to distinguish between them.

It is interesting that the churches with larger bands (Rushton, Courteenhall, etc.,) have few references in churchwardens' accounts. Possibly, the total expense of supporting such a band would have been prohibitive, so only a few payments were made, and the players were expected to maintain the instruments at their own expense. Violins would certainly have a non-ecclesiastical use as well (dancing and festivities) and many violins were probably privately owned in order that they may be freely used in this way.

The ensuing survey provides a great deal of information about Northamptonshire choir-bands, but, given the preceding points, even this may only be a small proportion of the actual musical activity.

c) Northamptonshire parishes by hundred

1. Chipping Warden

Chipping Warden hundred, on the south-west boundary of Northamptonshire with Warwickshire, has eleven parishes, two of which (Greatworth and Sulgrove) are detached and are surrounded by parishes of Kings Sutton and Green Norton. The only civil parish, (a purely administrative area without ecclesiastical significance) is *Appletree,* but *Upper Boddington* has no church and forms part of the parish of *Lower Boddington*. This parish, however, is the only one which has no available churchwardens' accounts.

There are no references in the churchwardens' accounts of *Aston le Walls, Byfield, Edgcote, Eydon* or *Woodford Halse,* although other sources give details of Aston le Walls and Eydon, and E P Poole[1] notes that the galleries (west and south) in Byfield were removed in 1873. It should also be noted that Boston and Langwill[2] refer to the use of barrel-organs at Byfield and Edgcote.

At Aston le Walls a cello was bought by subscription in 1818. The original 'Article for the Management of the Baſs' which includes a subscription list, survives in Northamptonshire Record Office (19P/63). The text is as follows:

> This Article shall be kept in the Church Chest together with the Names of the Subscribers as long as the Baſs endures, the Baſs shall be for the Use of the Church; the Minister & Churchwarden shall have it in their power to chuse a performer who shall have it under His care, if there be above one in the Choir that can play it, and any dispute shall arise which shall play it. The Minister & Churchwarden shall decide the dispute; but the performer under whose care they shall place it shall send it to church if he cannot attend divine Service himself; if there be another in the Choir that can play it, and the latter shall return it back to the chosen performer as soon as divine Service is ended, should it be any ways damaged while absent from the Chosen performer the person or persons who shall be found gilty of the damage He or they shall give an account how it happened to the Minister and Churchwarden & if the damage be done wilfully he or they shall pay the damage, or what the Minister & Churchwarden think proper and be no more entrusted with it without the consent of the Minister and Churchwarden and we hope and trust they will always chuse the man that attends divine service the most and pays the most attention to it.

There follows a list of fourteen subscribers donating amounts varying from 5s to one guinea, making a fund of £6. 10. 0. The cello and bow cost five guineas, a green bag 7/6d,

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1 E. P. Poole, *The Story of Byfield*, 1930, p15

2 N. Boston and L. G. Langwill, *Church and Chamber Barrel-Organs*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh 1970, pp87 – 89

two first strings 1/4d, four third strings 4s and a fourth string 1/6d making a total of £5. 19. 4. The account is signed by Wm. Henry Johnson, Steward and Thos. Mattingley, Deputy of the Choir.

This is a remarkable document and invaluable to the researcher, showing the importance attached to the instrument, the support of the church for music, and anticipating the problems which can be encountered in musical use.

Boston and Langwill[3] note that 'at Eydon, near Daventry, an ophicleide led the singing till an organ was installed in 1838.' This is not confirmed by the churchwarden's accounts; there are, however, no Northamptonshire references to brass instruments in churchwardens' accounts. The only other ophicleide noted in the county is at Cogenhoe,[4] but again, noted separately from the account books. There are fewer instances of the ophicleide's use in the English choir-band than may be expected, given that it was the successor to the serpent. I have noted that the serpent's life was prolonged in the choir-band,[5] but it seems that the ophicleide was too late in invention and acceptance to be useful in this medium.

The parish of *Chipping Warden* used a cello in 1850, noted as 'Mr. Bonham repairing Voilinseleo [sic] 0. 5. 0.' A harmonium was in use by 1863 when the balance of two guineas was paid (churchwardens' accounts NRO 66P/21).

Greatworth bought a bassoon in 1812, but did not subsequently pay for reeds or maintenance, as there is only the initial entry: '1812 Jan 30 paid for a baſsoon for the use of the Church 4. 7. 0.' A gallery was repaired in 1857, but it is not clear if this had musical associations, (NRO 139P/39b).

There are two references to a bassoon in *Sulgrave* churchwardens' accounts, (NRO 310P/33); these show the names of the former owner and the church player:

1797	Dec 26	Paid Samuel Jones for his Baſson and reeds	2	13	0
1801	April 16	Paid Wm. Cooper to find him Reads	0	5	0

3 *op cit.*, p115
4 A. Hartshorne, *Northamptonshire Notes and Queries, Vol.* V, item 693
5 S. J. Weston, The Untimely Demise of the Ophicleide, *Brass Bulletin*, Bulle, 1983, p10

2). Cleyley

The hundred of Cleyley, south of Northampton and forming a 'peninsula' into Buckinghamshire, is surprisingly poor in choir-band references. There are a variety of reasons for this paucity of evidence – missing accounts, accounts of too late a date and two civil parishes out of a total of fifteen, *Shutlanger* and *Yardley Gobion.* There are no accounts for *Roade* and those for *Grafton Regis* are now noted as officially missing by the Record Office. There are no accounts for *Alderton* and *Passenham* but Pevsner[6] notes a west gallery surviving at each of these. *Hartwell's* churchwardens' accounts, commencing in 1862, are too late to be of choir-band interest. The church was, in fact, rebuilt in 1830, and so any evidence was probably lost at that time. The accounts for *Easton Neston,* while covering the relevant period, contain no references. Those for *Pottersbury* note a gallery in 1760, altered in 1839, but make no comment about the use of the gallery.

The parish of *Ashton,* not to be confused with Ashton near Oundle, has two references to bassoon use (NRO 17P/20). The first is for a repair of the 'town Baſsoon' in 1817, costing £1. 13. 0., and the other for reed purchase: '1832 Apr 20 pd. Mr. Deacon for a reed for the baſsoon.'

The *Ashton Village Scrapbook,* dating from 1953, quotes information reputedly taken from a register, which does not appear to be extant today. In this the incumbent in 1853 makes reference to the choir:

> On the second Sunday after my institution the wind instruments in the choir happily ceased and no instruments allowed but a violon-cello. I taught psalmody two evenings per week in the church, providing light at my own expense.

The parish of *Cosgrove,* which had an organ as early as 1816, has several references before that date starting with 'musical instruments' in 1794. It appears that one of these was a bassoon (1796) and that the other was probably an oboe. The 1796 bassoon reed cost 1/- and in the same year two other reeds were purchased at the same price. 6d seems to be a standard price for an oboe reed at the time, (Stamford 1786, Silverstone 1781). It is unlikely that this unspecified instrument was a clarinet as choir-bands at this early stage in Northamptonshire (1770 – 1810) often had an oboe in partnership with a bassoon.

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6 N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Northamptonshire,* Harmondsworth, 1974, pp76, 369

The musical instruments were mentioned again in 1798, (five reeds for 3/6d – possibly two bassoon reeds and three oboe reeds), 1799 and 1800. The last reference was to 'Reeds etc.', in 1810, after a ten-year gap. That year also saw the purchase of music books. The next musical mention was to the organ in 1816, and to the choir-trainer, Mr Barrett. The complete references are in the appendix. The church had a north gallery, the removal of which was the subject of a faculty in 1887.

The parish of *Paulersbury* has three references, two of which are to unspecified wind and string instruments (NRO 255P47).

			£	s	d
1827	Feb 20	Reeds and Strings for Singers	1	0	0
1828	March 4	Reeds and Strings	1	0	0
1830	Feb 21	Paid for Musick Books for Choir	1	0	0

Stoke Bruerne (NRO 303/2a) is an example of a village with an early band of bassoon and oboe between 1773 and 1803. After that the bassoon continues to be mentioned up to 1833, along with a cello (1810 – 1813). The oboe was in this case originally termed a 'voxhumane' – an unusual use of the word in Northamptonshire. MacDermott[7] notes that this is a common term in Dorset. It can be seen that the oboe was purchased in 1773 and that the oboe and bassoon players were Gritton and Parrish. On the calculations above it is possible that Gritton (3/-) was the bassoonist and Parrish (2/6) the oboist. Wood Williams mended the bassoon in 1804, the crook having been repaired in 1774. It appears that Thomas Chapman was the cellist, and that the bassoon reeds were purchased from Abel of Northampton. NRO 303P/32 shows that there was an organ in 1867 repaired by Richardson. The full accounts are in the appendix.

Another example of an early bassoon is at *Wicken* between 1778 and 1792 (NRO 364P/74). The player was Thomas Basson who also cleaned the church windows. A bill of March 23 1778 notes the plastering and glazing work done by Basson; he charged for a bassoon sling and reeds on the same bill:

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7 K. H. MacDermott, *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels*, London 1948, p25

For plaſtering ye Back of the Singing Sets & pointing on ye church	0	4	8
For Reads & Ribbons for ye Baſſon	0	2	8
One Square of Glaſs for ye church	0	0	8

Another bill of 1780 is for 'Bassoone Reedes' costing 2. 0d. The entries in the accounts are in the appendix. The last reference to the bassoon is in 1792 but Thomas Basson appears in the rate lists until 1803. A vestry book (NRO 364P/26) notes alterations to the church between 1839 and 1871. It appears that the organ was installed in 1843; this had previously been at Leatherhead Church, Surrey, and was bought by subscription (£120). The annual tuning fee was £2. 10. 0.

3. Corby

With thirty-one parishes, Corby is the largest hundred in the country, yet only ten of these have definite instrumental references, and so it is unable to compete with neighbouring Rothwell hundred. The instrumental use is in small pockets around Stoke Albany, Cottingham and Brigstock. Harringworth is completely isolated but retains its boxwood clarinet, one of only four extant instruments in Northamptonshire. Corby contains a high proportion of civil parishes – *Beanfield Lawns, Deenethorpe, Fineshade, Middleton* and *Sutton Bassett.* There are no accounts at *Blatherwycke, Little Oakley, Weekley* and *Wilbarston.* In spite of its twentieth-century expansion, the former steel town of *Corby* has a mediaeval church, but unfortunately this has no churchwardens' accounts.

The churchwardens' accounts at *Laxton* are of too late a date for interest for this study, and the accounts at *Great Oakley* and *Stanion* have no references. Musical references occur at Bulwick, Dingley and Gretton.

There are three documented references to a barrel-organ at *Bulwick.* This was replaced in 1874 by a 'new pipe organ', noted by Tony Ireson.[8] C. J. Ough[9] confirms the

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8 T. Ireson, A Victorian Rector and his village, J. H. Holdwich at Bulwick, in *Northamptonshire Past and Present,* Vol. VII, No 2, p108

9 C. J. Ough, *St Nicholas Church,* Bulwick, 1965

date and notes that the Barrel-organ had thirty tunes; it is possible that Ough is the source of Ireson's information. Boston and Langwill[10] also note this instrument in connection with Cranford. It has now (1988) been removed to Clevedon, Avon.

Dingley had an early organ; in 1830 Mrs. Clarke was paid the unusually large salary of £5. 5. 0. for playing it (NRO 104P/54). There are no accounts available for *Gretton* but a hymn and psalm book for that parish is in Kettering Reference Library (Gret 78), entitled: *'A Selection of Psalms and Hymns for Public Worship'* by Rev. Abner W. Brown.[11] The introduction notes that this was formed from hymn and psalm collections at Gretton and Pytchley which were 'used for many years'. Abner Brown was Vicar of Pytchley between 1831 and 1851, and then at Gretton 1851 – 1872. His *Lyrical Pieces*, published in London date from 1869. Repairs were made to the *Wakerley* harmonium in 1886 (NRO 335P/42).

The churchwardens' accounts for *Ashley* (NRO 16P/134) give considerable details for the period 1824 – 1844. These are mainly for bridges and strings for the cello, and between 1840 and 1844 strings for the violin. Northamptonshire Record Office also holds a faculty to build a gallery, between 1807 and 1811. The accounts are in the appendix.

There are no account books for *Brampton Ash* at Northamptonshire Record Office, but three bundles of vouchers. Among the bundle noted as 45P/54 is an 1852 bill for 'bass viol strings'. Bundle number 55 notes that an organ was bought by 'general subscription' in 1897 at a cost of £45. 0. 0.

Brigstock has occasional payments to singers of 10/0d; the only instrumental reference is

1836	Sep 9	Pd for bass strings	0	4	2

Boston and Langwill[12] note a barrel-organ used in the Congregational Chapel, converted by Elliot of Dingley into a manual organ in 1892.

Cottingham (NRO 85P/37) is more interesting. Bassoon reeds were purchased in 1812, and again in 1815 along with oboe reeds. There are no further woodwind entries,

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10 *op cit.*, 1st ed., p89
11 London, Uppingham, Kettering 1865
12 *op cit.*, 1st ed., p89

but a cello was used in 1822 – 3, and in 1814 some books were purchased for the singers. The full accounts are in the appendix.

Geddington is one of the very few villages, nationally, that has references to a viola. These are found in the Churchwardens' Accounts (NRO 133P/57) and vouchers. There are references to a cello on thirteen occasions between 1789 and 1835. Violin references are from 1796 to 1831, most dates being the same as the cello entries. The viola features in 1799 (tenor string) and 1824 (a bow for the tenor viol). It is interesting to note that there are no woodwind references, and that Geddington was a string band of the type favoured by Michael Mail and the rest of Hardy's Mellstock Band.

A viola is a very rare occurrence in choir-bands. MacDermott makes no mention in *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels,* but in *Sussex Church Music in the Past*[13] notes:

> I have not yet unearthed a viola in Sussex, or ever heard of one as having been played in a Sussex church, though it was used in Dorset.

The Dorset use was probably that at Abbotsbury, recorded by Galpin.[14] The full accounts are found in the appendix.

Boston and Langwill's list mentions the *Harringworth* clarinet (boxwood by Astor). This is no longer in the church but in the custody of a parishioner. It does not, however, feature in the churchwardens' accounts (NRO 156P/84) which note a new oboe purchased in 1796 and bassoon repairs in 1798.

1796	June 28	To a new hautboy	0	16	6
1798	July 4	To Repairing the Baſsoon	0	10	6
1811	Apr 10	Mr Parr for Singers	1	11	6

Another Boston and Langwill reference is to a violin from *Rockingham;* 'now (1968) in private ownership' in Easton-on-the-Hill. Enquiries in Easton (1986) have produced no information about this instrument. The churchwardens' accounts (NRO 282P/15) make

13 *op cit.*, p44

14 F. Galpin, Notes on the Old Church Bands and Village Choirs of the Past Century, *The Antiquary* Vol. 42, 1906, p103

no mention of violin maintenance, noting instead a bassoon in 1804. This was repaired by Robert Radshaw at the same time as he provided a new church gate; the joint cost was 14/6d. By 1863 an organ was in place:

March 25 G Corley tuning organ	1	11	6
R Taylor blowing organ	0	10	0

Stoke Albany has considerable references (NRO 302P/11-12) between 1803 and 1872, transcribed below. The important features are singers from 1803, cello purchase in 1816 and maintenance 1817 – 1855, reeds from 1818 to 1820, violin strings from 1848 – 1866 and a harmonium from 1871 – 1872. The accounts are found in the appendix.

Weldon is somewhat problematic, being noted as two separate parishes in Northamptonshire Record Office, 347 and 348, and there are different sets of accounts. However, there appears to be only one church and no note of any demolition. Mee[15] notes:

> it is Great and Little Weldon together, and its old name of Weldon in the Woods reminds us that it is in the heart of Rockingham Forest.

Pevsner[16] makes no mention of Little Weldon.

The accounts for Great Weldon (NRO 347P/115) dating between 1819 and 1859 are mainly in a rate book; there are singers' payments from 1819 until 1831. A gallery was built in 1838, and ten years later an organ was tuned. There are no references in the first volume of Little Weldon, 1787 – 1807 (NRO 348P/256), but the next volume, from 1807, has singers' entries from 1810; these continue until 1847. The organ is first mentioned in 1848, the same year as the Great Weldon entry. It is interesting that the Great Weldon entry is for tuning and the Little Weldon one for repairs. The only instrumental reference in either account book is to a cello in 1829. This is for £2. 8. 0. towards the instrument. The balance does not appear to be noted, nor was the instrument maintained at the expense of the church.

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15 A. Mee, *The King's England, Northamptonshire,* London c.1945, p353

16 N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Northamptonshire,* Harmondsworth 2nd ed., 1973, p450

The final parish with instrumental use is *Weston by Welland* on the Leicestershire border. The accounts (NRO 358P/78) again have many relevant entries. The cello features between 1802 and 1855 when it was repaired (possibly to enable it to be sold); hymn books were purchased that year and instrumental use ceased, although the singers' feast continued until 1857. These feasts, with beef, vegetables and groceries, had been a regular feature from 1803.

4. Fawsley

The hundred of Fawsley, situated to the West of Watling Street and bordering Warwickshire, has two main centres of concentration of musical activities – a northern area overlapping into Guilsborough hundred, and a ribbon stretching from Daventry to Preston Capes. The parish of Helidon, where a cello was used, is an isolated case. Of the twenty-one parishes, none is civil; there are no churchwardens' accounts for *Farthingstone, Fawsley, Newnham* and *Welton* and those of *Catesby* and *Charwelton* are of a later date than the choir-band period. The 1987 church history of *Newnham* refers to a band before 1870. The churchwardens' accounts for *Litchborough* and *Weedon Beck* surveyed by the Northamptonshire Record Society and supposedly still in those parishes are now untraceable. It should be noted that Boston and Langwill[17] mention a barrel-organ in relation to Fawsley.

The accounts for *Braunston* and *Stowe IX Churches,* while being of a relevant date have no musical references. *Barby's* reference is to a harmonium of late date, which was repaired and cleaned in 1868 (NRO 24P/48). *Dodford* had a gallery in 1828, repaired at a cost of 12/- by Thomas Earl (NRO 106P/12), and from 1841 until 1864 there are many references to music purchased for the church by Thomas Linnett. It is possible that Linnett was Parish Clerk, as he was paid a salary of five guineas per year. The 1862 entry for music is coupled with references to candles, which may have been for the use of the choir in the gallery. Unfortunately there are no instrumental references. The full accounts are in the appendix.

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17 N. Boston and L. Langwill, *Church and Chamber Barrel-Organs,* 2nd ed., Edinburgh 1970, p89

There are threes sources of interest at Northamptonshire Record Office in relation to *Staverton*. One is the Rate Book which gives details of the barrel-organ tunes in 1857. The churchwardens' accounts (NRO 300P/173) mention a gallery in 1865, while there is also a late nineteenth-century photograph of the choir, (NRO 300P/205) showing a female organist.

Instrumental references are encountered at *Ashby St Ledgers*. Pevsner[18] notes a musicians' pew at the west end; this is not contradicted in the churchwardens' accounts (NRO 15P/91) which contain no reference to any gallery. Some psalm books were purchased in 1792, and bassoon reeds between 1804 and 1826. A cello bow was purchased at the very late date of 1860. This is the only cello reference and so it is not known when this instrument ceased to be used. Some hymn books are mentioned in 1878. The accounts are in the appendix.

Pevsner[19] again mentions 18th-century galleries with reference to *Daventry*. This is an important town and it would seem unlikely that there was choir-band usage in the pattern of the villages, but amongst the references to singers' Christmas boxes between 1812 and 1848 are two mentions of a cello (not bass viol) in 1814 and 1816, the first to strings and the second to repair. The singers' fund noted in 1849 and 1851 becomes an organ fund in 1852. It is possible that the singers were of a sufficient standard to make visits to other churches (1846), and the names of various members of the choir are mentioned (NRO 96P/70). The extensive accounts are in the appendix.

A high gallery survives at *Everdon* but the Church Guide[20] notes:

> the unusual Balcony across the back of the nave has no connection with minstrels or musicians but was sensibly provided, at some uncertain date, to give access to all the church roofs. It now dates mostly from 1892.

There is no mention of a gallery in the churchwardens' accounts (NRO 119P/38) but there are bassoon references from 1813 to 1816 and cello references from 1813 to 1837. Thomas Burton may have been the cellist; in addition to payments for 'viol strings' he was paid

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18 *op cit.*, p89
19 *op cit.*, p173
20 C. Dalton, *The Church of St Mary Everdon*, 1975, rev. 1982, p6

for 'washing, mending and other tasks' (see 1823). New Version psalm books were purchased in 1836. There is an eleven year gap in the purchase of cello strings. It is possible that entries recur with the appointment of a new player. The account transcriptions are in the appendix.

Helidon (sometimes spelt Hellidon) had a much repaired cello between 1819 and 1843 (NRO 161P/11). The 1819 repair is of particular interest as the original bill from Betts of the London Royal Exchange is retained at Northamptonshire Record Office (161P/145), addressed to Mr. W. Ralph and quoted here:

Feby 16th 1819 Sir, I take the liberty to inform you that your Violincello is finished & I have no doubt that will meet with your approbation – I have put a New Bar in the Belly & repaired the Inside – have lengthened the Neck to make it a proper stop, a New Ebony Fingerboard, Tailpiece, Strings, Bridge &c &c – which is nothing more than was absolutely needful.

I remain sir, J Betts.

	£	s	d
Repairing a Violoncello	0	2	0
Hairing a Bow	0	2	0
Paid Carriage *	0	3	0
Total	2	7	0
Carriage Back *		2	6
Total *	2	9	6

PS On your ordering payment in town it shall be immediately forwarded to you.

* in different hand (probably Ralph's). It is not clear from where the extra £2. 0. 0. in the total comes.

More repairs were carried out in 1828, including a new bow and those of 1831 were carried out by Stephen Watkins. The repairs of 1838 included a new bag (these were usually of green baize), and the final repairs at a large cost of £2. 8. 0. (nearly that paid to Mr Betts for a complete overhaul) were in 1843, possibly for disposal. The accounts are in the appendix.

Kilsby (NRO 186P/28) is an example of a parish which purchased reeds, but does not specify the instrument. The amount is always 2/- but the number of reeds is not

noted and so a suggestion cannot be made; the player was John Webb. There are several references to singers and singers' books. The organ arrived early, by 1854.

Pevsner[21] notes a west gallery at *Norton*; it is not known if the choir-band used this as there are only two music references in the churchwardens' accounts (NRO 243P/72) both to a bassoon which had a new joint and was cleaned at a cost of 3. 6d in 1827 (May 7th) and another new joint on February 25th the next year, costing one guinea.

Another bassoon is noted at *Preston Capes*. This was purchased in 1777 and maintained or played by John Blockley and later Thomas Willoughby, until 1813.

5. Greens Norton

The hundred of Greens Norton is situated in the south west of the county. It touches Watling Street in the east and is to the north of the towns of Towcester and Brackley. The only civil parish is *Woodend*, with a group of twelve ecclesiastical parishes. There are no churchwardens' accounts available for *Adstone, Canons Ashby, Maidford, Plumpton* and *Slapton* and the accounts for *Weedon Lois* begin too late for the purposes of choir-band research. The parish of *Whittlebury* had an organ by 1812 when it had already been 'set up'; there is another reference in 1816:

		£	s	d
1812	July 16 [old bill] Paid Wm Gray as per bill for siting up the organ	1	7	2
1816	Apr 10 Pd Abel Hayle for Silk for Organ as per bill	2	6	3

Sir Henry Dryden (1818 – 99), a Northamptonshire squire and distinguished antiquary[22] was resident at *Canons Ashby*. He was an eminent personality in many fields: 'a leading exponent of old-world lore',[23] an exceptional lecturer and county magistrate, who became

21 *op cit.*, p359
22 R. L. Greenall, *Old Northamptonshire in Photographs*, Northampton 1970, pl4
23 W. R. D. Adkins, *Our County*,, London 1893, p4

High Sheriff. In 1852 he turned his attention to church music and made an agreement[24] with 'Sopranos and Altos of the Quires at Canon's Ashby and Moreton Pinkney.' This agreement, offering subscriptions to a clothing club, ranging from 2d to 16d weekly, required five conditions on the part of the choirs (really one choir serving Dryden's own church at Canons Ashby and the neighbouring Moreton Pinkney).

a) There would be fines for non-compliance with the conditions.
b) Members should be clean in person and in dress. Each boy should have two pairs of boots.
c) Members should be attentive in church and at Canons Ashby sing music chosen by Dryden. They should attend one service at Moreton Pinkney, say the people's part of the service, sing chosen music and behave after service.
d) By each Wednesday they should know the proper psalms and canticles for Canons Ashby and the metrical psalms for Moreton Pinkney.
e) Failure to attend would result in loss of subscription.

The agreement, which was limited to thirty copies, showed the names of nine boys. It appears then, that the choice of music at Canons Ashby (proper psalms and canticles) followed a higher church tradition than the metrical psalmody at Moreton Pinkney. It is probably significant that no instruments are mentioned at Canons Ashby but there are earlier instrumental references in Moreton Pinkney churchwardens' accounts (NRO 213P/6) between 1800 and 1826. Dryden, as a historian, would perhaps be interested in maintaining a local musical tradition but would also be able to see the need for a forward-looking programme. The full accounts appear in the appendix.

The parish of *Blakesley* has references in the churchwardens' accounts (NRO 33P/26) to cello strings between 1812 and 1840, and an organ was in place by 1849:

1847	Nov 6	For repairing the organ	0	10	0

P B Kingston[25] notes that an organ was built and the gallery removed in 1873. It is possible that the 1849 organ, therefore, was a harmonium. The full accounts are in the appendix.

24 NRO Δ 1248 8th Dec. 1852
25 P. B. Kingston, *Blakesley Then and Now*, 1983

Bradden had a bassoon between 1813 and 1831, a comparatively late use in Northamptonshire. It was presumably used after that date, as this was an entry noting reeds. The full details (NRO 43P/12,13) are found in the appendix. The 1/6d spent in 1813 at the coming of the bassoon may be for the carriage of the instrument or, as was so often the case, for celebrations.

Greens Norton itself had a bassoon by 1773, used until at least 1801. A gallery was built in 1827 (NRO 140P/25,26); Boston and Langwill also note a barrel-organ presented in 1826 by John Elliott at a cost of 100 guineas.[26]

The final parish to be considered in Greens Norton hundred, *Silverstone,* is significant for the amount of instrumental activity noted in the churchwardens' accounts (NRO 290P/18) and also for entries in *Old Oak* by J E Linnell[27] Rector of Pavenham, Beds, members of whose family had been Rectors and church officials there. Chapter 3 of *Old Oak* is entitled 'Of the Band and The Choir and Other Things'. Linnell remarks on the quality of the music in 'Silson' and suggests that the village was famous all over the county for its church choir and band. Linnell notes the instrumentation of an unstated date and even includes the notation of an interlude used by the band, quoted earlier in this thesis.

> The choir was a 'mixed one', and for a generation at least was celebrated for sweetness of its women's voices, while those of the basses and tenors were as robust as the men themselves. I can just remember the band; it consisted of two copper key-bugles, two trombones, a shanked trumpet, a piccolo, a flute, a fiddle or two, and a venerable-looking bass viol. It sat with the choir up in the west gallery and, when Joseph, from his cabin, announced: 'We will now sing to the pra-aise an gloory o' God hymn number so-and-so', all the congregation made a right-about turn and faced them. But that was not all. Leading up to the first verse, between the subsequent ones and after the last one, it played a lilt known as the 'symphony'! How it all comes back to me through the years; at a signal from the leader off would go fiddles, flute, piccolo and the rest...then choir and congregation would join in with heart and soul and voices, and at the end of the verse off they would go again. Verily in those old days sang we merrily unto God our Strength and made a cheerful noise unto the God of Jacob praising Him in the sound of the trumpet, the strings and the pipe.

The choir and band (twelve singers and twelve instrumentalists) once performed before Queen Victoria and Prince Albert when they visited the village. After an enthusiastic

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26 *op cit.* 1st ed., Edinburgh 1967, p89

27 J. E. Linnell, *Old Oak,* London 1932, pp58 – 68

description of various performances, Linnell melodramatically notes the demise of the band:

> alas! In the end, owing to lack of encouragement on the part of 'progressive' parsons and the haps and circumstances of life, the members of the band began to scatter abroad. The key-bugles – sweetest of all wind instruments – were the first to go, the cornopeans followed them, the clarionets lingered awhile and then were heard no more, the tenor trombone was missing one morning, and his bass brother felt his loneliness so much that he gave up the struggle. At last the old bass viol was left all by itself. I feel as if I could cry when I think of it – so useful, so much honoured, and so ancient; yet one Sunday night it was placed in the faded green baize bag that had so long been its shelter and taken away by the good old man who had played it from his youth upwards, to be brought back no more. And a wretched harmonium, one of the devil's masterpieces of musical invention, had the field all to itself.

The bare facts of the Silverstone choir-band can be seen by a reference to the churchwardens' accounts in the appendix, although the brass instruments and flute are not mentioned, as these instruments need no reeds and little maintenance. The Bucknam family, mentioned at Silverstone between 1780 – 1783, proved to be significant in a local context for Wappenham's lengthy music references (NRO 339/20) mentioned Luke Bucknam (Buckingham) as a bassoonist there in 1802. He later became Parish Clerk at Wappenham (which is adjacent to Silverstone) and purchased cello strings, and was also a subscriber to the new gallery at Wappenham in 1804.

6. Guilsborough

Guilsborough hundred, adjacent to Rothwell and Spelhoe, is surprisingly poor in choir-band references. Two of the nineteenth parishes are civil (*Coton* and *Elkington*), six (*Great Creaton, Lilbourne, Naseby, Thornby* and*Watford,* have no available accounts, and a further two (*West Haddon* and *Hollowell*) have accounts which are of too late a date to be useful to this study. The churchwardens' accounts of *Claycoton* provide no musical evidence.

Although there is no choir-band evidence at *Long Buckby* the incumbent in 1840, Jeremiah Smith M.A., compiled a hymn and psalm book probably used at the church.[28]

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28 J. Smith, Vicar of Long Buckby, *Psalms and Hymns adapted to the use of the Church,* 2nd ed., London 1840

A brief reference for *Cottesbrooke* is to an organ repaired in 1864 (NRO 85P/15). *Guilsborough* has more of interest:

1826	Nov 5	Matts for the Singers	0	5	6

The next volume of churchwardens' accounts (NRO 143P/58) notes an organist's salary of £20 for one year in 1873. This was obviously a time of prime activity, for in addition to this large salary, £2. 3. 6. was drawn for the choirboys' club.

The church at *Stanford* is celebrated for its sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century organ case, which possibly came from the Royal Chapel at Whitehall, and is situated in a west gallery. The chancel has one misericord and sixteenth-century choir panelling; this seems an unlikely venue for country psalmody. *Welford* had an organ in 1834 (NRO 349P/10).

Pevsner[29] notes a barrel-organ at *Winwick* but gives no details. Boston and Langwill[30] offer the following:

> Barrel-organ by Bryceson 1864. Five barrels in removable shells; neglected but restoration being considered.

The only instrumental references in this hundred are at Cold Ashby, Crick and Yelvertoft. Boston and Langwill[31] note a barrel-organ in relation to *Cold Ashby* under the Leicestershire section, the confusion possibly being that the instrument is now at Newarke Houses Museum, Leicester. This instrument, by Bryceson, was for many years maintained at the Museum by the late Arnold Dunmur. The churchwardens' accounts (NRO 72P/24) have many references, and give a complete picture of instrumental maintenance between the years 1781 and 1839. The full transcription is given in the appendix, but points of interest are the purchase of a bassoon in 1781 for £3. 9. 0. and oboe reeds in 1789; in the same year £10 was paid towards the gallery; there are no oboe entries after 1792. A bassoon was repaired twice – in 1792 and again 1795, the year that a cello was purchased for £2. 10. 0. Continuing use of these instruments is shown by

29 *op cit.*, p464
30 *op cit.*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh 1970, p89
31 *op cit.*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh 1970, p83

various reed and string entries. A cello bow was purchased in 1800, a new bridge in 1802, and the bow was rehaired in 1807. The cello was sold in 1819 ('recd for the Old Baſs Viol £1. 5. 0.'), and yet cello string entries recommence in 1837, although no other cello purchase is noted. This later cello may have been individually owned. The last bassoon entry is in 1821 when a key was mended, possibly in preparation for sale; cello entries cease in 1839. In 1867 three hymn books were purchased and two years later the singers' pew was extended; in this same year an organ was tuned.

Pevsner[32] mentions an organ at *Crick* dating from c.1800. The churchwardens' accounts (NRO 92P/56) have no organ reference until 1842 which is preceded by instrumental use – a cello (1812 – 1841). This early date given by Pevsner may be the date of the organ formerly situated in another church, but moved to Crick in 1842; it may be an estimate by a person unaware of instrumental use at the church, or there may indeed have been concurrent use of cello and organ. This last is not impossible, but unlikely. A gallery was built in 1825. The full accounts are transcribed in the appendix.

Alphabetically the last parish in Northamptonshire, *Yelvertoft* (NRO 379P) has three relevant volumes of churchwardens' accounts. No references appear in the last volume (post 1845) but the first two volumes (29, 30) give gallery, singers and cello details, including the classic green baize bag for the cello.

7. Hamfordshoe

Hamfordshoe is the area surrounding Wellingborough in the centre of the county. It is poor in instrumental references, only two of its eight parishes having a known choir-band. One of these, Holcot, is nearly detached from the rest of the hundred and relates more to the more active hundreds of Spelhoe and Orlingbury, while Mears Ashby adjoins Hardwick parish and the concentration of choir-bands centred on the Harrowdens.

There are no churchwardens' accounts for *Ecton* and those at *Sywell* have no musical references. At *Great Doddington* (NRO 105P/20) is noted a harmonium, repaired

32 *op cit.*, p170

in 1872 at a cost of 2/-. The previous volume of churchwardens' accounts had unfortunately been lost before 1954.

The church of *Earls Barton*, renowned for its Anglo-Saxon tower, is of less interest to the choir-band historian. There was a gallery in 1819 for which 'basis' were purchased on June 26th. In October that year a bill for 'painting and lettering gallery' was paid. The first definite musical reference is in a voucher of 1883 relating to new bellows and stops for the organ costing £30. The Baptist chapel in the same village had a gallery in which there was no room to stand.[33]

The parish church of *All Hallows* in the centre of Wellingborough has no real churchwardens' accounts but many bundles of vouchers. The document NRO 350P/71 mentions 'rebuilding of old gallery with new over', while 350P/74 (1-4) notes repairs to the organ in 1846. It seems that there was no instrumental use at this church; the organ is certainly an early one and there was also a harmonium, now in private ownership in Broughton.

There are two musical references in *Wilby* churchwardens' accounts (NRO 366P/36) both from 1868, firstly to the purchase of three hymn books, and secondly to the carriage of the harmonium to and from Northampton, costing 3/-.

The church at *Holcot* (sometimes spelt Holcut) had a bassoon in 1806, payment for which was completed on October 15th.

> Paid the Deficiency of the Bassoon £0. 15. 0.

A subscription was raised for a gallery in 1832, according to the accounts (NRO 170P/24). Charman[34] notes that this was actually built in that year and quotes W. Page (born 1852) who had written in 1936 (source unacknowledged) that girls sat in the south gallery and boys in the north, with the choir between. Charman also mentions that a barrel-organ was installed around 1845.

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33 Chapel History, *Years of Progress*, 1950

34 D. Charman, *A History of the Church in Holcot*, 1986, p9

A gallery was in place at *Mears Ashby* by 1744, when a lock and handle for the gallery door were fitted (NRO 209P/35), at a cost of 1/11d. In 1832 the music dealer Crosby is mentioned in an interesting part exchange deal:

> 1 November paid Mr Crosby in exchange for Musick received a Baseviol £3. 10. 0.

A psalmody in the collection of Trevor Hold has a Mears Ashby connection; this is a copy of John Arnold's *Complete Psalmodist*, London 1779. The work is in four parts – a theoretical primer, a collection of anthems, a set of 'grave and solemn Psalm Tunes' and a set of 'Divine Hymns'. The preface to this, the seventh edition, mentions various instruments such as violins, hautboys, clarinets, vauxhumanes etc. This particular volume is inscribed:

> John Morris/His Book and/Willm Morris/May in it look./January 20th/1790.

It later belonged to Richard Baker, who has inscribed his name on page xiv:

> Richard Baker/His Book/Mears Ashby.

8. Higham Ferrers

Higham Ferrers was a very significant town from an ecclesiastical standpoint. Archbishop Henry Chichele was born there around 1362 and founded a college, a bede house and chantry. The latter two are standing but the college suffered partial destruction at the Dissolution.

These mediaeval remains form a very impressive group and show the importance of the town at this time; its situation on the River Nene consolidated its prosperity. Given these early traditions of chantry priest and choristers, Higham seems an unlikely place for rural psalmody to flourish. Unfortunately the churchwardens' accounts at Higham began too late for consideration in this connection, but it must not be presumed that Higham was barren instrumentally, as similar but not identical conditions occur at *Towcester*, an important centre from the point of view of communications, and which also has a chantry

house. Instrumental use at Towcester is well documented in the churchwardens' accounts between 1786 and 1814. It can be seen that no firm rule can be made; choir-bands depend completely on local conditions at the end of the eighteenth century. Of the fourteen parishes in Higham Ferrers hundred, only one, Higham Park, is non-ecclesiastical. There are no accounts at *Newton Bromswold* and no references in those at *Irchester* and *Strixton*.

The *Architectural Notices of the Churches of the Archdeaconery of Northampton*[35] in 1849 note that at *Chelveston-cum-Caldecott* 'there is a singing gallery across the west end of the church'. No instrumental use of general musical references are documented at Northamptonshire Record Office, apart from a faculty for moving organ, pulpit and seats in 1869.

The only reference in the *Stanwick* churchwardens' churchwardens' accounts is 'taking part of the organ to station' in 1856 at a cost of 2/-. An undated newspaper cutting found in the account book (NRO 299P/44) shows that the organist was paid by subscription:

> there was no fixed sum but the organist went round the village at Christmas with the book soliciting subscriptions.

Later

> it was resolved that the sum of £12 per year be paid by the Churchwardens in quarterly payments as salary.

The *'Architectural Notices'* also note that the tower arch was obstructed by a singing gallery.[36]

There are musical and instrumental references in *Bozeat* from 1826 (NRO 40P/18).

			£	s	d
1826	Apr 17	one new musik Book	0	8	6
1827	May 2nd	Pd Sparks Yardly for mending Base Voial	0	9	6
		Pd strings for ditto	0	4	6

35 London 1849, p33

36 op. cit.

Further references are found in *A History of Wellingborough,* by Joyce and Maurice Parker.[37] These details are noted from churchwardens' bills:

		£	s	d
1839	Pd J Chesterton of Wellingborough for 2 Clarionet Reeds	0	0	6
	1 Violincello string	0	1	6
1841	Repair of Bass Viol	6	14	6
1850	1 set vioilin-cello strings	0	3	6
	2 violin first plus third strings	0	1	4
	4 clarionette Reeds	0	0	8

The 1841 repair was considerably more expensive than the 1827 repair and implies major work; a comparison with the 1819 overhaul of the Helidon cello is suggested, where extensive repairs are itemised and the total cost was £2. 9. 6.

Easton Maudit (NRO 111P/44) has very extensive details of musical and instrumental expenditure between 1819 and 1880, although the instrumental use appears to have stopped in 1850. The full transcription is given in the appendix but some entries must be highlighted; the first references are to a clarinet and cello. Repairs and reeds for the clarinet are noted regularly until 1850, whereas cello references cease in 1849. A bassoon is mentioned in 1833 and has entries until 1842. In 1843 a new bassoon was purchased at a cost of £1. 0. 0. It is not known if this was a replacement or was intended to be used in conjunction with the earlier instrument. Bassoon entries continue until 1845. Other items of relevance are candles and candlesticks for the gallery, green baize to make a cello bag, two dozen psalm books in 1834, three more in 1839, one music book in 1840 and 'Hall's Psalm Tunes' in 1842. It is interesting to note that the players put in so many claims for reeds and strings. 1833 is a good example: strings were purchased in January, February, September, October, clarinet reeds in January, May, August and a bassoon reed in August. These figures are not excessive for a diligent, hard-working player, but the claims greatly exceed those at most other Northamptonshire churches.

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37 J. and M. Parker, *A History of Wellingborough,* Northampton 1922, p

The annual donation to the singers which started in 1829 (£1. 5. 0. compared to the ringers 10/6d) continued until 1880, by which time it had been reduced to 10/-. It is possible that the choir had become much smaller than the two dozen referred to in 1834. The donation to singers continued at a rate of 10/6d until 1865. In 1866 the singers and ringers were paid one guinea and in 1870 the figure was reduced to 10/- and it varied between 10/- and 10/6d until 1880.

The only entry at *Hargrave* (NRO 152P/49), on the Huntingdonshire border, is for a bassoon in 1826:

> Journey to Kimbolton to order Baſsen for church £0. 1. 0.
> Paid for Baſsen £1. 0. 0.

There are no subsequent entries regarding maintenance of the bassoon. *Raunds* (NRO 278P/139) has a number of entries between 1809 and 1835, all to maintenance of a cello. This was repaired by James Hall in the latter year, possibly for sale, as it is not mentioned again. The organ however receives no reference until 1878.

The neighbouring village of *Ringstead* (NRO 280P/16) also used a solitary cello, mentioned in 1834 and 1835. There is a note in 1857 that

> the Organ in this church is the Property of the Revd A Sandilands and lent to the Congregation during his pleasure (signed Alfred J Sandilands, Vicar).

Northants and Rutland Clergy, Volume 12[38] notes that Sandilands was instituted at Denford with Ringstead in 1854. It is possible that he brought this organ (which may also have been a barrel-organ or harmonium) with him in that year. He died in 1863. The account entries are found in the appendix.

Rushden St Mary, which architecturally matches neighbouring Higham, has several churchwardens' accounts references (NRO 285P/5) to a single cello from 1812 until 1836. This is referred to as the town bass; the term 'town' is often used in relation to the church clock, even if the town is a village, but this seems to be one of the few uses of the word regarding an instrument (see Ashton in Cleyley). The player was George Packwood who

38 H. I. Longden, *Northamptonshire and Rutland Clergy,* Vol. 12, Northampton 1941, p5

lived in the parish. The organ is not mentioned until 1873. Mary Ann Smart's memoirs, quoted by Hall and Harding,[39] note that

> church music was provided for by a fiddle and a bass viol.

Mrs Smart's grandfather was a bass singer in the choir.

The nearby Baptist Church (Park Road) sometimes used a string ensemble to 'accompany congregational singing' between 1832 and 1851.[40] Another instrumental use in Rushden was at the Methodist church around the early part of the century. The church at that time was a converted barn on the village green. J Enos Smith, organist at the parish church from 1875, records the memories of a Mrs Clark. She remembered the gallery opposite the pulpit where the singers and children sat. Mr George Tailby was Superintendent of the Sunday School and played the flute in the chapel choir.

References to the final parish in Higham hundred, *Wollaston* come from several sources. Pevsner[41] notes a west gallery; this is mentioned in the churchwardens' accounts (NRO 369P/32) in 1794. Prior to that there had been a singers' table (1776), this is a very unusual use of a domestic music-making tradition. Unfortunately there are no other references in the churchwardens' accounts, which is strange as other documentation shows instrumental use. This is a reminder that even when there are no references in churchwardens' accounts, instrumental use should not be ruled out.

The Parish Churches of St Mary the Virgin, Wollaston, and St Romwald, Strixton[42] mentions a gallery over the west porch for the choir in 1739; this is much earlier than the churchwardens' accounts mention. Cummings also notes that north and south galleries were built in 1840 and that the first organ was played in the west gallery. Prior to this the music was provided by a string trio.

The *Annals of Wollaston*[43] notes the instrumentalists but does not agree that the choir-band was merely a string trio:

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39 D. Hall and R. Harding, *Rushden, A Duchy of Lancaster Village*, Rushden 1985, p189
40 E. Bayes, *These Years Have Told*, Rushden 1951, p25
41 Pevsner notes this church as being dedicated to St John the Baptist
42 R. Cummings, *The Parish Churches...*, Ramsgate 1964, pp9 – 13
43 A. Whighello, *The Annals of Wollaston*, 2nd ed., Wellingborough 1894, p13

in those days there was no organ and the Psalmody was led by stringed instruments, Mr Joseph Walker conducted, Mr George Walker played the bass viol, Charles Perkins the violin and Brady's version of the Psalms was used; hymns were not much sung except at Christmas and Easter, they were considered Methodistical. In later days Sarjeant Partridge played the bass viol, Mark Warner the violin, and John Chater the flute. Among the singers were Christian Warner (called from her erect carriage the upright christian), Richard Warner and his daughter Sally, the sisters Ann, Rebecca and Maria Rivett, and Eleanor Reynolds; the choir occupied the west gallery. Mention is also made of James Catlin, a member of the choir for sixty-two years.

9. Huxloe

Huxloe is a group of twenty-two parishes in the north-east of Northamptonshire. Bordered on the west by the River Ise and the south by the River Nene, it has three detached parishes in other hundreds. Barnwell All Saints and Lilford are wedged between Navisford and Polebrook (although Barnwell St Andrew remains with Polebrook) and Denford is to the south of the Nene, between Navisford and Higham Ferrers.

The area is mainly agricultural, apart from the towns of Kettering and Irthlingborough; there are no civil parishes. There are no accounts for *Great Addington, Denford, Slipton, Warkton* and *Lilford*. Those for *Burton Latimer* are now listed as officially missing. There are no references in the churchwardens' accounts of *Little Addington, Barton Seagrave, Grafton Underwood, Sudborough* and *Twywell*. This leaves only ten parishes with musical references and only five of these have definite instrumental use; all are, however, worthy of mention.

The *Architectural Notices of the Churches of the Archdeaconery of Northampton*[44] notes the gallery demolition at *Cranford St Andrew*:

> the tower-arch has been recently thrown open by the removal of an unsightly gallery.

The accounts (NRO 87P/13A) mention this gallery in relation to a lock for the door, in 1809 (an ideal time for choir-band use). A harmonium was in the church by 1868 when Humphries tuned it for 10/-.

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[44] op cit., p169

Neighbouring *Cranford St John* used a harmonium, and in 1865 the familiar name of Corby is mentioned in relation to its repair, costing 7/1. The Baptist Church in Cranford displayed a Bates barrel-organ until very recently. This was placed there by Harry Geary and a picture of him with the instrument is in Boston and Langwill.[45] Boston and Langwill note that this is probably the instrument formerly used at Bulwick (1874). It has recently (1988) been removed from the chapel and donated to Daniels' Organ Builders, Clevedon, Bristol.

Music at *Finedon* is notable, not because of instrumental use, but because of the eighteenth-century organ, the case for which (1717) is noted by Pevsner.[46] *Bridges' History of Northamptonshire,* quoted by J. L. H. Bailey[47] notes in 1720 'an organ and a gallery at Ye W. End.' The organist at Finedon between 1717 and 1731 was the composer James Kent, who had been a chorister at the Chapel Royal under Croft; Kent later became organist at Trinity, Cambridge and Winchester Cathedral. An anthem by Croft, in Kent's hand, is at Northamptonshire Record Office (NRO 0(F)11).

No references to instrumental use occur at *Islip* but a pitch pipe was purchased in 1826 (NRO 180P/62):

> Paid Mr Wilſon for a pich pipe for the church £0. 5. 0.

Kettering has only one mediaeval parish and that had an early organ noted by H. B. Wilson[48] to date from 1845, sited in a west gallery. The churchwardens' accounts (185P/73 retained in the parish) and the vestry minutes[49] show an earlier organ of 1817.

1817	Apr 28	Wright for repairing organ Paid by Mr J Adams
1819	Dec 9	Mr Wright's bill disallowed by a vestry held this ninth day of December 1819 the organ not being considered as liable to be repaired at the parish expense.

45 *op cit.*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh 1970, p56
46 *op cit.*, p217
47 *Finedon, otherwise Thingden,* 1975
48 H. B. Wilson, The Organs of Kettering Parish Church, *Organ Club Journal* (March 1978)
49 ed. Peyton, *Kettering Vestry Minutes 1797 – 1853,* Northamptonshire Record Society 1933

This matter is detailed further on page 61 in the transcription of the vestry minutes.

> Mr Richards having produced to the vestry a letter from the Revd B W Fletcher, Rector, requesting that the payment of £21. 7. 6. for the repair of the organ [which was] paid by the late Churchwarden Mr Adams in the year 1817 be again taken into consideration, on the ground that the repair was necessary from damage sustained by the church leads being out of repair – and the same being accordingly taken into consideration.
> Resolved with only three dissentients that the repair of the organ does not belong to the parish, and therefore this vestry confirms the vote of the last month December instant and hereby declare that the said payment of £21. 6. shall not be allowed to the Churchwardens.

It is not clear who owned the organ, or harmonium as it may have been in reality. It seems likely that the vestry members were incensed in 1817 by Adams' payment of the bill. It is not noted who eventually bore the burden of this rather large expense.

Wilson also notes the 1820 Hymn Book (Kettering Reference Library KET98), *Select Psalms and Hymns for the Use of the Church in Kettering*, (London, Printed by the Philanthropic Society). This contains selected metrical psalms and thirty-five hymns. Another churchwardens' account reference is to the singers in 1832.

May 22	Paid at a visitation the Singers	0	10	0

Further references by Wilson mention faculties for north and south galleries in 1817, and the use of the west gallery by the Charity School children in 1809. All the galleries were removed in the 1890 restoration. An early photograph of the organ, retained in the choir vestry, shows an organ placed in the Lady chapel. The instrument is now in the south (Sawyer) chapel.

The daughter church, St Andrews' (1869), had no organ originally. It is unlikely that there would be a choir-band at this date but a 'volunteer band' gave a concert in 1875, noted in Kettering Parish Magazine:

> Concert
> We are requested to state that the Volunteer Band under the leadership of Mr. G. Mobbs, have kindly arranged to give a concert, vocal as well as instrumental, on Tuesday Oct 19th, for the benefit of the St. Andrews organ Fund.

A differing type of church band, probably a brass one, was the 'Fuller Mission Band' from the Baptist Church, formed in 1892 to tour the villages. This is noted in the *Kettering Leader and Guardian* (3. 12. 1937, page 15). Instrumental use at the Baptist Church in Kettering is briefly referred to in some manuscript reminiscences of W. F. Dorr,[50] referring to a clarinet and bass viol used in the gallery. James Mursell, minister between 1853 and 1869, arranged for the band to be resited at the 'table pew' below the central pulpit; (where there was a dissenting academy the students would make notes on the sermon while seated at the table pew). When the church was rebuilt in 1861, Mursell had built-in seating and brass music stands for the string players, below the pulpit. *The Fuller Tune Book*[51] probably in Mursell's hand, contains two hundred and fourteen tunes and older psalm-tunes used at the chapel. Some of these have pencilled dates by the titles, showing the popularity of certain tunes. Most are in four parts, the uppermost stave being the alto part, written uncharacteristically at pitch. The second stave is the tenor (written one octave higher), the third the soprano at pitch, and the fourth, the bass (in bass clef). Ten of Mursell's own tunes have been transcribed.[52]

The parish of *Aldwincle All Saints* is notable for the incumbency of the prominent evangelical clergyman, Thomas Haweis (1734 – 1820). Haweis, a very competent musician who had been involved with Madan at the Lock Chapel, London, took a great interest in the psalmody at Aldwincle. Skevington Wood[53] notes

> We are not surprised to learn that Haweis soon began to raise the musical standard at Aldwincle. He was grieved by the 'wretched and unmeaning Psalmody' led by an old church clerk with a cracked and tremulous voice. He invited the choristers to his own house, and carefully rehearsed them in the anthem, chants and responses. With the Lock experiment in mind, he increased the number of congregational hymns, and the church rapidly became noted for its hearty and harmonious singing...He introduced the Lock Collection, and frequently used his own hymns. The singing was accompanied by violin and cello.

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50 n.d. Fuller Archives

51 manuscript c.1855 (one copy), Fuller Archives

52 S. J. Weston (ed.), *Ten hymn-tunes by James Mursell of Kettering*, Oecumuse, Ely 1991

53 A. Skevington Wood, *Thomas Haweis 1734 – 1820*, London 1957, p114

It can be seen then, that Haweis was an early reformer; however he did not see fit to replace the instruments, which was the first move of the later reforming clergyman, from the 1840s onwards. The hymns sung at Aldwincle must have been some of the earliest heard in a Northamptonshire church, but I am doubtful that Haweis used 'chants and responses'; in doing so he would have anticipated the reforms of the Tractarians. Aldwincle would be an unlikely setting for what was, effectively, collegiate music.

The churchwardens' accounts for *Aldwincle St Peter* (9P/19), retained in the parish, have two relevant references. The first, in 1810, notes Daniel Batson's bill for ledges in the gallery at a cost of 5/3d. It is possible that these ledges were for music books; an instrumental reference appears in 1824:

> May 8 Pd 3 years Salary for the Base playing as agreed at the time it was purchased – £1. 10. 0.

There appear to be no details of the purchase of the cello, nor to continuing payments to a player. An organ receives no mention in this volume which ceases in 1889.

The accounts for *Irthlingborough* (NRO 178P21) are among the most comprehensive in the county giving details of instruments, choir and names of choir-band members from 1812 until 1863. A cello was repaired in 1812 by Marriot of Rushden. The bow was repaired in 1819 and 'a musical instrument' was repaired the following year. In 1822 the cello had more repairs and strings were purchased for Mr. Aris in 1823. R. Cuthbert was paid for cello bow repairs in 1826. In the following year a new 'musical instrument' was purchased from Mr. Abel [Abel of Northampton]. Strings were purchased on nine occasions between 1824 and 1837. A new cello was purchased in 1849 from John Freestone (£4. 0. 0.) and a cello was repaired by Crosby of Northampton in 1855.

It is possible that the 1849 bass was a double bass, as in 1857 the balance of the double bass (£4. 2. 6.) was paid; the interval between these dates is perhaps too long for this to have been the case, however. A double bass string is mentioned in 1858 and repairs to the double bass in 1861.

The 'musical instrument' mentioned in 1827 may have been an oboe, as entries for this instrument commence in 1833. The wording for this year 'in changin 2 oboy reeds'

gives the impression the reed staples were exchanged as is the practice in the twentieth-century. Reeds are mentioned again in 1834, 1838, 1839 and 1841. Violin strings are noted in 1853 on one single occasion; the abbreviation vi^{n} is unlikely to represent any other instrument but the price (15/-) implies a large number of violin strings; they were purchased for Warren, Baxter and Rooksby. If all three were violinists then the Irthlingborough choir-band would be one of the larger bands noted, possibly comprising oboe, three violins, two cellos and a double bass. It is unlikely, however, that there was concurrent use of all these. The double bass, for example, appears to post-date the other instruments, which do not receive any mention after its purchase.

Other names of choir members are noted in 1821 when Chad, Cuthbert, Cox and Horner, in addition to Warren, had been paid for teaching the Sunday School children to sing. Richard Warren was paid for 'giving out the psalms' the previous year.

An enlightened rector supported the choir in a request to go to a 'grand Singing Party' at Peterborough Cathedral 'for the improvement of Church Choirs' in 1859. This was partly paid for by subscription. They returned to Peterborough in 1862 and 1863. The singers continued to have an annual salary of ten shillings (shared with the ringers) until 1879. The full transcription of these highly significant churchwardens' accounts is given in the appendix.

The Parish of *Lowick,* whose church has a remarkable octagon tower, supported a choir-band with an early bassoon (1774), reeds for which were purchased on behalf of Richard Gadsby from 1787. It is not certain if he was the bassoonist or choir-leader, for in 1790 he was paid for reeds and strings. Strings are mentioned between 1790 and 1800, but at no time is it made clear what was the nature of the string instrument. There are no instrumental references after 1802. The singers were paid at Christmas in 1840, 1842 and 1843. In 1863 William Horne was organist.

Lowick is also notable as the birthplace of William Jones (of Nayland), 1726 – 1800, another reforming clergyman, who wanted more congregational participation in the services.

The churchwardens' accounts for *Woodford* (NRO 371P/1), like Irthlingborough, give considerable detail of musical activities. In addition the galleries are mentioned by

Humphries[54] as being built for the Sunday School in 1839 and removed in 1859. The addition of 'Juxta Thrapston' in Humphries' title avoids confusion with Woodford Halse in Chipping Warden. Cello strings for two years were paid for in 1812 and a bow rehair in the same year. The cellist appears to have been Mr. Beal who was given money for strings in 1813, 1817, 1818 and 1819. The bow was rehaired again in 1819 and strings were purchased (without reference to Beal's name) in 1828 and 1829. A new bag was purchased in 1829 and strings appear from 1830 until 1833. They were purchased from Mr Dash (Collis & Dash, Kettering) in 1834, 1836 and 1837. Dicks of Ringstead repaired the cello in 1836 and the bow had another rehair in October of that year. Mr Foster was paid for a string in 1838; it appears that he was the dealer as he had bound two music books in 1837; the bow was rehaired in 1839. In that year, as has been already mentioned, the new gallery was surveyed and built but there is no reference to its use for music.

Mr Ibbs is the name connected with strings from 1840 till 1845, and his name also appears for the tune book repairs. A new cello bag was purchased in 1851 and the last mention of the cello is in 1852; a harmonium was in place in 1858. The full accounts are found in the appendix.

10. Kings Sutton

Kings Sutton hundred occupies the south-western corner of Northamptonshire; it is bordered by Oxfordshire and Buckingshire, and the main town is Brackley. There are twenty-three parishes and of these three are civil, *Astwell, Stuchbury* and *Steane,* although this last has a chapel of 1620 dedicated to St Peter, but forming part of Steane Park, the home of the Crewe family.

There are no accounts at *Aynho* (although Pevsner[55] notes a west gallery), *Croughton, Kings Sutton, Marston St Lawrence* or *Newbottle*. The accounts for *Whitfield* are of too late a date (1870) and there are no references in the accounts for *Hinton in the Hedges, Radstone* or *Thenford.*

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54 E. and M. Humphries, *Woodford Juxta Thrapston*, 1985, p78
55 *op cit.*, p97

A reference at *Chacombe* is not necessarily music-related, merely a gallery mention – '1820 Dec 18 Paid for Repairing the Gallary 0 6 0' (NRO 62P/24). *Evenley* is a similar case, merely referring to 'new seats in the gallery' (NRO 118P/9) in 1862. *Farthinghoe* had an organ in 1848 (NRO 123P/18). The accounts for *Syresham* (NRO 313P/34) make reference to the singers in 1849 when books and candlesticks were purchased. In December of that year the organ was moved and tuned by Cox for £1. 5. 0. *Thorpe Mandeville* had a harmonium in 1870, mentioned in the churchwardens' bills (NRO 323P/31):

> April 2nd Tuning and Repair of parish church harmonium £1. 1. 0.

There are no references throughout the relevant period for *Warkworth* but it is noted that in 1897 Arthur Ackerman was paid £2. 0. 0. as organist. From that date the amount would be increased to £5. 0. 0. the difference being taken from one Sunday's offering in the summer.

Brackley St Peter (NRO 42P/65) has notable musical entries between 1810 and the arrival of the organ around 1850. Substantial amounts were spent on 'church music' starting in 1810 (5/-); in 1813 £5. 6. 6. was allowed and from 1817 until 1827 £1. 5. 0. was spent per year on this item, which may represent music books etc. or singers' allowance.

J. Barrett features a great deal and it is possible that he was choir-leader. In 1824 – 5 a violin was repaired (10/-). Charles Cox tuned the organ in 1850 – 51 (see Syresham). The full accounts are found in the appendix.

Culworth has substantial churchwardens' entries – transcribed in the appendix (NRO 94P/24 – 25), in addition to the barrel-organ mentioned (without details) by Boston and Langwill.[56] There was a bassoon and oboe in 1785 and 1786: and references to bassoon reeds continue until 1798. In 1800 and 1801 R. Benjamin is noted in connection with reeds; in 1802 the bassoon is noted in this connection, and then in 1804:

> Paid Richard Benjamin for reeds for the Baſsoon £0. 3. 0.

56 *op cit.*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh 1970, p89

Both the bassoon and Benjamin recur in most years until 1816 when new Psalm books were purchased. From 1824 – 1825 cello strings are noted. In 1859 the organist was Amble.

The original churchwardens' accounts for *Helmdon* are in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.[57] A microfilm (NRO 162P/57) is retained at Northamptonshire Record Office. The details with bassoon references are noted in the appendix.

Middleton Cheney (NRO 211/84) has references to cello strings between 1833 and 1861 (this last being very late for instrumental use). Violin strings are mentioned in 1839 and 1843. There are no organ references until 1873. The accounts are noted in the appendix.

Wappenham churchwardens' accounts (NRO 339PM/20/21) are amongst the longest for Northamptonshire and give a large amount of useful information about instrumental use, players and a gallery subscription list. A bassoon is mentioned first in 1783 played by John Jenkins. His successor in 1785 was Thomas Beesley and then from 1787 William Beesley (possible Thomas' brother). The wording 'to find reeds for the bassoon' shows that this was an allowance given to the player, not a dealer's bill. The bassoon was repaired in 1792 and then William Beesley's name continues until 1802. A new name appears in 1802, that of Luke Bucknam (a colloquial spelling, later noted as Buckingham). Beesley was still alive at this time and still features in the rates list of 1810. In 1814 Buckingham became parish clerk, but still played the bassoon. Other entries show that he did a great deal of manual repair-work for the church and was married to Ann, who is credited with making a surplice. Buckingham's salary as parish clerk was £5. 0. 0. in 1816; he still features as a bassoonist until 1824. In 1828 a cello is mentioned and bassoon references have ceased. The strings were purchased from Barrett of Brackley, in Buckingham's name. It is not clear whether Buckingham himself played the cello; string entries cease in 1836 and Buckingham's last appearance in the rates list is in 1837, and also in disbursements of October 15. It seems that he died about that time. Benjamin Buckingham (possibly his son) appears in the 1839 levy list. It should be noted that the

57 Shelf Mark MS Top Northants C47 and MS Top Northants D9

cellist at Silverstone in 1781 was Joseph Bucknam and that the oboist there in 1780 was one Luke Bucknam.

The subscription list of 1804 is found in the back of NRO 339P/21:

> The following subscription was rais'd Aug 2d 1804, to erect a gallery in the Parish Church of Wappenham for the Use of the Psalm Singers only (Henry Cockerill Collector).

The total raised was £28. 18. 6. to which Luke Buckingham and William Beesley gave 10/6d each, Richard Beesley gave 5/-. Luke Buckingham did the ironwork for the new gallery at a cost of 18/7d. The work is described as

> building the Gallery & ceiling the same underneath, and the Nave, of the Church from the Steeple to the First Beam.

The very extensive Wappenham accounts are found in the appendix.

11. Nassaburgh

Nassaburgh or the Soke of Peterborough is an area separate from, and yet historically and ecclesiastically attached to, Northamptonshire. The reasons for inclusion are given in the introduction to this detailed study of the country. It should be noted that included here is Stamford St Martins (or Stamford Baron) which was always part of the Soke, but which now forms part of Lincolnshire, a county which is not considered as one of the eastern counties for this thesis.

It is reasonable to assume that in an area dominated by the great Norman cathedral of Peterborough, the musical influence of the city would affect the interest in country psalmody in the villages, and that the villages would try to emulate the type of music found at the cathedral. The reality is that the Soke is remarkably poor in musical references of any kind, instrumental or vocal. Of the twenty parishes three are civil – *Borough Fen, Northborough* and *Paston*. The church at *Newborough* appears to date from

1830 but Newborough does not even feature in Pevsner.[58] The churchwardens' accounts for *Wittering* are of too late a date for this study; there are no references at *Bainton, Barnack, Glinton, Marholm, Thornhaugh* or *Ufford.* Of the remaining nine parishes, five have musical references and four instrumental ones.

The only musical reference for *Etton* (NRO 117P/40) is to an organ in 1866, a date when it could be expected that an organ would be in position. This was cleaned by Pitts at a cost of £1. 11. 6. At *Maxey* (NRO 208P/17) the singers received £1. 10. 0. in 1865. In the following year the organist received five guineas.

There are some very early musical references for *Peakirk* transcribed in *Northamptonshire Notes and Queries:*[59]

1746	Pd W Leay for playing of yea Musick	0	2	0
1759	Pd Mr Percival one pound nine shillings for the Singin looft			

The accounts (NRO 265P/36) have no details of instruments but include the following:

1761	Oct 17 Pd to the Singers towards a supper	0	3	0

It is unfortunate that the 1746 entry gives no instrumental details, for an instrument of this date would be very significant; it is clear, however, that musical activity was accepted at that period.

The parish church of *Peterborough,* St John the Baptist, (NRO 261P/131) appears to have had no traditional choir-band, as is only to be expected such a short distance from the cathedral. There was a gallery in the 1820s and the organist, Edmund Larkin, was paid the unusually large sum of twenty-five pounds for one year's salary in 1829. That the church was prepared to make such a large expenditure shows a desire to have a high standard of musical content in the services.

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58 N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Bedfordshire, Huntingdon and Peterborough,* Harmondsworth 1968

59 Vol. 2, p23

An earlier reference (1828) appears to read 'to a new blower' but as the amount is only three shillings it must be assumed that this does not relate to the organ, but possibly to bellows for starting the boilers. E. Davys, incumbent at the middle of the century, compiled a psalm- and hymn-book.[60]

The parish of *Sutton*, which is not listed separately in *Victoria County History*,[61] but is considered part of Castor, is noted by Boston and Langwill[62] as having a Walker barrel-organ in 1888 from Suffolk. *Wansford* appears to have no musical references apart from an 1804 gallery. The inscription which is still on the west wall is noted by J L Gilbert:[63]

> This loft erected
> By Pank Medmore Esq.
> Merchant of this place Jan 1st 1804.

Victoria County History notes that this gallery was removed by 1902.

The known instrumental use begins at *Castor* where a subscription list for musical instruments is found at Northamptonshire Record Office (60P/43) and transcribed here:

> To the Right Honble Earl Fitzwilliam and Lord Milton, the Lord Bishop of Peterboro, and the Gentlemen and Ladies of Castor and Alesworth etc.
> At a Vestry Meeting held at Castor on the 1st Day of April it was agreed that a Subscription should be made thro' Castor and Alesworth etc. to defray the Expense of musical Instruments Book etc. neceſsary for the accommodation of the Church.
> We now call upon and humbly solicit your Aid to help to defray the expenses of so good and neceſsary a cause.
> NB What Instruments Books etc. whatsoever is bought by this Subscription shall belong to the Church and the Property in the said musical Instruments shall be invested in the Churchwardens of the said parish of Castor for the time being and their succeſsors for the use of the church of Castor. Jn Preston, Gab French, James Stanger.
> Castor 14 July 1817.

The list follows, with amounts varying from £5. 0. 0. (Earl Fitzwilliam), £3. 0. 0 (Bishop of Peterborough), to smaller amounts in excess of one shilling. The total raised was £19. 7. 0. The disbursements are very confused but include '2 Claranets' for £4. 5. 0., a 'Baſs Voill and Sundry' (£10. 8. 0.), '1 Doz of Candles' (10/-). It appears that a book 'and sundry' cost

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60 Rev. E. Davys MA, *A Selection of Psalms and Hymns for Public Worship*, 6th ed., London 1858

61 Four Volumes, Northampton 1902 – 1937

62 *op cit.*, 1st ed., Edinburgh 1967, p89

63 J. L. Gilbert, *Wansford and its Church*, 1972 (no place of publication noted – copy at Kettering Reference Library)

£2. 10. 6; strings cost 6/2d. Other musical references in the churchwardens' accounts (NRO 60P/43) note that the ringers and singers received 7/6d in 1816, but from 1817 the ringers only are noted. In 1837 'matting for the Singing Gallery' was purchased at a cost of 5/-. An organ reference appears in 1878.

The church at *Eye* (NRO 121P/48) has no string references, but used a clarinet (1816) and a bassoon (1817, 1819). Reeds are mentioned in 1820 but after that there is no further mention. A new gallery is mentioned in 1826, and a psalm book for the clerk in 1838. By 1851 (NRO 121P/49) an organist was being paid £1. 0. 0. The accounts are found in the appendix.

There was a gallery at *Helpston* (NRO 163P/29) in 1790 when a new lock for the gallery door was purchased. In 1823 a cello was purchased:

July 27	Toward Bying a Base Vioal for the Use of the Church	1	5	0

The cellist may have been a Mr Rowe (Rooe) who features in the next three references:

		£	s	d
1826	June 2 Pd Mr Row bill for fiddel Strings for the Base Voile	0	9	6
1829	May Pd Mr Rooes Bill for Fidle Strings	0	4	8
1830	Oct Mr Rooe Bile for fidle Strings	0	7	8

It is not generally known that the poet John Clare, born in Helpston in 1793, was a folk fiddler who collected a considerable number of folk dances, songs, both traditional and contemporary broadsides and folk tunes. He was taught the violin by a gypsy fiddler, John Gray, at a camp near Helpston around 1815. Although Clare did not, apparently, play in a conventional church band, he did join a religious sect which involved the folk tradition:

> Music making was a common enough pastime in Clare's time and we should perhaps simply accept his abilities as a fiddler rather than seek for influences and motivation. Nevertheless it is interesting to note that Clare did join the 'Ranters' at one stage...This was a religious sect that used many 'folk' tunes for their hymns, though

whether they led Clare into an appreciation of traditional music, or whether their use of it attracted Clare, is open to doubt.[64]

Deacon also notes that Clare played the fiddle both from music and by ear and that his tune collection numbered more than two hundred and sixty.[65]

Some vouchers, for Helpston, (NRO 163P/35) show that there was an organ in 1848: 'one year tuning and regulating Church Organ £1. 1. 0.'

The parish of *St Martins* at Stamford or *Stamford Baron* is the area south of the River Welland within the town. The churchwardens' accounts (NRO 296P/26) have a considerable number of references to musical and instrumental use.

The singers are mentioned in 1781, and again in 1782 in connection with unspecified reeds. 1784 mentions bassoon reeds, and oboe reeds occur in 1786. 'Musick Reeds' feature between 1787 and 1799 and in 1800 the bassoon was repaired. T. Spencer presented a bill for 'bassoon mend' in 1802. It is not possible to differentiate between the player and repairer in this case. The singers' salary increased from five shillings per annum to one guinea twice per annum in 1802. In 1806 bassoon reeds are mentioned again and it is noted that Drakeard (see Easton on the Hill) was paid for some anthem books in the same year. The full transcripts are given in the appendix.

The *Werrington* cello was repaired in 1835 and 1841. By 1863 a harmonium was in place (NRO 357P/40).

12. Navisford

The hundred of Navisford is situated in the east of Northamptonshire, along the Nene valley, and is sandwiched between two sections of Huxloe hundred, bordering Cambridgeshire. The Northamptonshire Record Office map includes Thurning in this, but the Victoria County History puts Thurning in Polebrook, which is perhaps a more logical place for it.

There are seven parishes, none of which are civil. There are no accounts for *Lilford*, the church having been demolished in 1778. There are no musical references in the

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64 G. Deacon, *John Clare and the Folk Tradition*, London 1983, p305
65 *op cit.*, p27

account books for *Clapton* (now Clopton), *Thorpe Achurch* (normally known simply as Achurch), or *Stoke Doyle*, although Pevsner[66] notes an early nineteenth-century organ, which would seem to preclude the use of a choir-band.

Pilton is another case where the churchwardens' accounts only unearth a relatively early organ, which was tuned in 1837 (NRO 268P/10) at a cost of £1. 0. 0. At *Wadenhoe* there is evidence in the stonework of the tower arch for a gallery, which was possibly removed at the restoration around 1900. Mr. G. Ward-Hunt also notes the use of a harmonium in the church. The churchwardens' accounts (NRO 268P/3), stored as a Pilton accession, although the parish is numbered 334, have a reference in 1772 to 'mending gallery stears'. It is not known if this was a musicians' gallery.

The only sizeable settlement in Navisford is *Thrapston*, which presumably had a large congregation as Pevsner notes three wooden galleries still in existence. At least one of these galleries had been built in 1771 when the churchwardens' accounts note 'Baſsis [hassocks] for Gallery'. Thrapston had an early organ by 1785 when it was repaired by Mr Humphreys at a cost of £2. 1. 10. John Vorley charged 2/6d for repairing it in 1796, and in the meantime the existence of a choir is shown by the purchase of 'Seven Singing books' in 1794, costing £1. 9. 6.

The only reference to a choir-band in Navisford is found at *Titchmarsh* where an interesting but possibly exaggerated account of the choir-band is given by Canon Luckock and quoted by Helen Belgion:[67]

> Canon Luckock, Rector 1912 – 1962, collected and set down in his early days many details of church music early in the nineteenth century from village tradition and recollection. Before the introduction of a barrel-organ in 1837, there was a musicians' gallery under the tower. Eight singers sat in the front and sang very loud – members of the families specially remembered for that were Perkins, Grays, Rowletts, Pleasants and Smethers. They were not permitted to drown the instruments. Violins, bass violas, clarinets, bassoon, flutes and dulcimers were in use until 1861 played by Mansells, Colemans, Prestons, Dudleys, Allens and Eastons. The chief musician was the Parish Clerk 'pitch-pipe to help'. One William Nicholls was remembered as clerk from 1747 – 1811.

Luckock has a problem of nomenclature in his reference to bass violas, presumably bass viols or cellos; a dulcimer, while theoretically possible as a member of the choir-band,

66 *op cit.*, p418

67 H. Belgion, *Titchmarsh Past and Present*, Titchmarsh 1979, p89

seems unlikely. The date of the barrel-organ, however, is confirmed by the churchwardens' accounts (NRO 328P/52, 53) although the accounts merely mention that an organ was 'put up'. There are bassoon references between 1805 and 1833 (played by Josiah Mansell) and violin strings in 1831 for Mr Preston; both names are mentioned by Luckock. The dates of the accounts do not, however, confirm that the band continued to play after the advent of the barrel-organ. The accounts are found in the appendix. The pipe organ was opened in 1860 on May 30th and an order of service (NRO 328P/65) shows details of two services on that day, morning and afternoon. Mr Speechley 'presided at the organ' and 'Peterborough Cathedral Choir sang an Anthem by Wise' (*Psalm LVII*). Nares' *Te Deum and Jubilate* in F, and *Psalm LXXVI* set out by Dr Clarke Whitfield. The service also included Psalm C, Old Version, which was not referred to as *'Old Hundredth'* on this occasion. In the afternoon the congregational contributions were the New Version of the 95th Psalm to *Wareham* and 'All Hail The Great Emmanuel's Name' to *Miles Lane*. The cathedral choir performed Nares' *Evening Service in F*, Kent's anthem from Chronicles XXIV, (Kent had been organist at Finedon), and Handel's *Hallelujah Chorus* after the sermon. The result must have been an interesting combination of metrical psalmody and cathedral settings.

13. Nobottle Grove

Bounded by Northampton to the east and Watling Street to the west, Nobottle Grove is a central hundred, touching no other county. There are twenty parishes of which four are civil, *Althorp, Upper Heyford, Holdenby* and *Teeton*, and one, *Chapel Brampton*, a chapelry. There are no churchwardens' accounts for *Church Brampton, Brockhall* and *Whilton* and no references in the accounts of *Flore, Lower Heyford*, and *Ravensthorpe*. This leaves only nine parishes, four of which have musical references in the churchwardens' accounts, four with instrumental references, and one, Upton, with no references in the churchwardens' accounts, but a known barrel-organ.

The parish of *Great Brington* had a very early organ and there is at Northamptonshire Record Office an organist fee receipt of 1790 (NRO 49P). In 1802 a

faculty for gallery erection was applied for. Boston and Langwill[68] note a barrel-organ but give no details. It is possible that this barrel-organ was the 1790 organ, although the operator of this can scarcely be classed as an organist, unless the barrel-organ was also a 'finger organ'. A manually-operated organ was in place was in place by 1852, for there is an organ blower's fee receipt for that year at Northamptonshire Record Office.

Bugbrook has two musical references in the churchwardens' account book (NRO 53P/84). The first is to a lock for the door under the gallery in 1793 and the second to an organ in 1896 (paid Shaw for repairs). A seating plan for *East Haddon* (NRO 46P/55) shows that there was a singers' pew in the gallery. The children of the boys' school and the girls' school sat in the chancel. In 1843 an organ was erected in the gallery. The only reference in the *Kislingbury* accounts (NRO 190P/18) is to a book for the singers costing five shillings on November 15th 1774. *Upton* has no reference in the churchwardens' accounts but Boston and Langwill[69] note a barrel-organ by Holdich. No other details are available.

A further reference to the repairer Corby is noted in the churchwardens' accounts for *Dallington* (NRO 95P/170, ML3933).

1833	Oct 17	Paid Corby for repairing the Bass Viol Bow	0	6	6

An organ was in place by the relatively early date of 1846 when David Crofts was paid £1. 12. 0. as organist, (one year's salary to July 6th).

The parish of *Duston* (NRO 109P/99) paid a 'Singing Master' six times between Feb 3 1809 and Aug 18 1809. The amounts vary between 19/- and £3. 5. 0.; these amounts, although on a short-term basis, show a desire to improve the quality of singing rapidly. In 1809 candles were purchased for the 'singing' and stalls for the singers in 1812. The next volume of churchwardens' accounts (NRO 109P/100) shows cello use (bow and strings) in 1844 and 1852. A hired harmonium was being used by 1870. The accounts are found in full in the appendix.

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68 *op cit.*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh 1970, p89
69 *op cit.*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh 1970, p89

Pevsner[70] notes a late seventeenth-century west gallery at *Harlestone*. This received little mention in the churchwardens' accounts (NRO 153P numbered 1723 – 1922) for 1830.

Sept 10	Pd for Repairing lock of Gallery Door	0	1	6

This gallery is very high and extremely narrow, and performing on instruments must have been uncomfortable. Two early references show that there was a bassoon in 1809, which was curiously replaced by a pitch-pipe in 1812. This is not the only case of a pitch-pipe post-dating a choir-band (see Harpole). It is feasible to suggest that the bassoonist became unavailable and no replacement was forthcoming; the only solution was to revert to a former practice.

1809	Jan 24	Pd for repairing the Baſsonn at London	1	9	0
1812	March 7	Pd Mr Cox for pich pipe	0	6	0

The influence neighbouring parishes have on each other is evident in the use of a pitch-pipe at *Harpole* dated 1807 (NRO 154P/12) and the use of the term 'Singing Master'. This position was filled by Samuel Smyth in 1801, whose name does not appear again.

The use of the pitch-pipe is very curious in the case of this parish as use seems to be concurrent with that of a cello (1793 – 1838). In the same year that the pitch-pipe was purchased, the cello was repaired and given a new bag. It is possible that the pitch-pipe was for a separate Sunday School (see Towcester) or that it was a temporary measure while a new cellist became competent to play in church. The name Charles Cosby reappears as a repairer of the cello in 1838. The references Cosby/Corby are noted in the Northamptonshire name index at the end of this work. The full accounts appear in the appendix.

70 *op cit.*, p247

14. Orlingbury

The hundred of Orlingbury, at the centre of the county, has some of the most interesting evidence of choir-band activities. Of the seventeen parishes, all of which are ecclesiastical, only five have no musical references (although two of these have strong musical connections). Four have musical references, and eight have choir-band references. It is interesting to note of these last eight, five parishes are adjacent – Pytchley, Isham, Great and Little Harrowden and Hardwick. There are no references in churchwardens' accounts to choir-bands at *Orlingbury, Cransley* or *Walgrave. Scaldwell* was the home of the artist and cellist George Clarke from 1832 until his death in 1868. He is considered in greater detail under Lamport, where he was cellist in the choir-band.

Nothing is known of the life of the composer John Munden of *Brixworth.* His two volumes of 'Church Music', published by Bland of 45, Holburn, London during the 1780s are considered in the chapter of this work dealing with Northamptonshire composers. There are no references to musical activity in the Brixworth churchwardens' accounts.

There are no instrumental references in *Broughton's* churchwardens' accounts (52P/177) which are retained in the parish, but there was an organ by 1852 when it was cleaned and repaired at a cost of £1. 10. 0. The singers received 20/- in that year. The earliest musical reference at *Hannington* was to the gallery removal in 1867 (NRO 149P/20).

> ...and it was also further agreed that the present gallery be taken down and a platform for the harmonium and fittings for the choir be placed in the chancel.

A pitch-pipe price 6/-, was purchased at *Faxton* in 1815, from a Mr Hill, followed in 1822 by a book of tunes costing 11/6 (NRO 126P/11). The singers were paid decreasing amounts from 1856 – 1860 (NRO 126P/12):

		£	s	d
1856	Jan 22 Pd the Singers	0	7	0
1857	Jan 8 Pd Singers	0	6	6
1858	Feb 6 pd Singers	0	6	0

1860	Jan 26 pd Singers	0	5	6

There are no churchwardens' accounts for *Walgrave* but details of the composer Blundell are given earlier in this study. *Hardwick* also used a pitch-pipe. This was in mahogany and cost five shillings on 24th June 1795, along with two copies of Arnold's Psalmodist (see Lamport NRO 191P/68) costing ten shillings. This information is seen on a bill (NRO 151P/26) from Thomas Broughton to the churchwardens.

Two more bills to the Hardwick wardens show the arrangements for singing tuition. It appears that William Briggs was employed in this capacity in 1796, again in 1818 and in the accounts (NRO 151P/25) at varying times until 1827. The 1796/7 bill notes:

> The churchwardens of Hardwick to Wm Briggs for teaching of Singing from Ap'l 2nd 1796 to Ap'l 8 1797. Fifty four times at three shillings a time £8. 2. 0.

The 1818/19 bill notes all the Sundays in the year on which Briggs attended Hardwick church, thirty-three in all, for which he received £3. 2. 0. The churchwardens' accounts 1741 – 1829 show that a cello was purchased in 1806 by an extra entry below the total for the page:

> Violoncello Divided
> Mrs Mountford
> S Sharman
> Robt Bradshaw
> John Bradshaw
> John Sharman

The same Briggs had earlier been involved in choir coaching at the neighbouring parish of *Great Harrowden*. He shared the work with Hobbs in 1795 and 1796 but is not mentioned after that date, presumably because he had taken up duties at Hardwick. Hobbs alone is mentioned in 1818 as a choir trainer, after a period from 1798 to 1808 when a cello had been used and no tuition given. It is highly probable that the former cellist had died in 1808, as there are no references to music until Hobbs' employment. In

the same year a pitch-pipe was purchased, implying lack of a cello. The full accounts are found in the appendix.

A bassoon was in use at *Little Harrowden* by 1788 (NRO 158P/61), followed by a cello (1815 – 1829). A clarinet was repaired in 1835 as was the cello, which may not have been in use since 1829 as there are no mentions of it. In 1841 a choir trainer was appointed. A new bow was purchased in 1850, but by 1867 the organ was in place (NRO 158P/106). The accounts are found in the appendix.

The churchwardens' account entries for *Isham* are limited but informative (NRO 179P/65.66). In 1784 Mr Colles' bill for singing books (thirteen shillings) was paid. The bassoon was repaired in 1794 at a cost of five shillings. In 1855 the harmonium curtains cost ten shillings, and there is an earlier reference in 1849 to curtain and rings for gallery, almost certainly for the same purpose.

The village of *Old* (formerly Wold) had a bassoon at a very early date – 1774 – purchased from Thomas Tasley for thirteen shillings. It was possibly played by John Mabbut who was paid for reeds in 1777 (Mabbut also looked after the church clock). References continue until 1793, and the account books unfortunately cease in 1807. The available accounts are found in the appendix

The *Pytchley* churchwardens' accounts (NRO 275P/34) give a very full account of the musical activity of the church between 1833 and 1862, including a more personal insight than is normally detectable. The central figure is Samuel Mobbs, the cellist, who was uncharacteristically given a stipend for his duties, which may have included training the choir, although this is normally more likely to have been part of the clerk's job. The vestry meeting of 28th March 1833 gives details of the clerk's duties:

> At a meeting held this date it was resolved to give to the Clerk an Annual Salary of £6. 0. 0., the said sum to include his Clerkship, winding up the clock & sweeping the church gallery, school children's seats, and the men and maidservants' seats.

The vestry meeting of Easter Monday April 12th 1841 notes that the:

> clerk and the player of the bass should be accounted as singers for purposes of sharing in the singers' ten shillings per annum, divided amongst those who are regular Singers.

The same vestry ordained that:

> the player of the Bass shall be bound to provide when absent a substitute approved by the Minister and Churchwardens at all times when there is a regular Service in the Church on Sundays and on the approved Festivals.

Mobbs at this time was receiving £2. 0. 0. per annum for his duties, paid at Easter each year. The accounts also indicate that Mobbs was the coalman. From 1844 he was paid twice yearly, this continuing until 1849 when he requested an increase:

> Easter Monday 9th April 1849...Samuel Mobbs, having requested his salary as Player of the Baſs to be raised to £3, & said he would decline playing it unleſs it were raised, the meeting decided that no advance of the salary shall be granted, that the first offer shall be made to S Mobbs of £2 & if he declines that a new Player shall be sought.

Mobbs evidently did decline this, as the next payment for bass playing – March 30th 1850 – was to John Summers. Throughout the whole of Mobbs's tenure and also through that of Summers which lasted until 1856, regular amounts had been spent on cello strings, purchased from Mr Dash of Kettering. After 1856 there is no more mention of bass playing. John Shrives was offered ten shillings for singing by the 1857 vestry and the receipts of April 3rd of that year note 'April 13th By Bass £1. 4. 0.' Shrives, who was also clerk, was paid for instructing children to sing in 1858. The singers were paid between 1833 and 1860. In 1862, however, is the first reference to the organ. The very lengthy accounts are given in the appendix.

The incumbent at that time was Abner Brown (noted also in connection with Gretton). In 1848 he published *Hymns and Scripture Chants*.[71]

One of the most fascinating parishes in Northamptonshire is *Lamport* with the former chapelry of *Hanging Houghton,* noted as two parishes in the Northamptonshire Record Office 1933 map. No church or chapel is mentioned at Hanging Houghton by Pevsner[72] and churchwardens' accounts cease at 1823 (NRO 148P/5). The Lamport

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71 A. W. Brown, *Hymns and Scripture Chants,* London 1848
72 *op cit.*, p244

accounts (NRO 191P/32) from 1820 to 1924 note 'Churchwardens' Accounts for Lamport and Hanging Houghton' on the cover.

The significance of Lamport is the wide variety of source material with musical and choir connections; these include coloured drawings of the choir by George Clarke, a large amount of manuscript and printed music in Northamptonshire Record Office, surviving instruments, churchwardens' references, and a certain amount of secondary material, particularly with reference to vamping horns.

It is a coincidence that George Clarke was associated with this church, but that much other significant material has been retained, is solely due to the residence at Lamport Hall of the Isham family, who have maintained antiquarian interest over several generations. It is also notable that Lamport Hall became the first home of the Northamptonshire Record Office.

George Clarke was the subject of an authoritative article by Reginald Brown[73] in 1933, and as an artist, Clarke is generally referred to as George Clarke of Scaldwell, but he was schoolmaster at Hanging Houghton from 1818, succeeding his father. He was born in the schoolhouse on February 28 1790, and moved to Scaldwell in 1832. His work as an artist gave him a local reputation and it is very useful to the ecclesiastical historian as so much of his work shows churches in a pre-restored nineteenth-century state. A picture by Clarke, now at Lamport Hall, shows the Lamport choir in 1823 including Clarke himself as cellist. The other members whose names are noted on the picture are: William Tyrell (oboe), James Clarke (singer), James Francis (flute), Thomas Wright (flute), Thomas Cannon (violin), Samuel Tyrell (violin) and Richard Dickens (flute).

A similar picture in Northampton Art Gallery (Lamport Choir 1825) shows a flautist, bassoonist and cellist, in addition to the singers, who number fourteen, including four small girls. A copy of this picture can be seen in a catalogue of an exhibition of Clarke's drawings which was held in 1972.[74] There is also an unfinished sketch of three male singers of the Lamport choir, also at Northampton.

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73 R. W. Brown, *Northamptonshire County Magazine*, Vol. 6, pp 85 – 87

74 B. Bailey, *George Clarke of Scaldwell*, Northampton 1972

Clarke's picture shows the choir standing in front of a door. This door no longer exists; it may be the door mentioned by Gyles Isham:[75]

> ...the organ chamber displaced Francis Smith's rusticated door into the chancel...shown in an existing drawing of 1825.

It is more likely, however, that Clarke's drawing shows the west end, as the back pews form part of the picture. In fact the tower arch would appear to have been blocked off and a door added. Isham notes that one of Clarke's picture was left to him by Herbert Tyrell (died 1949) whose great uncle was Samuel Tyrell who appears in the pictures. Brown notes that Clarke

> also played the bass viol at concerts and balls in different parts of the county...a flautist and cellist of no mean ability, and composed hymn tunes. The tune named 'Lamport' was one of his best.

Brown also mentions an Easter ode 'Hosanna to the Prince of Light'. Clarke died in 1868.

The names of choir members recur in the collection of music associated with the choir at Northamptonshire Record Office, and listed here:

NRO 1911P/63	Manuscript Volume of Psalm tunes, 1789, some by John Munden of Brixworth.
NRO 191P/64	Manuscript Volume of Psalm tunes, 1800, inscribed 'Samuel Tyrell'.
NRO 191P/65	Manuscript Volume of Psalm and Hymn tunes, 1810, inscribed 'William Tyrell'
NRO 191P/66	Printed copy of *A Compleat Melody, or the Harmony of Sion* by William Tans'ur 1736, inscribed 'William Tyrell'.
NRO 191P/67	Printed copy of *Psalms of David* by Isaac Watts, 1758, inscribed 'Ann Tyrell'.
NRO 191P/68	Printed copy of *The Leicestershire Harmony*, set of hymn tunes and anthems by John Arnold, 1759, inscribed 'belonging to William Tyrell, Hanging Houghton'.

75 G. Isham, *All Saints Church (All Hallows) Lamport*, Rugby 1951, p4

NRO 191P/69 Printed Volume of Psalm tunes, 1790, title page missing, inscribed 'belonging to Thomas Francis 1797'.

The Tyrell family, of Hanging Houghton, appear to have formed the nucleus of the choir for many years. There are several family gravestones in the Lamport churchyard: (a) Joshua Tyrell, died 1912 aged 80; (b) Elizabeth Tyrell, died 1891 aged 58 (also her children); (c) Mary Ann Townsend Tyrell, died 1887 aged 58; (d) William Tyrell, died 1864 aged 39. There are also some gravestones for the Francis family. Joan Wake[76] writing in 1943 notes

> there are still Tyrells in Lamport, where the family has lived for many generations.

The same book shows a photograph of Mary Tyrell, who lived to the age of 98. In 1943 Albert Tyrell was the blacksmith, and his cousin Herbert head gardener at the hall.

The volume of church music by John Munden of Brixworth similar to 191P/63 in private ownership in Finedon, and considered in the chapter on Northamptonshire composers, includes Thomas Francis and Rev Mr Isham, both of Lamport in the list of subscribers, circa 1788.

The subject of vamping horns is also covered elsewhere in this study as there is no definite church connection at Lamport, but the village has a significant role in the spread of vamping horns in the seventeenth-century. Thomas Isham's diary of 1672[77] notes that Sir William Langham of Walgrave had one and that his own father Sir Justinian Isham purchased one shortly afterwards. It is significant that two of these instruments survive in Northamptonshire, having been used at the nearby churches of Braybrook and Harrington.

There are two instruments retained at Northamptonshire Record Office in relation to Lamport. One is a boxwood and ivory clarinet by Clementi, made between 1802 and 1821; strangely enough a clarinet does not appear in Clarke's drawings. The other instrument is a square-bored pitch-pipe stored with the clarinet in NRO X265. This is also

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76 J. Wake, *A Northampton Rector – the Life of Henry Isham Longden, Scholar, Sportsman, Priest 1858 – 1942*, Northampton 1943, p17

77 Translated from Latin and privately printed 1875

supposed to have a Lamport provenance but the Hanging Houghton churchwardens' accounts (NRO 148P/5) note the following:

1807	Dec To New Pitch Pipe	0	3	0

It seems unlikely that this would be used at Lamport, given the apparent amount of musical activity there. It is also interesting to know that the Tyrells, who lived in Hanging Houghton, worshipped at Lamport; it seems that there was little instrumental interest at Hanging Houghton itself.

Unfortunately the churchwardens' accounts dated 1725 – 1820, a very significant period, are now missing. The next volume 1820 – 1924 (191P/32) will be considered in the appendix.

A harmonium was in the church in 1987, but the period of its use is unknown. The limitation of churchwardens' accounts can be seen here as the only instruments mentioned are bassoon and cello, together with the general term 'instruments' (1831). Clarke's pictures however, show a wide variety of instruments which have no need of maintenance by the church. It must be realised that churchwardens' accounts probably only scratched the surface of instrumental use in churches.

The importance of Lamport in the history of choir-bands, was celebrated on 16th May 1987 at a lecture on choir-bands given by the present author under the auspices of Leicester University's department of Adult Education. This was followed by a performance of nineteenth-century psalmody in Lamport Church. A band comprising flute, violin and ophicleide stood at the west end and accompanied a small choir together with a group of 'charity children'. Performances included Thomas Jarman's *Nativity* to Psalm 84 (New Version) and John Munden's *Psalm 11* (New Version) from the 1789 Lamport Tune Book. 'The congregation' turned to face the west end after the traditional manner and an era in Lamport church's history was briefly revived.

15. Polebrook

The hundred of Polebrook covers an area of the Nene Valley and surrounding villages to the south-west of Peterborough. It includes the market town of Oundle. Musical references are few. Of the ten parishes, one, *Armston*, is non-ecclesiastical. *Ashton* near Oundle (not to be confused with Ashton in Cleyley) has an eighteenth-century chapel but no parish church. There are no churchwardens' accounts at *Benefield* or *Luddington* and the churchwardens' vouchers at *Polebrook* are of too late a date. There are no references in the *Hemington* accounts. There are no relevant references in the *Thurning* accounts, only to organ tuning and regulating in the 1880s (NRO 326P/12). Thurning is noted as part of the Navisford hundred in the NRO map. However the *Victoria County History* includes it in Polebrook – a more logical situation.

The accounts at *Oundle* (NRO 249P/97) show an organ of early date, as may be expected at a locally important church with the influence of a public school. This was in place by 1813 when 'the boy' was paid 2/6d for 'blowing organ'. The organ may have been in the church by 1798 as there is a reference to mending the bellows; however the figure mentioned (0. 0. 4.) is so small that these may not necessarily have been organ bellows, but used in starting the boiler. The singers are mentioned in 1796 and 1810; the earlier entry includes the name George Bull (possibly choir trainer) who was paid four guineas with the singers. The singers alone received 10/6d in 1810. Another interesting document is a psalm book (NRO 249P/319) which includes psalm-tunes written without harmony. These include 'St Anns tune, Cambridge tune, Crowle tune, St Marys, Windsor and Buckingham' – mostly standard tunes recommended by Tate and Brady. There are also some hymns with words attributed to D W, including the funeral hymn, *Hark from the Tombs*, known to be by Watts.[78] Unfortunately there is no mention of any instrumental use at Oundle.

The only two parishes with documented instrumental use are Barnwell St Andrew (Barnwell All Saints is part of Huxloe), and Warmington.

The *Barnwell* accounts (NRO 28P/37), given in the appendix, refer to the singers from 1778. An oboe was purchased the following year, but there are no continuing

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78 Isaac Watts, *Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Sings*, London, 1850 version, No 63

references to it, or to reeds. Instead, a pitch-pipe was purchased in 1808. It is interesting to speculate on the fate of the oboe, or oboist; it may be that the player moved or was removed, and no one could fill his place. The musical tradition continued without him, or presumably any other instruments as the purchase of a pitch-pipe implies. An organ was in place by 1846.

Boston and Langwill in 1967 and again in 1970[79] note that at *Warmington* 'a serpent is in the church'. Unfortunately this is no longer the case, and in fact there is no trace of its existence. Neither the present incumbent, nor his predecessors have any knowledge of the instrument.

16. Rothwell

The largest concentration of documented choir-bands is centred on the hundred of Rothwell and spreads into Corby and Huxloe. Churchwardens' accounts give details of nine adjacent parishes with instrument references. Other sources give one more parish. Of the twenty-three parishes in this hundred, five are civil – *Barford, Glendon, Hothorpe* (with an 1894 estate chapel), *Sulby,* and *Thorpe Lubenham.*

There are no accounts for *Loddington* or *Orton* and those at *Sibbertoft* are of too late a date for interest. There are no references in the accounts from *Haselbech* or *Thorpe Malsor. Rothwell* itself, however, has relevant references in other works, mainly to the gallery noted by George Clarke in his coloured drawing of the interior of the church[80] and by Rose – *Holy Trinity Rowell,*[81] who mentions that

> the west gallery was pulled down in 1893; this was the organ gallery.

The Kettering Leader and Guardian shows a photograph of the Rothwell Saxhorn Band, around 1864 outside the Congregational Church in Rothwell. It is not clear if this was used in services, nor whether it was a mission-band or a secular one.

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79 *op cit.*

80 B. Bailey, *George Clarke of Scaldwell,* Northampton 1972, Illustration five.

81 P. Rose, *Holy Trinity Rowell,* 1986

There are no instrumental references at *Draughton*, merely to the blowing of the organ in 1879 (NRO 107P/14); nor are there any at *Maidwell* (Tune book 1846, repairing organ 1872 – NRO 203P/72). At *Arthingworth* there is a reference to an early cello in 1802. The parish also had a named choir-trainer, Richard Cook, from 1798, and an assistant, Lazarus Fox, who was paid half the amount paid to Cook. Prior to Cook's appointment in 1798, Richard Fox and John Bery taught singing; this earlier Fox may have been the father of Lazarus. It seems that Lazarus Fox was the cellist in 1806; the October entry notes 'Pd Larzras Fox Too Strings and Sing'. After 1809 neither Fox nor the cello are mentioned again. In 1851 however, the cello was repaired but there are no further references. Richard Cooke received his last salary in 1832. The very detailed churchwarden account entries are transcribed in the appendix. Accounts like these show the rise and decline of a church choir. Arthingworth were prepared to spend a great deal to maintain musical standards and even after Cooke's demise in 1832, the singers' feast was still a feature of the account books. The annual 10/6d was however reduced to ten shillings in 1836 and in 1848 they had to share a ten shilling feast with the ringers. The full amount was restored in 1853, two years after the repair of the cello and it may be that there was an upsurge in musical activity; this was short-lived, for in 1858 there was a joint feast again, but none after 1859. A choir continued, as there were choir books purchased in 1874 and 1877, and a harmonium was in place by 1876.

Braybrooke, noted for the vamping horn now at Harborough Museum (discussed earlier in this study) also used instruments. It seems unlikely that the vamping horn had concurrent use with these, and the same can be said of Harrington. Choral use of the vamping horn (if any) most likely took place earlier in the eighteenth-century or during the seventeenth-century. A bass line 'vamped' would obscure the bass instruments (bassoon and cello at Braybrooke, cello at Harrington).

The first reference to a bassoon at Braybrooke (NRO 47P/62) was in 1784 (reeds and box); further reeds were bought in 1798 and 1799. An oboe was purchased from Mr Tolton in 1805 and the bassoon was mended in 1808 by Thomas Binley. The choir trainer in that year was William Curtis, who with the bassoon and oboe received no further

mention after that year. A cello was in use the next year and continued until at least 1845. The accounts are found in the appendix.

The significance of *Clipston* lies more with the Baptist Chapel than with the Parish Church although both are interesting. Details of Thomas Jarman, the Baptist choirmaster and prolific composer, are given in Chapter Two.

The accounts for the parish church (NRO 70P/11) show a bassoon at the early date of 1773; this was possibly replaced in 1780, purchased from J. Humphreys for £1. 10. 0. A cello was added by 1789, but there are no instrumental references after 1814. Ethel Lucie Fisher[82] documents the music of the parish church, noting a large choir-band of 'first fiddle, bass viol, tenor fiddle, serpent, clarinet and oboe'. The tenor fiddle (viola) would be very interesting, given the rarity of this instrument in a choir-band, but there is no other confirmation of this. Fisher notes the replacement of this huge choir-band with a barrel-organ and then an organ, built by the church organist, Bonsor, in1825; a further band of string players (lasting until 1867) is mentioned, following the installation of the organ, implying concurrent instrumental and organ use. If this were the case, then it would be an extremely rare combination.

East Farndon had a cello in 1849 (NRO 122P/17). The parish of *Harrington* is well-known for its vamping horn, still kept in the church, which is the subject of further study in this work. In the same way as at Braybrooke, there is also reference in the churchwardens' accounts to instruments, and it seems likely that the vamping horn belonged to a different, earlier period than the choir-band. There are two relevant account books; the first (NRO 155P/6) is retained in the parish. The earliest entry is in 1815 when an oboe was purchased. By 1825 there was a string allowance for a cello, played first by Thomas Bamford and then by Thomas Nickels (various spellings). This occurs annually until 1839. The organ first appears in 1840; this was 'enlarged and altered' in 1859 and replaced in 1887 by the present organ, an eighteenth-century instrument which came from Barnetby in Lincolnshire.

The accounts for *Kelmarsh* in Northamptonshire Record Office are of too late a date for interest, yet the book for 1785 – 1876 is referred to in '*Kelmarsh, a parochial history*'.[83] This notes the use of a cello between 1823 and 1831, including a repair costing 16/6d.

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82 E. L. Fisher, *Clipston*, Kettering 1926, p12

83 J. Clifford Wall, *Kelmarsh, a parochial history*, Market Harborough 1927, p62

There are no references in the churchwardens' accounts for *Marston Trussell* (NRO 206/67,68) until 1847 when cello strings are mentioned. This late start for instrumental use is balanced by the last reference which is 1872. Violin strings were purchased in 1860, but it is possible that this means cello as in the case of the 1872 entry for 'Baſs violin Bow.' The harmonium was installed between this date and 1876, when it was repaired.

Oxendon, also known as Great Oxendon and Oxendon Magna (although there is no Oxendon Parva), has several useful references in the churchwardens' account books (NRO 251P/13,14) between 1807 and 1848. The former date shows the existence of a choir:

1807	Jan 9 Paid for Beef for the Singers feast	1	2	9

The next relevant entry is in 1824

July 2	Paide Mr Waddington for Books for the clerk & Singers	1	10	6

A cello was purchased in 1829 and repaired in 1842:

1829	Feb 6 Paid for the Base	0	10	0
1842	March 10 For Reparin the Base	0	7	6

In the same year three more books for the singers were purchased at a cost of 4/6d. The Gallery was removed in 1844 and then in 1848 the first payment to an organist is noted:

Sep 29	Edward Thompson for playen the Organ 26 weeks	1	6	0

A boxwood clarinet made by Bland and Weller is in the Harborough Museum. A note in the inventory shows that it was used in Oxendon church.

The churchwardens' accounts for *Rushton* prove disappointing in consideration of the expectations raised by MacDermott[84] and referred to by Boston and Langwill:[85]

> In a letter of reminiscences written in 1934, Mr O F Wainwright of Belton, Lincolnshire, stated that his earliest musical recollections were of the band of over a dozen instruments, with a choir of twenty or more at Rushton church, Northants – the best village choir in the neighbourhood. This was in 1851, and he remembered that on every Sunday evening, when there was no service (Evensong having been in the afternoon), 'one would hear in every cottage instrumental or vocal music blending in family harmony. There were old enthusiasts who tramped on foot twenty miles or so across country for a musical sing-song.'

The churchwardens' accounts, which cover 1851, (NRO 286P/27, 1799 – 1864) have only three singers' references, and these are earlier than Wainwright would have been able to remember:

1815	May 10 Ringers and Singers Christmas	0	7	6
1816	Aug 1 Ringers and Singers Christmas	0	7	6

After that the Ringers, but not the Singers, received payment. In 1837 the gallery is mentioned:

Dec 23 Matting for the Singing Gallery

The lack of instrumental references for a church with a documented choir-band of large proportions is not an isolated case. Collingtree, for example, with four instruments, has no references in the accounts and Courtenhall's 'trombones, bugles etc.', noted by MacDermott (*Old Church Gallery Minstrels*, p8) do not appear in the relevant churchwardens' accounts. Only two of Lamport's variety of known instruments feature in the accounts. The reasons may be that either the instruments did not need maintaining, in the case of flutes or brass, or that the churchwardens did not wish to set a precedent for numerous claims from a large choir-band.

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84 K. H. MacDermott, *Old Church Gallery Minstrels*, London 1948, p8
85 *op cit.*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh 1970, p122

There is no reason to doubt Wainwright's comments, although Rushton and Rushden are often confused; in the context of the rest of Rothwell hundred, musical activity on a large scale is a possibility.

17. Spelhoe

A deviation from the *Victoria County History* hundred definition is advisable for Spelhoe, as this hundred is considered to be separate from the Borough of Northampton in that work. The four mediaeval parishes of the county town adjoin the parishes of Spelhoe on the north and east and form one complete area of fifteen parishes. Two of Spelhoe's parishes – Kingsthorpe and Abington – were amalgamated with Northampton in 1914, and as such form a suburban area between the villages and the town. The Northamptonshire Record Office map includes these in Northampton.

There is one civil parish in the combined hundred, *Moulton Park.* All the ecclesiastical parishes have available churchwardens' accounts, and so a complete picture can be drawn. There are no references at *Great Billing, Northampton St Peter, Overstone* or *Pitsford.*

Northampton All Saints, in the centre of the town, is a mainly seventeenth-century church, built to replace a former building burnt in 1675. It is very much a city church; Pevsner[86] suggests that it was modelled on Wren's St Mary at Hill. There are galleries to the north, south and west, but these are unlikely to have a choir-band connection as the organ was in place by 1817. It appears from the accounts (NRO 223P/566) that there was a children's choir, possibility of charity children, taught to sing by Charles Wright in 1816 and 1817, at a salary of four guineas per year. It is also noted that the south gallery was built in 1815. Richard Ward received £2. 4. 0. in 1817 for blowing the organ. The seating in 1855 for the whole church was 1, 634. This included the north, south and west galleries together with the 'old gallery' and seats in the chancel.

F W Shaw in an article, *Some County Organs*[87] mentions a 'Father Smith' chamber organ placed in the gallery at All Saints in 1725. It was apparently used for a hundred

86 *op cit.*, p317

87 F. W. Shaw, Some County Organs, *Northampton County Magazine,* Vol. 3, 1930, p165

years then 'stored away at the end of the gallery'. In 1847 it was purchased by Sir John Sutton for his rooms at Cambridge. The church history[88] notes an organ which was removed later in the century. Whether this replaced the chamber organ, or was used concurrently is not known:

> The galleries at one time reached as far as the great Ionic columns which support the dome, but were taken back to their present width in the 1865 reconstruction; the fine organ which was formerly in the West Gallery was removed to the chancel in 1883.

There were several new churches built in Northampton during the nineteenth-century as the town expanded.

St Andrew (see Pevsner p319), built in 1841, had wooden galleries, but a musical connection cannot be established, while *St Matthew,* 1893, was built with a musicians' gallery. A church of this date would have no connection with choir-band psalmody, and Michael Nicholas[89] notes:

> The Minstrels' Gallery above the North choir...[was] intended to accommodate an orchestra of twenty.

This 'orchestra' would not replace the organ, which was in place by 1895. A harmonium had been used in the temporary building from 1889.

The church at *Weston Favell* had a west gallery (NRO 359P/31). This was repaired in 1841, and in 1844 there was a subscription for a new gallery; whether this was additional or a replacement is unclear, but a west gallery was removed in 1869. An organ chamber was built in 1881 and choir stalls followed in 1895.

The accounts for *Abington* note the purchase of reeds and a reed box in 1797. It is not known whether these are for a bassoon, oboe or clarinet, although the first is most likely, considering the date and frequency of cases of bassoon use. If the number of reeds were known then the price (12/-) may give a clue. An organist was paid £12. 0. 0. in 1866. The parish of *Little Billing* (NRO 32P/31) purchased a 'claronett' in 1833 and an 1842 entry notes 'paid for repairing the clarionet omitted last year 0. 3. 0.' By 1864 a harmonium was

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88 *All Saints Church, Northampton, Church History,* n.d. p11

89 M. Nicholas, *Music at St Matthew,* 1968, p2

in use, tuned by Mr Korkell in that year for 10/-. The instrument was repaired by Parkinson in 1866 for the same price. The 'baſson' at *Boughton* was repaired in 1813 at a cost of £1. 0. 0. The churchwardens' accounts (NRO 39P/1) have no further entries.

Kingsthorpe (NRO 189P/179, 135) is an example of the early use of a bassoon and a later cello; the instruments here overlap, however. The bassoon is first mentioned in 1793 (played by Charles Gardner) although unspecified reeds had been purchased in 1784 – 85. Strings are mentioned in 1797 and William Garner (probably of the same family, in spite of the corruption of spelling) is noted in relation to a cello in 1799. In 1801 the name Gardner (which could be either) is mentioned for reeds and strings. There are reed references up to 1809 and strings until 1816. An organist's salary is not mentioned until 1880. The full accounts are transcribed in the appendix.

Another early bassoon, purchased for four guineas in 1787, is a feature of *Moulton* (NRO 214P/5). It has no further mention however, and was probably replaced by the 1812 cello, entries for which continue up to 1829. A further musical reference is the payment of 14/- to the singers in 1851.

Two Northampton churches which have known instrumental use are St Giles and the round church of Holy Sepulchre. R M Serjeantson's definitive work on St Giles[90] notes the following, referred to by Boston and Langwill[91] and MacDermott:[92]

> The earliest reference to church music, which we have noted in the churchwardens' accounts at St Giles occurs in the year 1795, when the churchwardens paid £4. 13. 6. to Bland, of Holborn, for a new bassoon. A balance of 5/9d was reserved for 'new reeds for the bassoon if wanted.'

On October 3rd of the same year, the accounts show a payment of 10/6d to the bassoon player, and the same item occurs in 1796 and 1797. On March 1st 1799 the bassoon player was paid £1. 1. 0. In 1806, the singers 'by order of the vestry' received an 'honorarium of one guinea' and on October 23rd of that year the sum of two guineas was 'paid to Roberts, who plays the bassoon, for one year to Michaelmas last'. In 1812 the churchwardens expended 15/6d in repairing the bassoon, and four years later (1st

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90 R. M. Serjeantson, *A History of the Church of St Giles, Northampton*, Northampton 1911, p215
91 *op cit.*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh, p122
92 K. H. MacDermott, *Old Church Gallery Minstrels*, London 1948, pp16, 26

October), 3/6d was spent on 'a string for the bace'. The pattern of bassoon/cello use can be seen to continue even here in a town centre church.

Once again Serjeantson, along with J. Charles Cox, is the chronicler of Holy Sepulchre Church:[93]

> *Music, Vocal and Instrumental*
>
> The first reference we have met with as to music at St Sepulchre other than that of the bells, is under date June 27th 1818:–
>
> 'Received of Mr Armfield, the sum of 10/6d For Playing the Bass Viol, one quarters salary in the church of St Sepulchre's, with the singers. Pd Ezekiel Warner.'
>
> On April 18th 1822, it was resolved – 'that the churchwardens be authorised to spend a sum not exceeding five pounds for making an adequate provision for conducting singing during divine service.'
>
> At Easter 1824, it was agreed that the singers were to have £3. 0. 0. a year if they attended regularly. Two years later, it was resolved that £5. 0. 0. be given to the singers through the minister and 'that the churchwardens be required to provide a violincello for the use of the parish, under the direction of the clergyman.'
>
> On March 18th, 1838 an organ, given by Mrs Kerr, was first used at divine service, and in the same year the violoncello was ordered to be sold.
>
> The organ stood in the gallery in the Round, but at the beginning of the restoration it was removed into the north chancel chapel.
>
> The new organ which took its place, was opened on November 18th 1880, when Dr Iliffe, of Oxford, presided on the instrument. The Rev F J Ponsonby preached in the afternoon, and Rev Canon King (Bishop of London) in the evening. It was supplied by Messrs J Stringer and C° and cost £798. 11. 9.

The above gives a full resumé of instrumental use at Holy Sepulchre. The only additional material is a hymn book, a copy of which is in Kettering Reference Library (Box NOR78). This dates from 1872, and as such is probably not associated with instrumental use. Edited by John Biden, organist at Holy Sepulchre, it is entitled *Processional Hymns with Accompanying Tunes,* and was published in Northampton.

There are several different sources at Northamptonshire Record Office for the village of *Spratton,* but the information obtained is very sparse. Account book NRO 295P/280 shows that a 'Baſsonn' was purchased in 1790 for £3. 15. 0.; however this is not mentioned again, and so its span of use is unknown. NRO 295P/6 is a pews plan. These are usually very useful documents; however, there is no gallery or singing pew noted.

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93 R. M. Serjeantson, *A History of the Church of Holy Sepulchre, Northampton,* Northampton 1897, p207

A later account book 295P/220 shows that the parish clerk in 1864 was paid £2. 12. 0. as organist's salary. This is an unusual case of the parish clerk having a continuing musical role, even after the choir-band period.

18. Towcester

The hundred of Towcester is a remarkably small district with only six parishes. Each of these is ecclesiastical, but there are no churchwardens' accounts for *Abthorpe* and *Gayton*. Those for *Cold Higham* are for a relevant period (1813 – 1921) but contain no references. *Patishall's* accounts (NRO 245P/88) are very badly damaged with many dates missing. One volume spans the period 1790 – 1887 and notes that in 1830 £7. 1. 0. was given 'towards the gallery'. No instrumental use is noted but there was an active choir as an entry in 1846 shows:

for Binding Psalm & Music Books	0	2	6

A bassoon was purchased for *Tiffield* (NRO 327P/1) in 1836 at a cost of £2. 19. 9. It receives no further mention.

The paucity of choir-band references in these parishes is more than compensated for in *Towcester* itself. It might be assumed that a town like Towcester would maintain an early organ and non-instrumental traditions, and indeed both Mee[94] and Pevsner[95] note the eighteenth-century organ. This, however, came from Fonthill Abbey and was given to Towcester by Lord Pomfret, who had paid £2000 for it. Mee notes that this was in 1817, and his date is consolidated by a reference in the churchwardens' accounts (NRO 329P57) to a 'curtain before the organ' in May 1818. The organ is also shown on a pews plan of 1835 (NRO 329P/75(1.2)). 75(1) shows the ground floor, with box pews, central pulpit and empty chancel. 75(2) shows the galleries – north, south, and centre joining the two, and a west gallery which contains only the organ.

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94 A. Mee, *The King's England, Northamptonshire*, New ed., London 1975, p330
95 *op cit.*, p434

In spite of this organ there are references in the accounts between 1786 and 1814 to instruments which may have been used in the Sunday School only, or given the date of the organ, in church also. The references of 1786 – 89 mention the Sunday School only, but the prolific references after that date mention the instruments in relation to the singers. William Carter appears to have the responsibility for the singers from 1783, when they are first mentioned. There had been at least one gallery from 1769, but it is not known if this had musical relevance. Carter received 15/6d in 1783 'for the singers' and the same amount the next year for the 'Singers Supper'. This feast is mentioned again in 1785 and 86; in this last year the singers sang at the Bishop's visitation.

In 1786 and 1787 the first instrumental use is noted – oboe reeds for the Sunday School. Two references of 1788 and 1790 are for unspecified reeds, the latter noting Shackleton as the recipient of reed money. A bassoon is mentioned in 1791 relating to a repair bill; it is not clear whether the bassoon was new to the church, being repaired before being put to use, or whether it was an instrument that had been used earlier and had fallen into neglect. The reeds are again unspecified in 1793, and the name Jenkins appears in 1795. It is noted that the 'boist' required reeds in 1799 and so did 'Ginkens' (presumably Jenkins, who may have been the bassoonist, the reeds being more expensive). The bassoon was sent to London in 1800 for further repairs. At this point the oboe ceases to be mentioned, and the years 1801 – 12 give mention to a series of reeds for Bent, and singers' fees.

In 1812 new psalm books were bought, and strings in addition to reeds. The bassoon was again repaired in 1814 but receives no further mention, nor does the string instrument. It is not known what type of string instrument this was. Henry Harvin was paid for pitching the psalms and hymns in 1817; this may have been an interim arrangement before the organ arrived. There are other Northamptonshire cases of pitch-pipes succeeding earlier instruments. The organ cloth, mentioned above, dates from the next year and in 1819 it is noted that boys and girls were given singing lessons in preparation for the visitation. This may have been an early attempt to remove the traditional singers. The Tow' (Towcester) Singers received money for beer at this event. It

is possible that this was a different group, being designated thus. The full transcripts are given in the appendix.

19. Willybrook

There is little documented musical activity in Willybrook, a medium-sized hundred in the north-east of the county, bordering the Soke. Of the thirteen parishes none are non-ecclesiastical but four have no existing churchwardens' accounts – *Collyweston, Fotheringhay, Kings Cliffe* and *Lutton*. The accounts at *Southwick* are of too late a date to be of interest, and there are no references at *Apethorpe, Doddington, Glapthorn*, or *Tansor*.

The *Cotterstock* volume (NRO 83P/20) covers the wide range of 1793 – 1897. The deficit of the gallery subscription in 1823 was £5. 6. 6., but there is, unfortunately, no reference to instruments being used in the gallery. An organ is noted in 1860, the tuning of which cost one guinea. *Woodnewton's* accounts (NRO 373P/20) have two musical references – the first to three hymn books purchased in 1865 for 3/-, and the second to harmonium tuning by Mr Scarisbrook in 1871, costing one guinea. *Yarwell* accounts (NRO 378P/110) make no reference to a resident choir but on two occasions (1807, 1809) paid five shillings to the Wansford Singers. An item which may have relevance to a cello bag appears in 1826:

Oct 14	yd of Green bays and Making	0	4	0

The adjacent parish of *Nassington* has no references in the accounts (NRO 217P/13) apart from a harmonium in 1862:

Apr 18	Mr Corley for Harmonium	10	10	0

The subscription for the harmonium raised £18. 14. 9. It is not known to what use the surplus was put. Another source however gives a better picture of musical activity; this is C J Gordon's *The Parish and Manor of Nassington-cum-Yarwell.*[96]

Gordon notes that the parishes were united in 1650, yet it can be seen that, although they probably had the same incumbent, they remained administratively separate. Some of Gordon's comments refer to Yarwell. The Singers' Gallery was apparently repainted in 1765 (p45) and the carving of King David and the names inscribed were removed. A representation of David certainly points to a musical gallery; such carvings would be a useful indicator in a study of galleries, were they not, apparently, unfashionable in the late eighteenth-century.

Gordon mentions that in both parishes the congregation took no musical part in the service; this was the duty of a 'select company of singers and performers upon all kinds of instruments' (p45). On p56 he mentions the 'variety of instruments'.

By far the most interesting Willybrook parish, and the one which is already documented,[97] is *Easton-on-the-Hill.* Boston and Langwill[98] note the existence of a bassoon in the church, and this is in fact still there in a case near the south porch. Boston and Langwill note that the instrument has six keys and is by Gerock, but it is now impossible to check this as the case has not been opened for a substantial length of time. The measurements (in cms) are as follows:

Butt – 42, Long joint – 48. 5, Wing joint – 46, Bell – 31.

The crook is of brass but has been bent in order to fit into the case. Only four keys are visible.

H. B. Sharp takes relevant details from the churchwardens' accounts (NRO 113P/228), but there are many other references worthy of mention and a full transcript is given in the appendix.

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96 C. J. Gordon, *The Parish and Manor of Nassington-cum-Yarwell,* Oundle, 1890

97 H. B. Sharp, Church Band, Dumb Organist and Organ, *Galpin Society Journal XIV 1961,* pp37 – 40

98 *op cit.,* 2nd ed., Edinburgh, p122

The date of the organ is not given in the accounts, but this gap can be filled by John Tyler[99] who notes that the organ was placed in the north chantry in 1849 at a cost of £250. The accounts note the removal of the gallery in 1848 and so the organ seems to be part of the restoration. The first instrumental reference in the churchwardens' accounts is to the bassoon in 1818. Clarinets are first mentioned in 1824; another was purchased in 1845 for F Tyler who bought it for himself after the 1852 dissolution of the band. A cello is mentioned in 1831 and 1832, but on no other occasion. A continuing figure, throughout the period of the study, is payment for the singers' feasts.

Sharp notes that the changes in the music of the church coincide with the incumbency of the Rev W H Charlton. The dumb organist, a mechanical device fitted to the organ manuals, was only used for two years.

20. Wymersley

Wymersley, to the south of the county town and bordering Buckinghamshire, has a good proportion of choir-band and general musical documentation (fourteen out of a total of twenty parishes) from a variety of sources in addition to churchwardens' accounts. There are no civil parishes; no accounts for *Rothersthorpe* and *Blisworth* are extant, and those for *Preston Deanery* and *Quinton* are of too late a date for this study. There are no references in the accounts of *Brafield*.

Castle Ashby had a relatively early organ, a player of which was paid £2. 0. 0. in 1851. An 'allowance' of the same figure was given in 1852 (NRO 58P/84). At *Denton* (NRO 102P/20) three new books were purchased for the singers in 1830, at a cost of 14/6d. Four years later a tune book cost 8/6d and another new tune book (Rippon's) was bought for 8/- in 1856. There are no instrumental references however, and in 1867 Mr Beardsmore altered the gallery to accommodate the organ; his bill was £11. 13. 5. Denton, along with Yardley Hastings, possesses its own Psalm and Hymn book, by George Rooke.[100]

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99 J. Tyler, *The History of Easton Church and Village*, Bourne 1876, p6

100 G. Rooke, *Select Psalms and Hymns for the use of the Parish Churches of Yardley Hastings and Denton*, Northampton 1826

There is one reference in the accounts for *Horton* (NRO 173P/12):

1851	paid Thos Smith as per bill for Work at the Organ	0	16	6

It is likely that this was a barrel-organ as F W Shaw[101] notes one by Banks in this church. The instrument was unusual in that it also had a manual. Boston and Langwill[102] mention that the instrument was a 'small barrel and finger organ' but that there was 'now no trace of the barrel action'.

Piddington had a barrel-organ noted by both Boston and Langwill[103] and F W Shaw.[104]

An early chamber organ is in situ at *Whiston* but the exact date of its arrival at the church is unknown.

The churchwardens' accounts for *Cogenhoe* (NRO 71P/47, 48), which are retained in the parish, give sparse details. A 'new gallery' was built in 1813, the carpenter's bill being £36. 13. 6. This gallery was removed at the restoration of 1868. In 1871 Eliza Valentine was the organist and was paid 10/-.

Volume V of *Northamptonshire Notes and Queries*[105] contains an article by Albert Hartshorne giving a nostalgic view of the choir-band at Cogenhoe before 1868. The instrumentalists were:

James Sharman, violin (also parish clerk)
Thomas Sharman, violin
Edward Sharman, cello
Benjamin Atterbury, clarinet
John Atterbury, trombone
one ophicleideist
one cornet player

The singers were members of the Seyton, Farey, Rainbow and Facer families. The article was reprinted in *Cogenhoe's Heritage* – J M Ouless 1986. It is strange that such a large band

101 F. W. Shaw, Some County Organs, *Northampton County Magazine*, Vol. 1 (1930), p166
102 *op cit.*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh 1970, p89
103 *op cit.*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh 1970, p89
104 *op cit.*, p166
105 A. Hartshorne, Instrumental Choir, Cogenhoe, *Northamptonshire Notes and Queries*, Vol. V 1894, p49 Section 693

should have no entries in the accounts; this possibly points to a great dispersion of undocumented choir-bands throughout Northamptonshire, details for which are lost with the oral accounts.

Another case of a known band having no account entries is *Collingtree*. The only NRO reference is to a faculty to erect a gallery in 1808; however the *Collingtree Village Scrapbook*[106] includes a letter from Mrs Agnes Lamb to Mr Newman of Collingtree, dated February 1931. Mrs Lamb was eighty at the time of her writing; her father was a member of the Phipps brewery family and moved to Collingtree in 1860 after having a holiday home there since 1857. Mrs Lamb gives details of the church including a wooden west gallery where the singers, male and female, sat. Four men played a cornet, violin, cello (noted as bass viol) and flute. When these players died they were replaced by a harmonium played by the rector's sister.

MacDermott,[107] quoted by Boston and Langwill[108] mentions a band of bugles and trombones at *Courteenhall*:

> At Courteenhall...early in the nineteenth century the minister remonstrated with a member of the choir for using trombones, bugles, etc., for the church band, and asked them to make less noise. The offended singer replied, 'Well, Sir, I've heard many quires, and I've heard quires and organs in cathedrals, but I think they are no-ways to be compared to our band and quire!'

The band receives no confirmation in the accounts, but there are no brass instrument entries in Northamptonshire accounts, probably because of the ease of maintenance. An organ is mentioned in 1864 (NRO 86P/79). This received a six-monthly tuning by Barker at a cost of 10/-.

In the back of a baptismal register (NRO 141P/3) for *Grendon* is a note about the gallery. It is not clear whether this was just for congregational use or whether it contained an area set aside for the choir.

> Received this 23rd day of October 1834 of Revd Charles Herbert the sum of three pounds for a pew N° 5 in the Gallery for the Parish Church of Grendon in the County of Northampton.

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106 Copy in private ownership in Wadenhoe

107 K. H. MacDermott, *Old Church Gallery Minstrels*, London 1948, p8

108 *op cit.*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh 1970, p122

It is also noted that Charles Herbert then gave the pew to the vicar *in perpetuum*. An earlier vestry meeting had sanctioned the building of the gallery, and also mentions instrumental use, but again does not confirm a connection between the two.

> Resolved at a vestry meeting of this parish July 12, 1834.
> That Wm Procter and James Longlands be employed jointly to complete a new gallery as according to the plans & produced for add three score pews under the gallery & make four out of the three first pair pews on either side for the sum of 32£ 5s. That some music books be provided for the singers a new bow for the base viol & the large bell repaired.
>
> Charles Herbert
> Chairman

The cello bow appears in the accounts for 1834 – 5 at a cost of 7/9d, with 'Clarenet reeds', 1/7d. The cello was repaired by Mr Corsley in 1837 – 8 at a cost of one pound; it was further repaired in 1844 – 5 for 12/-. Cello strings were purchased form J Collins in 1849 – 50 (3/5d) and an entry in 1856 – 7 notes 'Strings for the Baſs 0. 1. 6.'

Hardingstone accounts of a relevant date do not appear to be at Northamptonshire Record Office, but fortunately extracts are given in *Northamptonshire Notes and Queries*.[109] A cello has entries from 1787 – 1810 and a violin from 1801 – 1811. The former entries give a very early use of the cello, a period dominated by the bassoon. These accounts are to be found in the appendix.

In the neighbouring parish of *Little Houghton* the churchwardens' accounts are unavailable, but a remarkable collection of part-books etc. is in private ownership in the village. I inspected these in April 1988 and made the following list:

a) *Twenty-five menuets* composed for the Dauphin of France. Flauto secondo. Copied by W Smythe, London

b) Manuscript copy of *Ancient and Modern* N⁰ 472, dated 4. 10. 23.

c) *Clarke's Catechism of the Rudiments of Music*, 217th edition, inscribed 'Annie Burman'.

d) Manuscript flute part-book 1753, inscribed 'Ch. Smyth'.

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109 *Vol. IV* 1886, p205. section 650

e) *Tunes arranged for Flute, Violin, or Kent Bugle,* published B Williams, 30 Cheapside, London.

f) Dance Tunes (manuscript) including *Lamport* inscribed 'Daniel Deacon'.

g) Four-part hymn tunes (manuscript). Tune in top part.

h) Chant book, inscribed 'C. Deacon' (bound in newspaper of 1849).

i) Manuscript copy of psalmody, two-and four-part; tunes in tenor.

j) Tenor part-book (manuscript) inscribed 'C. Deacon'.

k) Four-part tune book (manuscript) inscribed 'Daniel Deacon'.

l) Four-part tune book (manuscript).

m) Four-part tune book with composers' names.

n) *Rippon's Psalmody,* 1st edition.

o) Single sheet manuscript, 67th psalm to *Cranbrook* on reverse side, four-part tune with air in tenor.

p) Chant book (manuscript) inscribed 'Little Houghton Choir 1873' single and double chants.

q) *Twelve Psalm tunes and Two Sacred Odes* in four parts and figured for the organ or pianoforte, composed by Charles Gladstone (Portsea), published by Peck, London.

r) Manuscript copy of Jarman's *Nativity.*

s) Manuscript hymn tunes etc., inscribed 'F Ann Deacon, M Jane Deacon, Jan 3rd/71'.

t) *Psalms and Hymns of Isaac Watts,* 1807, inscribed 'Martha Morris Her Book'.

A square concertina, formerly used in the church, and described in Appendix A, forms part of the collection. Members of the present owner's family were very much involved in church music, and one of them, Daniel Deacon, has a harmonium carved on his gravestone. A violin and flute from the choir-band were retained in the family for many years, but are now missing.

There are two sources giving evidence of choir-band use at *Milton Malsor. The Story of Milton Malzar*[110] relies for its information on a book of accounts which is now unavailable. The gallery was built in 1817 and used by the choir-band; below this sat the children:

> A few words may be said here about the instrumental music in our church. Our first record is in the churchwardens' accounts:
>
> '1813 Sep 16 Pd for green bag for the bas viol 7/-'
>
> Then we read in the vestry Minutes for January 30th 1828:
>
> 'Mrs Frone to be paid for a violincello (purchased by her late uncle) by the churchwardens.'
>
> There were violins also
>
> '1823 Sep 6 Pd Mr Crosby for set of best strings for a violin, 4/6.'

There follow details of the organs, the first in 1852 (possibly a harmonium) then a larger organ from London in 1866 costing £54. 14. 0.

Evans then quotes William Oxley (d. 1923 aged eighty-five) who gave the names of the choir-band:

> His [Oxley's] uncle, William Oxley played the bugle.
> His father, Ben Oxley, played the flute or Flageolette.
> His uncle, Joseph Twiselton played the Big Drum.
> Henry Palmer played the Clarionet.
> John Pell played the serpent.
> A man from Wootton played the Trombone.
> Thomas Caswell played the Bass Viol.
> William Dunkley played the small organ.
> In addition there were violins, as we know from the entries relating to the purchase of strings but Mr Oxley did not remember any more names.

It is not clear if this 'small organ' was the 1852 instrument, or if it were used concurrently with the band, which seems to be implied in the listing. Evans notes an entry from the churchwardens' accounts for 1825:

July 2	Six extracts of the Psalms for the Church	10/-

110 B. E. Evans, *The Story of Milton Malzar*, London n.d. (c. 1925), pp104 – 105

He also mentions the custom of facing west for the music.

The volume of accounts from 1843 (NRO 212P/157) gives further details of cello use:

		£	s	d
1843	A base-viol repaired	0	11	0
	Psalm Books	0	7	6
1847	June 28 for Strings to the base	0	3	6

Organists from 1852 were Richard Robinson, William Gleed (1853) and William Dunkley (1854).

It is interesting to consider why the trombonist travelled from *Wootton* to play in the Milton band, as there was a good deal of musical activity at his own church. It is possible that the rather large band at Milton was more suitable for his instrument. The Wootton accounts (NRO 374P/42) are very comprehensive covering bassoon entries from 1783 – 1800, when a cello bag appears. Cello entries continue until 1809 when the instrument was overhauled – new pegs, bow rehair and a new bag. An instruction book for the cello was purchased in 1806, implying that there was a new player at this date. In the same year the bassoon reappeared (reeds and case); the case may have been either for the instrument or the reeds. J Corby repaired the 'Baſszone' in the same year; perhaps the intention was to sell it. The rehairer of the cello in 1803 was Mr Crosby, whose name also appears in that form in the Milton Malsor accounts. The frequency of appearances of different varieties of this name is noted in Appendix B. Cartwright trained the singers in 1806 but does not reappear; it seems likely that he was an itinerant singing master, who merely stayed at Wootton from April – December and sold the church copies of the New Version. The full accounts are given in the appendix.

The final parish, *Yardley Hastings,* has a single account entry (NRO 377P/69) for a bassoon, purchased in 1793 at a cost of 10/6d. In 1869 'Henery' Johnson was organist and received £2. 15. 0. The 1826 psalm and hymn book is mentioned above, under Denton.

Chapter 6 – Conclusions

a) A summary of the choir-band and local composition in the eastern counties

It can be seen that Northamptonshire and the other eastern counties were highly significant in the religious movements of the eighteenth-century and earlier. While this fervour is not exactly reproduced in the church music of the time, the region, and Northamptonshire in particular, has a good range of musical activity which is representative of the country as a whole and reflects, favourably, the musical ability of East Midlanders and Anglians. The bands were placed in galleries, or on Rood Screens, platforms, raised pews or 'singing pews', but were not allowed to obstruct the congregation's view of the minister. It has been suggested above that the gallery 'stage' had dramatic appeal, and the elevated position did much for the self-esteem and consequent application of the players, giving impetus to the movement as a whole. It is noted above that the majority of Leicestershire churches had galleries in 1840, although this may refer to any portion of raised seating. Some galleries were financed in the same way as some choir-band instruments, by the rising of a subscription.

The term choir-band seems to be the best available, for the reasons given above; it shows the group as a complete entity with singers and instrumentalists all fulfilling a united function. The term 'choir' or 'quire' normally would appear to refer to the reformed group dating from the 1840s. The role of music within the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century service has been investigated. There were several opportunities for singing, but probably two metrical psalms or one psalm and an anthem would be a generous suggestion.

Composition

The composers for the choir-band are considered here first; the problems of investigating orally-received music can be seen in the section about the *Gretton Carol*. The four-part version given is from a twentieth-century hand-written copy, presented to me by George Spence, a former resident of Gretton village, but the original may have been for

two or three parts and for men's voices. Benjamin West may, perhaps, deserve more credit that is accorded by Temperley,[1] if only because his music was exported to New England. Much can be learnt from the prefaces and title pages of the psalmodies – performance practice, instrumentation (if any), and the function of the collection. West's work (*Sacra Concerto* of 1769) was for the benefit of his scholars, whereas Blundell's *Church Music* was for 'country choirs'. It is possible to go to extremes in praise or condemnation of local composers; Daniel's and Temperley's views of West (detailed above) are incompatible. Temperley's is probably more of a balanced approach, whereas Daniel's seems committed to proving West's competence.

The Brixworth composer John Munden published two substantial collections of church music, but appears to have made little impact and details of his life are unknown, even though the subscription list shows that his music was circulated to widespread areas.

Churches established their own traditions in the presentation of psalmody. An example is the *Silverstone Symphony,* used in conjunction with any hymn- or psalm-tune performed at Silverstone. There seems to be no other example of a localised interlude but it is unlikely that this is an isolated case.

Early dissenting practice in Northamptonshire is exemplified by the work of Caleb Ashworth (1722 –77) which is of an archaic nature, related, stylistically, to the old psalm-tunes. Ashworth, however, criticised what Temperley had described as 'the old way of singing', making suggestions for the improvement of ensemble and timbre. In this way he can be compared to William Jones of Nayland (b. Lowick, Northamptonshire 1726); a minister of the established church, he wished to improve congregational singing. 'The old way of singing' and attempts to improve it were not restricted to either the established or dissenting church. Ashworth's collection, although of local origin, includes tunes from various parts of the country.

The work of Thomas Haweis, the Evangelical incumbent of Aldwinckle, can be described as 'art-psalmody'. This is because Haweis was from an untypical background, compared to village musicians. He was educated at Oxford, had a wide experience of

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[1] op cit., p193

structure. He recognised the value of the choir-band tradition and supported and improved the psalmody at Aldwincle. This, in turn, had an influence on the music of Holy Trinity, Cambridge, as the incumbent there admired Haweis' work at Aldwincle. Haweis' part-distribution is advanced for the time, in that the tune is given to the trebles. He also uses an independent instrumental bass.

W. Blundell's work, noted above, can be likened to that of Thomas Jarman, the most notable and prolific Northamptonshire composer in this field. Their music is more interesting, rhythmically, than the earlier composers, has well-developed form, often being structured along the lines of a Restoration verse-anthem, and owes something to the choral music of Handel and Haydn. Both Blundell and Jarman are of the dissenting tradition, using texts by Watts and Rippon, and giving abstract nouns as titles to their tunes.

A comprehensive life of Jarman is given in Chapter 2, showing, perhaps, the pinnacle of celebration attainable for the rural church musician. In spite of this celebrity, Jarman always retained amateur status and remained a tailor all his life. The life-style and achievements of even the most successful choir-band performers and composers were very different to those of the established 'art-musicians'. Jarman, however, had a reputation which afforded him contact with professional musicians, exemplified by the performers at the 1837 Naseby festival under Jarman's direction. He is also known to have been in contact with two other exponents of his own type of church music – Charles Rider of Lancashire, and Thomas Clark of Canterbury. Jarman can be seen, then, to have been less insular than his predecessors. Several composers of lesser stature are also detailed above, showing the continuing impetus which local composition achieved.

Instrumentation

The use of instruments in churches appears to be of a considerably later date than thought by MacDermott and the earlier researchers. Although there are examples of post-Restoration Cathedral use, the early eighteenth-century was a time of unaccompanied singing in parish churches. It now appears that the first instance of an instrument in church, employed in the psalmody tradition, was in 1742. This, however, was an isolated

case and a more general appearance of instruments does not occur until the late 1770s; the earliest use in Northamptonshire is noted above as 1773. The latest was 1872, but this again is a very isolated case. I have shown that there were several cases of an extremely prolonged instrumental period in churches, but from the 1840s onwards, harmoniums and barrel-organs appeared, which were then superseded by pipe organs. A period of 1780 – 1840 seems to be the extent of the greatest activity when a choir-band could be considered to be the normal medium for church music.

The pitch-pipe references in churchwardens' accounts belie the supposition that this device predated the choir-band. This was certainly the case at Hardwick in 1795, where the use of a pitch-pipe coincided with payments to a singing master. At Barnwell, however, the 1808 pitch-pipe replaced an oboe of 1779 and at Harlestone a pitch-pipe followed a bassoon and preceded a cello. This shows that the pitch-pipe was not necessarily an antecedent of instruments, but a convenient means of pitching where instruments were unavailable, in the case of the demise of players, for example. The pitch-pipe at Islip (1826) is the only 'instrumental' reference for that village. It may also be valid to hypothesise that the pitch-pipe was used in the context of a reformed choir. It is quite feasible to consider the pitch-pipe's use in this later context where the new *a cappella* singing would need a given pitch.

The bassoon dominated the early choir-bands; it was, in fact, a very popular instrument at the time, useful in both a military band and orchestral context, in addition to the very widespread church use. It is my opinion that the type of bassoon prevalent in the late eighteenth-century, with very few keys, was considerably easier to play to a competent level compared with the late twentieth-century instrument. The serpent was unnecessarily complicated by extra keywork in the early years of the nineteenth-century, with the result that it rapidly became obsolete. The same may have happened, to a certain extent, to the bassoon. At the present time it is very hard to find good bassoonists for amateur orchestras; the reasons are varied, but all relate to the increased mechanism and consequent difficulty and prohibitive cost of the instrument. Many schools are not able to provide instruments for students and so there are fewer players with the effect of a reduced teacher workforce. The small number of bassoon teachers must supplement their

income with less specialised work. Had the cheap fruitwood bassoon with limited keywork been retained for amateur use, then the bassoon population could now be of similar proportions to that of the choir-band period.

The church use of the bassoon is normally restricted to doubling the bass line, with occasional more florid decoration. Munden, however, uses the instrument canonically with a cello in the prelude to his 3rd psalm, and Jarman gives the bassoon a high obbligato passage in his *Devotion*. It can be seen then, from this example, that some village bassoonists were rather more than merely competent. The bassoon may also have been used to double the air, or to play an inner part.

The only case of a Northamptonshire oboe being referred to as a 'voxhumane' was at Stoke Bruerne. An early all string band, including a very rare use of the viola, was at Geddington in the late eighteenth-century; a further example – that at Clipston – cannot be validated as it only occurs in a secondary source.

The introduction of the cello into Northamptonshire's choir-bands seems to be of a later date. The eighteenth-century references to bassoons in the county amount to twenty-five compared to eight for the cello. In the nineteenth-century the trend is reversed with twenty bassoon references to forty-nine for the cello. It can be shown, then, that double-reed dominated bands were popular in the last years of the eighteenth-century and the first decade of the nineteenth, whereas string-dominated bands overlap, but were most popular in the early part of the last century. Oboes and bassoons would give a raw, archaic sound to the choir-bands, and it is possible that the string bands were considered to be more refined and capable of producing a more pleasing timbre. The Tractarians preferred stringed instruments where they were found necessary, and recommended that bassoons be dispensed with.

The use of the clarinet is unclear; it may have been used for doubling the air at the octave or for one of the upper parts. It was comparatively widespread, and twenty-two extant instruments in the Eastern Counties are considered above. They are in B flat, C and E flat, and include both boxwood and darkwood types, with a large variety of keywork. It has been shown above that the clarinet was not considered a transposing instrument by the choir-band players, who merely learnt the instrument at concert pitch.

There was a considerable amount of choir-band activity in Derbyshire. Aston-on-Trent had an early double-reed band of oboe and bassoon, while the larger band at Baslow had double-reeds, clarinets, a flute and a drum. There are very few churches, documented as having percussion instruments and it must be assumed that the psalm-tunes, or at least the interludes, at Baslow had some level of rhythmic interest. The bassoon at Beeley was used by three generations of one family – a remarkable feat and possibly unique. A festival, such as those noted by Temperley, was given at Chapel-en-le-Frith in celebration of the building of an eastern gallery and organ in 1778. The position of the gallery is unusual and may reflect a knowledge of those collegiate churches where the organ is found on the rood-screen; 1778 is rather early for a revival of mediaeval interest, however. A festival of this type is unknown in the Eastern Counties, and the concurrent use of instruments and organ is unusual.

A very early double-reed band occurred at Hope in 1759; to which a cello was added two years later. There was another example of concurrent organ and instrumental use at nearby Matlock; this involved the cellist Phoebe Brown, the only documented female instrumentalist. Derbyshire is notable by the early use of instruments; in addition to the Youlgrave cello of 1742 was the 1744 oboe at Shirland. It is possible that instrumental use spread south from the industrialised North-West, which would account for the references in Derbyshire being of an earlier date than the other Eastern Counties.

Nottinghamshire, however, has considerably fewer references, and the choir-band may have spread to Leicestershire and thence into East Anglia, leaving Nottinghamshire largely unaffected. The suggestions take account of available documentation. The actual reasons for the growth of the choir-band depend on a variety of factors, not least the mobility of priests and a consequent awareness of practice in other areas, also brought about by improved transportation. Hucknall was reputed to have had instrumental use from c.1740. The earliest churchwardens' account references appeared in 1771, however. The music at Langar had a literary effect in that the village was the basis for Samuel Butler's writing. George Eliot's novels also refer to choir-bands, and are probably representative of other Midland villages.

In Leicestershire, an example of an instrument which was transferred to another church, was the serpent, first at Newtown Linford and later at Desford. A unique example of the church use of a ballad horn occurred at Lyddington in Rutland. Clarinets in three different keys are extant at Ridlington, also in Rutland. An unusual combination of serpent and ophicleide was used at Seagrave, towards the middle of the nineteenth-century, and a very rare case of the use of a flageolet occurred at Waltham.

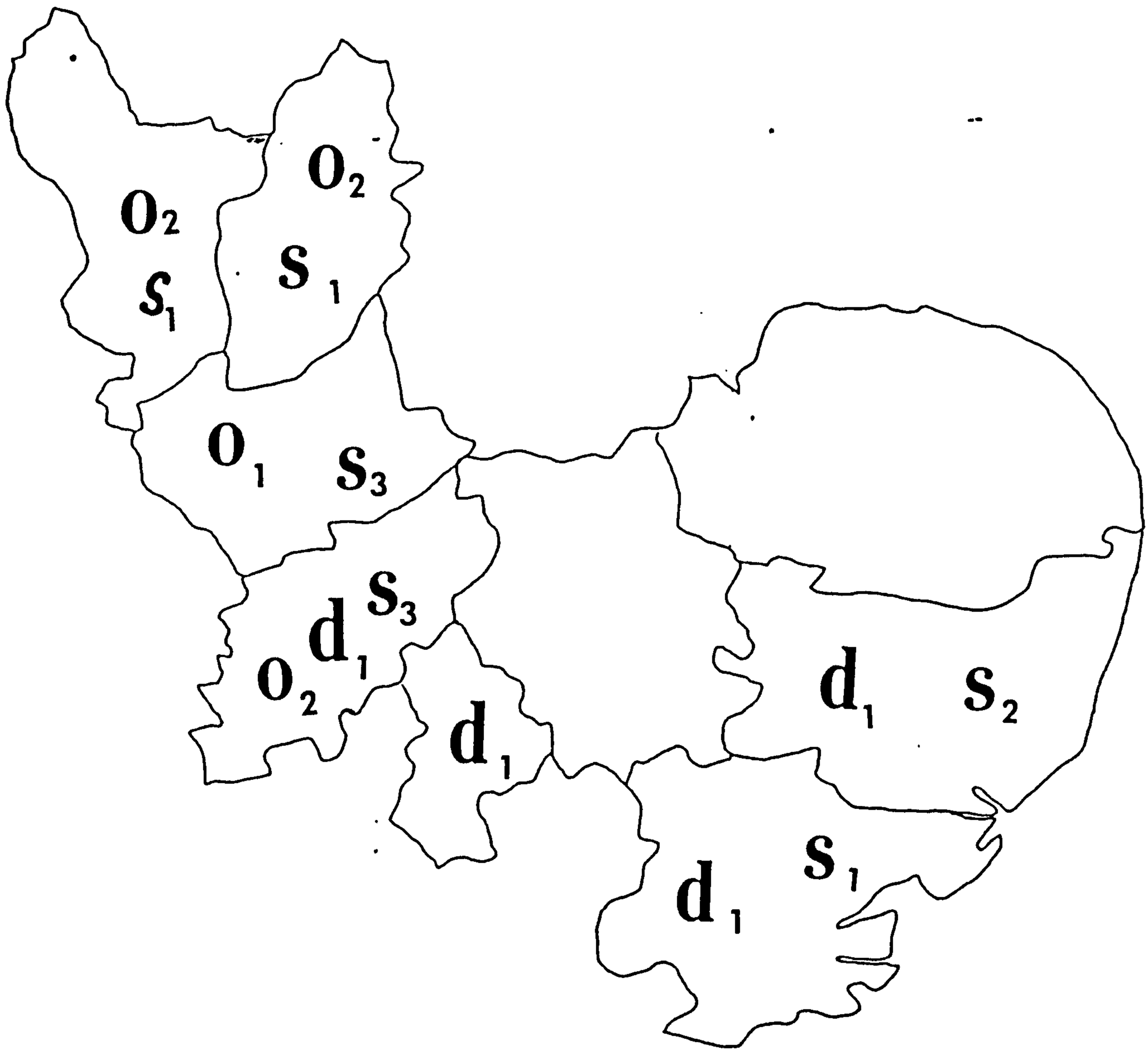
Norfolk is disappointing as a source of instrumental references, but contains one of those metal cellos associated with the choir-band. There are no examples of brass instrumental references in Norfolk; a wider instrumentation is represented in Suffolk, including a double bass, a serpent and a keyed bugle, in addition to the more common instruments.

Secondary source material, giving details of instruments, is not often reflected in the churchwardens' accounts; MacDermott refers to a band of more than a dozen at Rushton, but the accounts give no intimation of this. The same is true of Collingtree, Cogenhoe and Milton Malsor, where local histories document large bands, but few entries appear in the account books. It is possible that large bands were considered to be unsupportable from the churchwardens' standpoint, who may have been apprehensive about setting precedents in maintenance. There are no account entries for brass instruments in Northamptonshire; this may be because of the limited maintenance necessary for these instruments, or, as seems very likely, brass only featured in these larger groups which were not, apparently, financed to the same extent. This is corroborated by the fact that the trombonist from Wootton, where there was a small band of bassoon and cello, travelled to Milton Malsor to play in the considerable band there. The timbre of his instrument may not have been welcome in the Wootton band. The ophicleide does not feature in account books, but two are referred to in these secondary sources.

Successors to the choir-band

The effect that the Oxford movement had on church music has been noted; the growth of unaccompanied, reformed choirs, the introduction of organs and the resiting

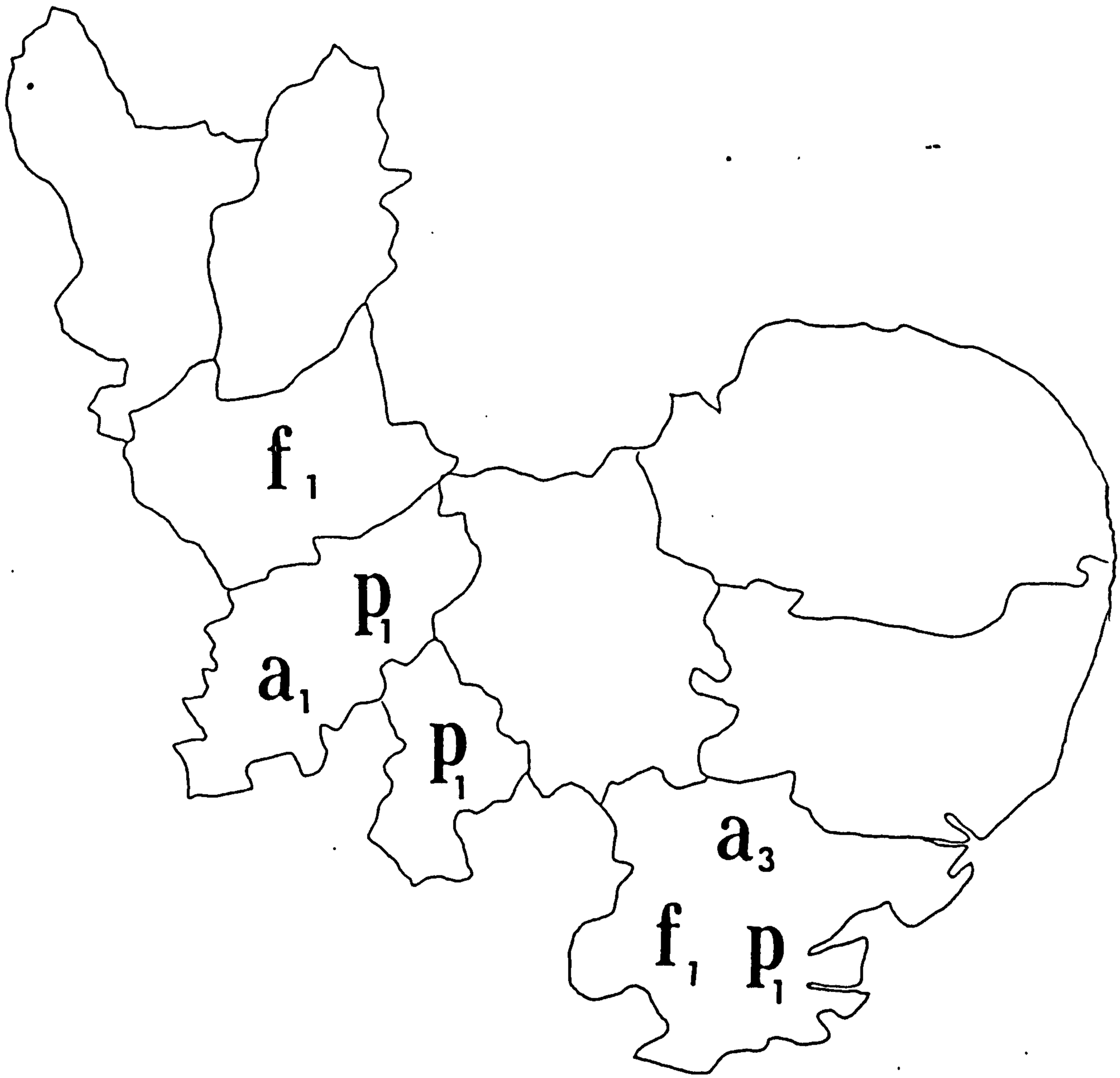
Map C



d Double Bass **O** Ophicleide **S** Serpent

Map C Double Basses, Ophicleides and Serpents in the Eastern Counties, showing the number of documented occurrences.

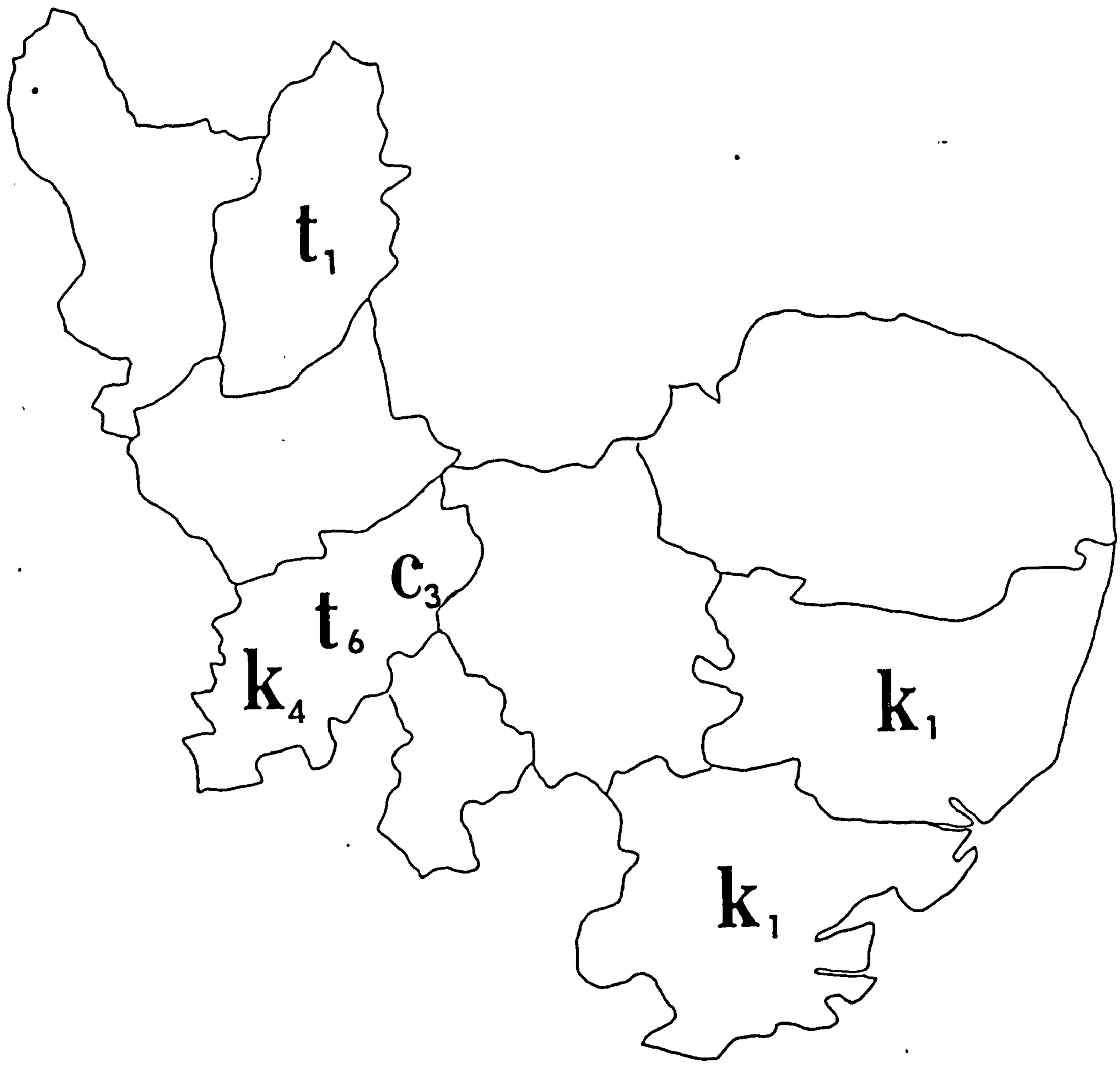
Map D



a Accordion/Concertina p Piccolo f Flageolet

Map D Accordions, Concertinas, Picolos and Flageolets in the Eastern Counties, showing the number of documented occurrences.

Map E



k Keyed Bugle c Cornet t Trombone

Map E Keyed Bugles, Cornets and Trombones in the Eastern Counties, showing the number of documented occurrences.

Essex is well-documented and had a large proportion of clarinets, but fewer double-reed instruments – probably pointing to the later development of choir-band activity in that county. The second drive, then, that from the south, was probably of a later date than the northern one. Cambridgeshire had only one extant instrument, a flute, but an unusual bassoon was used at Wisbech. Bedfordshire had examples of the more common instruments, but also had references to a double bass and a piccolo. The Westoning choir-band was in existence until the middle of the present century.

Conclusions about the main area of study for this thesis – Northamptonshire – are drawn throughout Chapter Five but the more significant elements are highlighted below.

The map of the county, which here includes the Soke of Peterborough, shows the areas of known instrumental activity. There are several areas of concentration, showing the influence of parishes where a successful choir-band flourished. The desire to emulate can be seen in the upland area in Rothwell Hundred, the parishes abutting the county town and two smaller pockets in the west of the county. Another pocket, of sprawling shape, stretches from Watling Street to the Oxfordshire border. Two points are significant in considering this western distribution – communication and the proximity to Oxfordshire. Those parishes adjacent to Watling Street, the main north-south artery for western Northamptonshire, would have had comparatively rapid contact with each other and the more distant districts. They would also have been able to receive information about new developments in other areas of the country. It can be seen that less accessible areas in the north-east of the county had fewer instances of instrumental use. The paucity of musical references in the Soke of Peterborough may be the result of a high standard of music at the Cathedral, which local villagers did not feel they could successfully emulate. Instrumental performance in the village tradition was much easier to achieve than the professionalism of a Cathedral, and this many account for the comparative popularity of the rural genre in most of the county, unfamiliar with the artistic traditions of Cathedral and Collegiate foundations. A similar tradition was found at Finedon, however, and this had no stifling effect on the country psalmody of the neighbouring villages. James Kent, formerly of the Chapel Royal, was organist at Finedon between 1717 and 1731, an earlier period, however, well before the choir-band development. Although Finedon did not

involve itself, apparently, in country psalmody with instruments, the surrounding parishes had no qualms. There is a very early musical reference in the Soke – that in 1746 at Peakirk for playing music. An instrument of some sort is obviously referred to, but this could be an early organ. Other references in the Soke are to the early double-reed band at Stamford Baron and the subscription list for instruments at Castor; a contributor to this was the Bishop of Peterborough, who, it could be imagined, saw the value of establishing a choir-band tradition. The barrenness of references in the Soke may relate to a similar lack of interest in adjacent Cambridgeshire.

Oxfordshire forms a link between Northamptonshire and the West Country, and there may have been a third drive involving the choir-band tradition from that part of the country. Oxfordshire has also always had a significant interest in folk traditions – secular singing and Morris dancing – and, as it is known that many church musicians also formed the nucleus of village festivities, the folk traditions may have the reciprocal effect of stimulating instrumental playing in churches.

The choir-band may have been later taking a foothold in the Uplands; references in some cases tended to continue later as well, so that the period of activity was of similar proportions, although Marston Trussell, the last choir-band in Northamptonshire, had a very late start and a relatively short life-span of thirty-five years. The first instrumental reference at Oxendon was in 1829; this was rapidly replaced by an organ only nineteen years later. There are a number of single parishes which employed instruments, but which did not influence their neighbouring parishes.

Financing the choir-band

Many churches paid the 'singing master', who may have been itinerant, and also maintained the instruments; few, however, financed the singers themselves, apart from providing a Christmas feast, often in conjunction with the ringers. Northamptonshire singers' fees, in addition to feasts, include a 'Christmas Box', 'Gratuity' and small donations. One was given subscriptions to the local clothing club. Payments to choir-bands in Northamptonshire were at their peak between 1810 and 1820.

Many instruments were repaired locally, but the cello at Helidon was sent for major overhaul at London; this can be seen by the itemised bill in Northamptonshire Record Office. Instruments were not always purchased outright as a result of subscription or church funding, but in some cases were paid for in instalments; the bassoon at Holcot was bought in this way. Many churches made occasional payments to the players, but there are examples of very heavy claims made. At Easton Maudit, the lengthy accounts of relevance were regularly interspersed with claims for strings and reeds, and it may be that the players used these claims as a means of achieving a salary. A subscription list for the purchase of a cello at Aston-le-Walls is to be found at Northamptonshire Record Office, dated 1818. This was coupled with an 'Article for Management of the Bass', and the problems likely to be encountered, such as damage and attendance, are addressed. The payment to the choir at Moreton Pinkney and Canons Ashby was made by the squire, Sir Henry Dryden, who took a great interest in the music at the two churches. The payment was in the form of subscriptions to a clothing club, but the choir members had to conform to rules of Dryden's making, where fines could be imposed. It appears that the old metrical psalmody flourished at Moreton at the time (1852), but reformed music was in place at Ashby, Dryden's estate church. Problems relating to the remuneration of players can be seen in the details regarding Samuel Mobbs, the cellist at Pytchley. Mobbs demanded an increase in his salary, stating that he would refuse to play if he did not receive one; he was replaced by another player at the original rate. It was unusual to pay an instrumentalist for his services; payments would normally be a maintenance allowance. Another church which did make payments was Arthingworth, where the cellist was paid an amount half that of the choir-trainer. A reference to green baize material could often point to the making of a bag for a cello.

In the later period the church, as noted above, incurred very heavy expenses in the payment of organists; at Stanwick, however, the organist had to collect his own salary by going around the village with a subscription book. The organ at Ringstead was loaned by, and probably maintained by, the vicar. The use of an organ in a church did not necessarily mean that the members gave it their approbation and were happy to maintain it. The problems encountered in the Kettering Vestry meetings in 1817, relating to the

repair of the organ, show a reluctance to accept responsibility. Harrington bought their organ from the church at Barnetby in Lincolnshire; it appears that there was considerable movement in second-hand organs, presumably because of the prohibitive cost of new instruments. In one church at least, the use of an organ followed a band of the early double-reed type, before it had evolved into a string-dominated band; this was at Towcester in 1817. In the same year Henry Harvin was paid for pitching the psalms, possibly as an interim measure before the organ was in use. The choir at Barkby in Leicestershire received an unusual form of remuneration in the presentation of a top hat and morning coat.

Town and village

The commonly-used term 'country psalmody' gives the impression that town and village had totally distinct musical traditions. This may have been true in the cases of major cities, but the Northamptonshire situation was very much more confused. Some village churches were unlikely settings for country psalmody; the church at Stanford retained its mediaeval furnishings and had a very early organ. It is impossible to generalise, particularly in relation to the town churches, and Northampton had several churches using the traditions of metrical psalmody supported by instruments, and others, at the same time using organ-based music. The small market town of Oundle, with a prominent public school had, predictably, an early organ, but the parish of Stamford Baron, part of the similar, but larger, town of Stamford (also with a public school) used instruments. Other towns, such as Towcester, Brackley and Rushden, also used instruments and were of a more rural tradition.

Choir-bands with greater documented social detail

Some accounts give full details, including names of certain of the choir members. The large band at Irthlingborough received a great deal of attention; it was noted that the whole choir went to an early example of the 'Diocesan Choral Festival' at Peterborough Cathedral in 1859 and subsequent years. This was referred to as a 'grand singing party'. These and other accounts were extremely long; those from Wappenham gave a very

detailed account of the development of the church music between 1783 and 1836. The early double-reed period could be seen, followed by the introduction of a cello in 1828. The bassoonist from 1802 was Luke Buckingham, who had been oboist at Silverstone in 1780. In addition to his bassoon-playing, he was also parish clerk at Wappenham, and did a great deal of manual work around the church. Some elements of a church musician's life could be seen from the Wappenham accounts. Buckingham may have been 'poached' from neighbouring Silverstone on the demise of the Wappenham bassoonist. He quickly involved himself in all aspects of the church and two years later was a contributor to the gallery fund, a project in which he may have been an instigator. His death, in about 1837, coincides with the cessation of musical entries.

Source material in addition to churchwardens' accounts was available when researching Lamport. The cellist in the choir-band, George Clarke, was also an artist who drew the choir on several occasions. Other material included the collection of psalmodies and related music in the collections at Northamptonshire Record Office. Lamport may also have been significant in the origins of the church use of the vamping horn. This early megaphone appeared to have been in use in churches at an earlier period than the choir-bands. It could not be properly referred to as a musical instrument, although some sources noted that singers used it to amplify their voices. The device was invented by Morland in 1671, designated 'tuba stentorophonica', and was brought to Walgrave by Sir William Langham. A further example was purchased by Sir Justinian Isham of Lamport. Presumably as a result of this, the nearby villages of Braybrooke and Harrington both used similar vamping horns, and the surviving examples appeared, geographically, to radiate from Northamptonshire – three to the north and three to the south. There were other examples in the Lake District however, and this would make the influence of Northamptonshire rather doubtful, given the large distance. It is not impossible that Isham or Langham had aristocratic contacts in the far North-West, and the use of these devices may have originated from the same source. It is unlikely that vamping horns could be considered part of the choir-band tradition.

The trades in which some instrumentalists were normally engaged can occasionally be seen from the account books. On example is the bassoonist at Wicken, who was also the window-cleaner and plasterer.

b) General Summary

At the beginning of this thesis reference was made to research from 1890 onwards. Many of these sources invite comment or issue challenges to later researchers. It is worthwhile at this point to reconsider some of these works.

MacArthur[2] suggested research into the parish records of another county to see if his discoveries about the music in Goathurst, Somerset are typical. The present study of Northamptonshire has revealed a very great deal of instrumental activity together with a considerable amount of local music. MacArthur's evolutionary plan seems correct in essence, but he was unaware of the early predominance of double reed instruments.

MacDermott raised many questions; in *Sussex Church Music of the Past*[3] he failed to find an organ in Sussex church pre-dating the mid-nineteenth-century. My research shows twenty-nine early organs in Northamptonshire between 1717 and 1850. MacDermott only knew of five vamping-horns in 1922; by the time of Alan Cox's article[3] eight were known (1968).

Although there were no ophicleides in Sussex, they were used in Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, and Northamptonshire.

In his 1948 book[4] MacDermott made several generalisations based on his own research, which must be commented upon in the light of the present study. This is not an attempt to discredit the work of MacDermott, but is a continuing evaluation of available documentation. MacDermott's comments are considered here:

i) Nearly all the bands had one or more violins.[5]

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2 D. MacArthur, Old Village Music, *Musical Times*, April 1 1923, pp264 – 6
3 Vamping Horns, *Journal Northampton Museums and Art Gallery*, 1968, pp19 – 23
4 K. H. MacDermott, *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels*, London 1948
5 *op cit.*, p 20

Proof of the use of violins in the eastern counties is comparatively rare, and the instrument appears to be a later addition. Examples in Northamptonshire number twenty-six compared to MacDermott's sixty-eight in Sussex.

ii) The flute nearly always figured.[6]

There are eleven examples of the flute noted for Northamptonshire (compared with a Sussex total of sixty-two). This may be because of the lack of maintenance needed, inhibiting entries in the churchwardens' account books.

it was often used to sound the note.

I am unaware of any use of the flute as a pitch pipe.

iii) A great favourite of the old church musicians was the clarinet.[7]

This statement appears to be true: there are twenty-three clarinets extant in the eastern counties and twenty documented instances in Northamptonshire. This latter figure, however, does not compare favourably with the fifty-six examples in Sussex; there were probably many more which did not achieve documentation.

iv) The oboe was not very commonly played in church bands.[8]

Northamptonshire is considerably better represented for oboes (fourteen examples) compared to Sussex's three. The method of research probably causes this disparity; it appears that the oboe was popular earlier, and as Sussex has poor churchwardens' accounts, and MacDermott was relying on oral information, the subjects of his research were of too late a date to recall this late eighteenth-century trend.

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6 *op cit.*, p22
7 *op cit.*, p23
8 *op cit.*, p24

v) The frequent references to this instrument [the bassoon] in old churchwardens' account books show its popularity.[9]

The bassoon was indeed very popular, particularly in the earlier period. The comparison of county results probably bears more relationship to the number of account books (Sussex – twenty-nine bassoons, Northamptonshire – forty-seven).

vi) Nearly every band had that important member of the viol tribe, the violoncello.[10]

The 'viol-tribe' reference is inaccurate, as in spite of the common designation 'bass-viol' it has to be assumed that virtually all choir band instruments were of a violin shape and tuned in fifths. The author is unaware of any extant violas da gamba. The instrument was extremely popular, but was by no means used in every church. MacDermott's own research shows forty-seven cellos in seventy churches, and the proportions for Northamptonshire are similar (seventy in one hundred and thirty-two churches).

vii) The double bass was used in a few churches.[11]

The double bass found very occasional use, appearing in only one Northamptonshire church compared to four in Sussex. There seems to be a pattern to double bass use in Eastern counties (see Map C) where the instrument features in four of the more southerly counties.

viii) The serpent was a member of many bands.[12]

This is certainly true, although several would be a better word than many. There are three examples in Northamptonshire compared to four in Sussex. The instrument occurs in five of the nine Eastern counties.

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9 *op cit.*, p26
10 *op cit.*, p27
11 *op cit.*, p28
12 *op cit.*, p29

ix) Only one church in England...used the bass horn.[13]

Boston and Langwill were aware of another bass horn, that from Oaksey, Wiltshire (by Key) in the Galpin collection. This is now untraceable but may be the one at Boston, Massachusetts.

x) A great favourite was evidently the trombone and probably most of the bands had one...[14]

This statement is surprising given that MacDermott knew of only eight trombones in Sussex. The present study shows six in Northamptonshire which is one of only two counties with apparent documented use. There are no extant examples in the current listing. The trombone had been used extensively in churches and generally, from the beginning of the sixteenth-century until the end of the seventeenth, when Herbert[15] judges it to have been virtually obsolete in Britain, due in part to the growing popularity of the bassoon.

xi) ...the French Horn was very rarely used in the minstrels' gallery.

The present author has encountered no further instances of the use of this instrument.

xii) Only one instance of the keyed-bugle has come to my notice in a village band.

Map E shows the dispersion of keyed-bugles in the Eastern counties.

Of the three counties noted by MacDermott which probably had more bands or barrel-organs than Sussex, only one is included in this study – Norfolk. This has proved to be extremely disappointing from the choir-band angle, although there was a considerable amount of barrel-organ activity.

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13 *op cit.*, p30
14 *op cit.*, p31
15 T. Herbert, *The Trombone in Britain before 1800*, Open University Ph.D. Thesis, 1985

Following on from Boston's[16] resumé of the reasons for the demise of choir-bands, it can be seen that this commenced with the Tractarians' desire to reform choirs, and was completed by the Ecclesiologists' restoration of the churches, including the removal of galleries.

Gammon's[17] consideration of the patronising attitudes of earlier researchers to the musicians provokes re-assessment of the actual instrumental techniques of these players together with the compositional ability of those who wrote their music. Much of the writing is of a florid nature, requiring a competent technique. It can be seen that the bass lines in psalm tunes would often require more than a mediocre bassoon player, and the bassoon obbligato in Jarman's *Devotion* would require an exceptional player. The symphonies in Munden's *Church Music* would also require skilful musicians and a parallel to twentieth-century amateur brass bands can be drawn; there was a wide range of ability in the choir-bands, and although many players fitted into the 'fourth section' category, there must have been a great many players of the equivalent of a 'championship section bandsman'.

Temperley's work is so well-researched and thorough in terms of regional practice that little could be found at variance, even in a specialised dissertation like this. However, there appears to be no evidence in the eastern counties for his supposition that 'neighbouring bands united'[18] on occasion, even though churchwardens' accounts make no reference to this. One example in Northamptonshire, however, is the village choir festival at Naseby in 1837, which appears to have used professional orchestral players. Temperley also suggests that the music of English country churches probably bears comparison with the better-researched American equivalent (Billings and others); he notes that comparison must wait until English music has been 'thoroughly explored and revived'. As a result of Temperley's challenge a certain amount of local music has been uncovered in the process of my research and performed as a result of this study. This includes two of Jarman's anthems,[19] revived for a performance at Jarman's own chapel at

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16 N. Boston and L. Langwill, *Church and Chamber Barrel-organs*, 2nd ed, Edinburgh 1970 p15
17 *op cit.*, 1977 Thesis
18 *op cit.*, p196
19 ed. S. J. Weston, *Two Anthems by Thomas Jarman*, Oecumuse London 1990

Clipston, and a collection of Northamptonshire music performed at Fuller Church, Kettering, to celebrate the bicentenary of the Baptist Missionary Society.[20] This research has fulfilled Temperley's wish, to a certain extent. It can be seen that Northamptonshire has real significance in the field of local composition. There is no reason, however, to suppose that the county was particularly exceptional in this field.

Temperley's estimate of the very slow performance involved in the 'old way of singing' is corroborated in Northamptonshire by the suggestions made by Caleb Ashworth. I do feel, however, that the pace was increased with the introduction of livelier, more rhythmically interesting tunes, such as those of Thomas Clark, Thomas Jarman and Blundell of Walgrave. Certain aspects of ornamentation, associated with the 'old way' continued in Northamptonshire until the middle of the nineteenth-century at least. Passing and auxiliary notes are found in the *Fuller Tune Book*, decorating otherwise plain tunes. The distinction between town and country psalmody is not clear in Northamptonshire, where the county town, for example, utilised both styles. There are villages in the county which maintained a tradition closer to the cathedrals and collegiate foundations. The preponderance of non-conformity in Northamptonshire means that Watt's *Psalms and Hymns* were used extensively, as Temperley would expect. The earliest evidence of instrumental usage in the county does not predate Temperley's examples.

The 'archaic modality' referred to by Temperley, was exemplified by the Northamptonshire composers Benjamin West and John Munden. Northamptonshire part-distribution followed similar lines to those delineated by Temperley, where the tenor air was eventually given to the trebles, but remained on the third stave. The use of a C clef survived in the later music of the Randall family, but this was for the tenors and showed C as the third space.

An example of the 'shared' nature of some bands noted by Temperley was the band at Hucknall Torkard in Nottinghamshire, where several players served both the church and chapel.

Temperley states that the performance of the country choir was unlikely to satisfy an educated musician. It is worthy of consideration that even today, after the reforms of

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20 ed. S. J. Weston, *Northamptonshire Church Music in the Late Eighteenth Century*, Leicester 1992

the Tractarians and the High Church Movement, there are very few country choirs, or indeed, town ones, which could be counted as 'impressive'. There are certain limits to be accepted when using the resources of a small community, which is how the Christian Church must be considered today, and it is necessary to accept these and to make the best use of available resources. The city church ideal of professional singers is not, in my opinion, a real answer to the problem.

c) The lasting effect of the choir-band movement

Given that the authors of many standard music histories, such as Colles,[21] Grout[22] and Harman and Mellers,[23] have ignored the choir-band movement, or paid only brief reference to the form, it seems that rural church music of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was considered to be of little consequence. Even a work contemporary with the later period of choir-band activity – Hogarth's *Musical History,*[24] which covers English music, even the glee, in detail, makes no reference to the genre. In the light of the foregoing thesis the true significance can be seen not only from a musical standpoint but of interest to English social development, ecclesiastical history and amateur performance. It could also be considered to have political significance. Most of the commentators noted in Chapter One recognised the value of artisan music-making in a church setting; this was normally the prerogative of academically-trained clergymen, and Gammon reflected upon the meritocracy of the gallery. The fact that the labouring classes were able to develop their skills so as to become creative artists showed an enlightened adaptation of a political system rooted in mediaeval feudalism. This concept of feudalism may have been the very aspect which attracted the neo-mediaevalists of the Tractarian movement – those who wished to return to their idea of correct order, not only in the structure of church services and the internal arrangement of the churches themselves, but in the social position of anyone who made a contribution to church activities or had any authority. With the demise of the choir-bands the clergy could once

21 H. C. Colles, *The Growth of Music,* London 1925
22 D. J. Grout, *The History of Western Music,* London 1962
23 A. Harman and W. Mellers, *Man and his Music,* London 1962
24 G. Hogarth, *Musical History, Biography and Criticism,* London 1838

again take control of, and totally dominate, the music of the church. They could appoint their wives or sisters (over whom they probably had considerable control) as organists or harmonium-players, and choose all the music themselves – as much or as little as their musical taste dictated. Where the clergy wanted a choir, it could be a reformed, all male group, structured upon lines with which the former artisan musicians were unfamiliar, based on music and forms of the cathedrals and collegiate churches known to the clergy, but not normally frequented by village musicians. The role of working women and labourers' wives in the gallery setting was eliminated, and these women were restored to subordinancy. It can be seen, then, that the reforms of the early Victorian age could be considered to be a retrograde step in terms of the emancipation of women and the role of women within the church. It is conceivable that the Anglican Church would not be experiencing its current problems in ordaining women to the priesthood, had women continued to fulfil a developing role in the nineteenth-century church. Instead, women were confined to cleaning churches and the provision of sustenance at social gatherings. The twentieth-century inclusion of women and girls in church choirs was largely unacceptable practice, only becoming common where boys' voices were unavailable. At present all the English cathedrals, except for Salisbury, retain all-male choirs.

I have shown that instrumental technique varied through a large spectrum, and yet it must not be unremarked that the finest of these players, who were able to cope with intricate part-writing on primitive instruments, were themselves products of local artisan training or were, indeed, self-taught. The practice of learning an instrument without formal tuition is virtually unknown today, in a society where instrumental performance is dealt with in a school environment, and may, unfortunately, have little social significance, as these skills studied at school are seldom used in adulthood. There is, of course, a flourishing amateur network of music-making in late twentieth-century Britain, but this can only accommodate a small proportion of those who learn music at schools.

The school of local composition uncovered in Northamptonshire provides an example of a remarkable field of achievement within rural music. The very profusion of composers is astonishing and bears very favourable comparison with amateur musical composition today. The late twentieth-century church choir provides a diet of

working in an acceptable style. In cases of new composition, these composers are often cathedral organists, professional composers (who may also write television or film music), or academic musicians. In the case of older music, noted Renaissance or Baroque composers are prevalent together with the school of music associated with the English folk song renaissance and the early twentieth-century school of neo-mediaevalism, derived from the needs of the High Church Movement (the successor to the Tractarians). It is interesting that many of the Victorian composers of church music, who, it would be imagined, attempted to supersede the composers of local psalmody, are now themselves unpopular and little-performed. Composers such as Maunder, Goss, J. V. Roberts and even Sir Arthur Sullivan were unfashionable for a great portion of the present century, coinciding with the repugnance felt for Victorian architecture. It is possible that the post choir-band period of church music will be rediscovered in the same way that brick-built buildings with gables and raked roofs are now preferred to plain structures of pre-cast concrete.

Composers of local church music in Northamptonshire at the present time are restricted to the professional composers who have written for St Matthew's church, Northampton, including locally-born Rubbra, Alwyn and Arnold, and the various Masters of the Music at Peterborough Cathedral, notably Stanley Vann. Graham Kendrick (b. Blisworth, 1950) represents a very different background, being part of the popularisation of congregational music based on light hymn-tunes and choruses. Kendrick is widely published and performed, and much of his work is produced in churches by instrumental groups. These music groups, which are becoming more prevalent as traditional organ-playing declines, can be considered, perhaps, the true successor of the choir-band.

Weighed against this paucity of present-day local church composition must be the large group of local composers detailed in this study. Their backgrounds varied from Established Churchmen to dissenting artisans; they included a tailor, two schoolmasters and an academy principal, none of whom can be considered professional musicians. Even when Thomas Jarman, the most prolific, moved to Leamington, he went in search of tradesman's work rather than seeking a musical appointment. The music they composed

tradesman's work rather than seeking a musical appointment. The music they composed was specifically for local performance, and the wider availability brought about by publication was an unintentional bonus in many cases.

The composers, like the instrumentalists, were either self-taught or the recipients of help and advice by older, established composers. The link between Jarman and Blundell has been noted above, and a continuing development from the oral tradition of the *Gretton Carol* through to the Randalls of Wellingborough has been discussed. There were, naturally, outside influences as well and this was demonstrated in the way that the tunes of Ashworth, for example, related to the older psalm-tunes specified by Tate and Brady, in their slow-moving homophonic structure, through the livelier works of Haweis, influenced by the music collected by Madan in London, to the works of the school of Jarman. At this point the influence of choral art-music can be seen, and the assimilation of the music of Handel and Haydn, studied by composers such as Jarman by the laborious copying of the works as a means of familiarisation, made evident changes to the style of local psalm-tunes, anthems and 'set pieces'. A more solid, recognisably choral style can be seen, and the dimensions of the anthems started to expand. The music remained archaic, but continental features affected English psalmody at a local level. In this way, village auditors were, in some small way, in touch with the wider musical world, or at least what had developed at an earlier date. Local psalmody, in its later stages, was not totally insular, then, but contributed artistically on a national basis.

The true significance of the choir-band movement is intangible. Had it never happened, then it is possible that several facets of life would be different, notably in the field of amateur music. The Tractarians, however, were so successful in removing the genre, along with the self-esteem of the performers, that in some ways it can be considered a void in music history. In fact, our hymn-books would be the poorer for the lack of the choir-band tradition, even after the cleansing processes of W. H. Monk. Many church buildings would be the plainer, without those remaining galleries, box-pews and other Georgian woodwork; the literature of Hardy, Eliot, Irving and Trollope would lack some relevant colour and realism, and musical instruments may not have had the same developmental effort endowed upon them. It is totally hypothetical, but worthy of

consideration, that the political complexion of the country might have been very different, if the workers of the later eighteenth-century had not been allowed to fulfil an important role in the service of the church.

Of all the considerable conclusions drawn above, in the course of discussion of the research material, the following are the most significant:

a) The actual period of choir-band activity was considerably later and shorter than that suggested by MacDermott, whose views were accepted by many of the earlier researchers. There were isolated examples of the choir-band, but the period actually appeared to be from 1780 – 1840, not MacDermott's suggestion of 1660 – 1860. In Northamptonshire the period, taken from churchwardens' accounts, was from 1776 – 1872, but this latter date was extremely late in this county.

b) The period could be further divided into two areas of instrumentation – an early double-reed period and a later one which was string-dominated.

c) The music of the choir-bands was, in the main, insular and archaic, and owed little to contemporary art-music. It could be divided into 'Folk-psalmody and carols' and 'Art-psalmody and Hymnody', the latter being written by composers with a more accomplished level of musical literacy and some reference to earlier 'professionally-composed' music.

d) The dispersion of choir-band activity in the eastern counties may have been the result of various 'drives' from other areas of the country, namely the North-West and the South-East; this would account for the differing nature of the instrumentation. The choir-band period was too short to allow strong incursions into certain parts of the area. Northamptonshire had an interesting dispersion, in pockets of parishes, mainly in the uplands, and also on the Oxfordshire border; this latter case may be part of a further 'drive', this time from the South-West.

There is now a considerable amount of interest in the music of the choir-band tradition, and this is exemplified in the activities of the West Gallery Music Association. There are many other individuals, each with their own research interest, and it seems likely that at some point, a general picture of the choir-band period for most of the country will emerge. I hope that the foregoing thesis, while redressing the former

imbalance towards the West Country and Sussex, will in some way form part of this national overview.

Appendix A – A Listing of Extant Choir-Band Instruments in Eastern England

L. = Length

Bedfordshire

Instrument 1:	Fife in B flat	
Location:	Bedford Museum	Accession No: 4626
Provenance:	Birchington Church, Kent	
Material:	darkwood	
Measurements:	L. 38 cms	
No of Keys:	1 square (possibly later replacement – roughly made)	
No of Joints:	2	
Any other information:	Donated by Mr Searle	

Instrument 2:	Clarinet in C	
Location:	Bedford Museum	Accession No: 4620
Provenance:	Ravensden Church, Beds.	
Material:	boxwood	
Measurements:	L. 59. 5 cms	
No of Keys:	6 round	
No of Joints:	5	
Date:	c. 1820	
Any other information:	Inscription: E. G. Williams/London (on bell and top joint). E. G. Williams on middle and lower joints. With fragment of original reed. Formerly Modern School Museum.	

Instrument 3:	Clarinet in C	
Location:	Bedford Museum	Accession No: 7692

Provenance:	Wallington Church (Herts?)
Material:	boxwood
Measurements:	L. 58 cms
No of Keys:	8 round
Any other information:	Played by John Beaumont, donated to Bedford Modern School Museum by Mr Mead.

Instrument 4:	Clarinet (B flat)	
Location:	Bedford Museum	Accession No: 7693
Provenance:	Wallington Church (Herts?)	
Material:	boxwood (dark stained)	
Measurements:	L. 67 cms	
No of Keys:	8 round	
No of joints:	4	
Date:	1826 – 56	
Any other information:	Inscription: Bilton/London (unicorn head). 93 Westminster/Bridge Rd (on bell) Bilton/London/(unicorn) on top joint, lower joint and barrel.	

Instrument 5:	Bassoon	
Location:	Bedford Museum	Accession No: 4625
Provenance:	Birchington Church, Kent	
Material:	darkwood	
Measurements:	L. 124 cms	
No. of Keys:	8 (one missing and one touchpiece missing)	
No of Joints:	4 + crook	
Date:	1799 – 1808	
Any other information:	Inscription: J^{S} Wood/London. Donated by Mr Searle. Noted in Langwill Index; with clarinet mouthpiece on crook.	

Instrument 6: Bassoon

Location:	Bedford Museum	Accession No: 4623
Provenance:	Ravensden	
Measurements:	L. 122. 5 cms	
No of Keys:	6	
Any other information:	Inscription: Hart/Hatton Garden/London. Donated to Bedford Modern School Museum by Miss Wildman, 1937	

Instrument 7:	Cello	
Location:	Bedford Museum	Accession No: 4624
Provenance:	Ravensden Church, Beds.	
Measurements:	L. 122, fingerboard 57, body 74, upper bout 33, waist 24, lower bout 42	
Any other information:	Worm in neck and scroll. With bridge and 3 gut strings, one metal. Ebony tailpiece with inlaid shield.	

Instrument 8:	Clarinet
Location:	Biddenham Church, Beds.
Provenance:	Biddenham Church, Beds.
Materials:	boxwood
Measurements:	L. 144 cms without barrel or mouthpiece
No of Keys:	6 (round)
Date:	1836 – 47
Any other information:	Inscription: Wood & Ivy. Late Geo. Wood/New Compton Strt/50/Soho/London. Instrument very badly damaged for display purposes. No barrel; upper tenon of ten joint removed; upper collar of lower joint removed. Played by James West (1794 – 1861) Parish clerk for 40 years.

Instrument 9:	Bassoon	
Location:	Caddington Church, Beds.	Accession: (Luton Mus) L. 4635

Provenance:	Caddington Church Beds.
Material:	darkwood
Measurements:	L. 124 cms
No of Keys:	6 in brass saddle
No of Joints:	4 (no crook)

Instrument 10:	Clarinet	
Location:	Luton Museum and Art Gallery	Accession No: 123/47
Provenance:	Westoning Church	
Material:	darkwood	
Measurements:	L. 68. 5 cms	
No. of keys:	13	
Date:	Post 1867	
Any other information:	Inscription: T. Wallis & Son/Paris and London. Played in church until 1917.	

Instrument 11:	Bassoon	
Location:	Luton Museum and Art Gallery	Accession No: BL/53/45
Provenance:	St Paul's Walden Church, Herts	
Measurements:	L. 124 cms	
No of Keys:	4	
Date:	1798	
Any other information:	Inscription: London 1798. No crook. Played by Mr Robinson	

Instrument 12:	Piccolo
Location:	Toddington Church Parvise, Beds.
Provenance:	Toddington Church, Beds.
Material:	darkwood
Measurements:	L. 21. 5 (no head)
No of Keys:	4 round

No of joints:	2

Instrument 13:	Clarinet
Location:	Toddington Church Parvise, Beds.
Provenance:	Toddington Church, Beds.
Material:	boxwood
Measurements:	L. 59 cms
No of Keys:	8 (one missing) square
No of joints:	5
Date:	1832 – 37
Any other information:	Inscription: Gerock/79 Cornhill/London Case inscription: 'This clarinet belonged to James Hyde of Toddington who, for 46 years, had played it in the Choir at the parish Church of Toddington. It was one of his last wishes that it should be placed in this case with the bassoon. James Hyde died July 1886 aged over 90 years and was much respected. WCC July 21st 1886'

Instrument 14:	Flute (no measurements available)
Location:	Toddington Church
Any other information:	Case Inscription: 'This flute belonged to James Hyde who for many years was Parish Clerk at Toddington, and with it he used to lead the choir, in the "Footmans Gallery" [now demolished]. He died about 10 years ago. The flute was purchased from his widow July 22nd 1886. WCC'. [This case inscription is undated]

Instrument 15:	Bassoon
Location:	Toddington Church Parvise, Beds.
Provenance:	Toddington Church, Beds.
Material:	fruit wood
Measurements:	L. 126 cms, bell flare-> 5.5 cms outside diameter

No of Keys:	5
No of Joints:	4, no crook
Any other information:	Inscription Porter/London. Case inscription: 'The old bassoon was formerly used in the Footman's Gallery in Toddington Church to lead the psalm singers. These good old times have passed away and the Gallery destroyed. WCC 1882'

Instrument 16:	Violin
Location:	Toddington Church Parvise, Beds.
Provenance:	Toddington Church, Beds.
Measurements:	L. 61 cms, upper bout cms, lower bout 21. 5 cms, waist 2 cms, fingerboard 26 cms.
Any other information:	Home-made – no f-holes, but tone-holes in sides at waist. With spare (but ill-fitting) belly – double bout with integral bridge. Pencil inscription 'tone feeble too thick in the middle/box too? from the ? tongue/must be solid.' (L. 35. 5).

Cambridgeshire

Instrument 1:	Flute (no measurements available)
Location:	Hildersham Church, Cambs.
Provenance:	Hildersham Church, Cambs.
Any other information:	Inscription: Wallis and Goodman/95 Villiers St/Strand/London

Derbyshire

Instrument 1:	Oboe
Location:	Aston-on-Trent Church, Derbyshire
Provenance:	Aston-on-Trent Church, Derbyshire
Material:	boxwood
Measurements:	L. 57. 3 cms
No of Keys:	2

No of Joints:	3
Date:	1763 – 1788
Any other information:	Inscription: Milhouse/Newark (on bell) Milhouse on lower joint. 2 venting holes on bell. Large ivory garlands at top of lower joint and at top of bell.

Instrument 2:	Bassoon
Location:	Aston-on-Trent Church, Derbyshire
Provenance:	Aston-on-Trent Church, Derbyshire
Material:	dark boxwood
Measurements:	L. 123 cms
No of Keys:	6 brass
No of Joints:	4 + crook
Date:	1763 – 1836 (not inscribed Newark or London)
Any other information:	Inscription: Milhouse on butt, long joint and bell. Long joint reversed for display purposes.

Instrument 3:	Bassoon
Location:	Beeley Church, Derbyshire
Provenance:	Beeley Church, Derbyshire
Any other information:	Confirmed but no details available

Instrument 4:	Bassoon	
Location:	Derby Museum	Accession No: 1946 – 28
Provenance:	Morley Church, Derbyshire	
Measurements:	L. 124. 6 cms	
No of Keys:	6	
No of Joints:	4 + crook	
Date:	1770 – 1815	

Any other information:	Inscription: Parker/London on each joint. Reputedly used c. 1800. Donated by Mr Shaw, Allsopp.

Instrument 5:	Flute
Location:	Egginton Church, Derbyshire
Provenance:	Egginton Church, Derbyshire
Material:	boxwood
Measurements:	L. 58 cms
No of Keys:	1 square
No of Joints:	4
Date:	1821 – 1831
Any other information:	Inscription: C. Gerock/Astor & Co/79/Cornhill/London/(unicorn)

Instrument 6:	Clarinet
Location:	Egginton Church, Derbyshire
Provenance:	Egginton Church, Derbyshire
Material:	boxwood
Measurements:	L. 57 cms
No of Keys:	6 round
No of Joints:	5
Date:	1836 – 58
Any other information:	Inscription: (Crown)/D'Almaine & Co/Late/Goulding & D'Almaine/Soho Square/London (on bell); D'Almaine (on top joint)

Instrument 7:	Clarinet in C
Location:	Matlock St Giles, Derbyshire
Provenance:	Matlock St Giles, Derbyshire
Material:	darkwood
No of Keys:	13 (two missing)
Any other information:	1925 guide notes clarinet's use in 1870 gallery band. No inscription.

Instrument 8:	Ophicleide (no details available)
Location:	Peak Forest, Derbyshire
Provenance:	King Charles the Martyr Church, Derbyshire

Instrument 9:	Oboe
Location:	Turnditch, Derby
Provenance:	Matlock
Material:	boxwood
No of keys:	2
Date:	post-1788
Any other information:	Milhouse

Essex

Instrument 1:	Clarinet	
Location:	Braintree Museum & Heritage Centre	Accession No: 915. 69
Provenance:	Cressing Church	
Materials:	darkwood	
Measurements:	L. 65. 6 cms	
No of Keys:	15	
Date:	pre 1890	
Any other information:	Albert system. Dubious provenance.	

Instrument 2:	Keyed Bugle	
Location:	Braintree Museum & Heritage Centre	Accession No: 140. 67
Provenance:	Bocking Church	
Measurements:	L. 52 cms Bell diameter 15 cms	
No of Keys:	6 with crooks	
Date:	1810 – 1831	

Any other information:	Inscription W. Sandbach/40 Percy St/Rathbone Place/London. Played by Henry Saunders.	

Instrument 3:	Flute	
Location:	Colchester & Essex Museum	Accession No: 259. 1949
Provenance	Weeley Church	
Material	darkwood	
Measurements:	L. 53. 5 cms	
No of Keys:	5 round brass	
Any other information:	Inscription: Hilliets?/London. Used c. 1850. Donated W. L. Manning	

Instrument 4:	Oboe	
Location:	Colchester & Essex Museum	Accession No: 356. 1932/2
Provenance	Sudbury Church	
Material:	boxwood	
Measurements:	L. 58. 5 cms	
No of Keys:	2	
Date:	early 19th century	
Any other information:	Inscription Caleb/Gedney	

Instrument 5:	Clarinet	
Location:	Colchester & Essex Museum	Accession No: 5435. 1927
Provenance	'Probably a local church'	
Material:	boxwood	
Measurements:	L. 59. 7 cms	
No of Keys:	5 square	
Date:	c. 1832 – c. 1850	

Any other information: Inscription: A. Snazell/Colchester. On display at Hollytrees. Donated E. Temperley

Instrument 6: Clarinet

Location: Colchester & Essex Museum Accession No: 356. 1932/3

Provenance: Sudbury Church

Material: boxwood

Measurements: L. 49. 5 cms without mouthpiece

Square Keys

Date: early 19th century

Instrument 7: Clarinet

Location: Colchester & Essex Museum Accession No: 1911. 1931

Provenance: Baptist Chapel, Lion Walk

Material: boxwood

Measurements: L. 65 cms

No of Keys: 6 round

Date: 1770 – 1815

Any other information: Inscription: Parker/London. Played by father of donor, C. Johnson. On display at Hollytrees Museum.

Instrument 8: Bassoon

Location: Colchester & Essex Museum Accession No: 356. 1932/1

Provenance: Sudbury Church

Material: darkwood

Measurements: L. 127 cms

Brass keys

Date: early 19th century

Any other information: On display at Hollytrees Museum

Instrument 9: Clarinet

Location: Christopher Turner, Ravenscroft, Frereway, Fingringhoe, Essex

Provenance: Fingringhoe Church

Material: boxwood

Measurements: L. 65 cms

No of keys: 8

Any other information: Player – John Crickmore; donated by John Crickmore (son) in 1926

Instrument 10: Clarinet

Location: Saffron Walden Museum Accession No: 1965. 105

Provenance: Christhall Church, Essex

Material: boxwood

Measurements: L. 65. 5 cms

No of Keys: 6

Date: 1832 – 37

Any other information: Inscription: C. Gerock/79/Cornhill/London. Played by William Cranwell.

Instrument 11: Serpent

Location: Saffren Walden Museum Accession No: 1937. 19

Provenance: Walden Church

Measurements: L. 72. 5 cms bell diameter 10 cms

No of Keys: 3

Any other information: With crook but no mouthpiece

Instrument 12: Violin

Location: Saffron Walden Museum Accession No: 1986. 9

Provenance: Primitive Methodist, Stebbing, Essex

Measurements:	L. 59 cms, fingerboard 26. 3 cms, body 35. 5 cms, upper bout 16.5 cms, waist 11 cms, lower bout 20. 5 cms	
Any other information:	With bow.	

Leicestershire

Instrument 1:	Clarinet	
Location:	Harborough Museum, Leics	Accession No: LEIM H100/1938/191
Provenance:	Oxendon Church, Northants	
Material:	dark boxwood	
Measurements:	L. 60 cms	
No of Keys:	5 (square)	
No of Joints:	5 + mouthpiece	
Date:	c. 1792 – c. 1818	
Any other information:	Inscription: Bland and Weller	

Instrument 2:	Flageolet	
Location:	Newarke Houses Museum, Leicester	Accession No: 292'1955/2
Provenance:	Waltham on the Wolds Church, Leics;	
Material:	darkwood	
Measurements:	L. 35 cms	
No of Keys:	One (missing)	
No of Joints:	2 (no cap)	
Date:	1865 – 1898	
Any other information:	Inscription: Butler/Haymarket/London	

Instrument 3:	Oboe	
Location:	Newarke Houses Mus. Leicester	Accession No: 179'1954
Provenance:	Appleby Magna, Leics. 1770	
Material:	boxwood	

Measurements:	L. 58 cms
No of Keys:	2 (round)
Date:	1755 – 98 (Cahusac), 1763 – 1788 (Milhouse)
Any other information:	Upper and lower joints Inscription: Cahusac/London. Bell Inscription: Milhouse, Newark. L3 double hole, two venting holes on bell.

Instrument 4:	Clarinet	
Location:	Melton Mowbray Museum	Accession No: 292'1955/1
Provenance:	Waltham-on-the-Wolds Church, Leics.	
Material:	boxwood	
Measurements:	L. 59. 5 cms	
No of Keys:	8 square	
Date:	1798 – 1800	
Any other information:	Inscription: Astor/Horwood/79/Cornhill/London on bell. Other joints: Astor and Co/London	

Instrument 5:	Clarinet in B flat	
Location:	Newarke Houses Mus. Leicester	Accession No: 192'1968
Provenance:	Syston Church, Leics.	
Material:	boxwood	
Measurements:	L. 58 cms (no mouthpiece)	
No of Keys:	13	
No of Joints:	4	
Date:	1846 – 57	
Any other information:	Inscription: Distin/31 Cranbourn St/Leicester Square/++London++	

Instrument 6:	Bassoon	
Location:	Newarke Houses Museum, Leicester	Accession No: L/1969/120
Provenance:	Bagworth Church, Leics.	
Material:	Fruitwood	

Measurements:	L. 125
No of Keys:	5
No of Joints:	4
Date:	c. 1780
Any other information:	In church inventory 1780. No crook

Instrument 7:	Ballad Horn in C	
Location:	Newarke Houses Museum, Leicester	Accession No: 23'1950
Provenance:	Lyddington Church, Rutland	
Measurements:	L. 57 cms, bell diameter 21 cms	
Valve type:	3 perinet	
Date:	1848 – 1884	
Any other information:	Inscription G (Anchor) A, (Gautrot Aine). Upright bell.	

Instrument 8:	Serpent	
Location:	Newarke Houses Museum, Leicester	Accession No: 1170'1951
Provenance:	Newtown Linford/Desford Churches Leics.	
Measurements:	L. 72 cms, bell diameter 11 cms	
No of Keys:	3 (2 remaining)	
Date:	1829 – 40	
Any other information:	Inscription F. Pretty on crook only. With crook, no mouthpiece.	

Instrument 9:	Flute
Location:	Ridlington Church, Rutland
Provenance:	Ridlington Church, Rutland
Material:	boxwood
Measurements:	L. 51. 3 cms
No of Keys:	4 (square)
No of Joints:	3

Any other information:	Played by members of Scott family pre 1860

Instrument 10:	Clarinet (E flat?)
Location:	Ridlington Church, Rutland
Provenance:	Ridlington Church, Rutland
Material:	boxwood
Measurements:	L. 48. 8 cms
No of Keys:	6 (round)
No of Joints:	5
Date:	1840 – 43
Any other information:	Inscription: Robert Wolf & Co/Moorgate Street/London. Wolf were dealers. Played by members of Scott family.

Instrument 11:	Clarinet
Location:	Ridlington Church, Rutland
Provenance:	Ridlington Church, Rutland
Material:	boxwood
Measurements:	67. 5
No of Keys:	8 (square)
No of Joints:	5
Date:	1843 – 45
Any other information:	Inscription: Robert Wolf & Co/St Martin le Grand/London. Wolf were dealers. Made at 79 Cornhill. Played by members of Scott family pre 1860.

Instrument 12:	Clarinet
Location:	Ridlington Church, Rutland
Provenance:	Ridlington Church, Rutland
Material:	boxwood
Measurements:	L. 67. 5 cms

No of Keys:	6 (square)
No of Joints:	5
Any other information:	Inscription: Mhouse/London. Cap marker P. Scott (player).

Instrument 13:	Clarinet
Location:	Ridlington Church, Rutland
Provenance:	Ridlington Church, Rutland
Material:	boxwood
Measurements:	L. 62. 8 cms
No of Keys:	5 (same)
No of Joints:	5
Date:	1773 – 1789
Any other information:	Inscription: Preston/London. Played by Scott family pre 1860.

Instrument 14:	Bassoon
Location:	Ridlington Church, Rutland
Provenance:	Ridlington Church, Rutland
Measurements:	L. 139. 3 cms
No of Keys:	9
No of Joints:	4
Date:	1790 – 93
Any other information:	Inscription (on brass + copper bell): John Kohler/Maker/Whitecomb Street/(Leicester Square)/London

Instrument 15:	Violin
Location:	Ridlington Church, Rutland
Provenance:	Ridlington Church, Rutland
Material:	

Measurements:	L. 56 cms, fingerboard 37 cms, body 35. 5 cms, upper bout 16 cms, waist 11 cms, lower bout 20 cms
Any other information:	played by members of Scott family pre-1860

Instrument 16:	Serpent
Location:	Seagrave Church
Provenance:	Seagrave Church
Date:	1829 – 40
Any other information:	Inscription: F Pretty. Played by Edward Priestly, choir member 1830 – 50

Instrument 17:	Ophicleide
Location:	Seagrave Church
Provenance:	Seagrave Church
Measurements:	L. 102 cms
No of Keys:	11
Date:	1850 – 54
Any other information:	Inscription: J. H. Ebblewhite/Manufacturers and Importers/116 High Street/Whitechapel/London

Norfolk

Instrument 1:	Flageolet
Location:	Boston Collection, Horsford, Norfolk
Provenance:	Sporle Church
Any other information:	Collection visited Sept. 1985 but no provenance noted for any instrument.

Instrument 2:	Clarinet
Location:	Boston Collection, Horsford, Norfolk
Provenance:	Sporle Church
Any other information:	Collection visited Sept 1985 but no provenance noted for any instrument.

Instrument 3:	Clarinet
Location:	Boston Collection, Horsford, Norfolk
Provenance:	Hindlip Church, Glos.
Any other information:	Collection visited Sept. 1985 but no provenance noted for any instrument.

Instrument 4:	Cello
Location:	Briston Church, Norfolk
Provenance:	Briston Church, Norfolk
Measurements:	L. 118 cms, fingerboard 42 cms, body 76 cms, upper bout 35. 5 cms, waist 30. 5 cms, lower bout 39. 5 cms
Any other information:	Tin plate. Allegedly made by Win Clitheroe, blacksmith 1699. With bow. Three soundposts.

Instrument 5:	Flute	
Location:	St Peter Hungate, Norwich	Accession No: 79. 935c
Provenance:	Gressenhall	
Material:	boxwood	
Measurements:	L. 61 cms	
No of Keys:	1 (square)	
No of Joints:	4	
Date:	1824 – 93	
Any other information:	Inscription: L. B. Cramer and Co/201/Regent Street. Tye donation.	

Instrument 6:	Clarinet	
Location:	St Peter Hungate, Norwich	Accession No: 75. 935.a
Provenance:	Gressenhall	
Material:	boxwood	
Measurements:	L. 49 cms	
No of Keys:	6 (square)	
No of Joints:		
Date:	1812 – 16	
Any other information:	Inscription: Metzler/London/105 Wardour St. Tye donation.	

Instrument 7:	Bassoon	
Location:	St Peter Hungate	Accession No: L. 1974. 5
Provenance:	Hingham Church	
Measurements:	L. 124 cms	
No of Keys:	8	
No of Joints:	4 + crook	
Any other information:	Loaned by Jonathan Boston	

Instrument 8:	Violin	
Location:	St Peter Hungate, Norwich	Accession No: 75. 935
Provenance:	Gressenhall Church	
Measurements:	L. 59 cms, fingerboard 27 cms, body 35. 5 cms, upper bout 17 cms, waist 11 cms, lower bout 20. 5 cms	
Any other information:	Donated by Miss Tye.	

Instrument 9:	Violin	
Location:	St Peter Hungate, Norwich	Accession No: L1974. 6
Provenance:	Hingham	

Measurements: L. 60 cms, fingerboard 26 cms, body 35. 5 cms, upper bout 17 cms, waist 11. 5 cms, lower bout 21 cms

Any other information: Loaned by Jonathan Boston. Scroll in form of head.

Instrument 10: Cello

Location: St Peter Hungate, Norwich Accession No: 75. 935. 1

Provenance: Gressenhall

Measurements: L. 124 cms, fingerboard 57 cms, body 75. 5 cms, upper bout 35.5 cms, waist 24 cms, lower bout 44 cms

Any other information: Donated by Miss Tye. Tune book for Gressenhall bass in Jonathan Boston Collection, Horsford

Instrument 11: Double Bass

Location: St Peter Hungate, Norwich Accession No: 76. 935

Provenance: Barsham, Suffolk

Measurements: L. 185 cms, fingerboard 79 cms, body 112 cms, upper bout 51. 5 cms, waist 38 cms, lower bout 69 cms

Any other information: Donated by Mrs Anderson-Coates.

Northamptonshire

Instrument 1: Bassoon

Location: Easton-on-the-Hill Church, Northants

Provenance: Easton-on-the-Hill Church, Northants

Material: darkwood

Measurements: L. 123 cms, butt 42 cms, long joint 48. 5 cms, wing 47 cms, bell 31 cms

Any other information: Boston and Langwill note 6 keyed by Gerock. Impossible to check this, as case is fixed. Crook bent to fit case.

Instrument 2:	Clarinet
Location:	Harringworth, Northants. (not kept in church)
Provenance:	Harringworth Church
Material:	boxwood
Measurements:	L. 59 cms
No of Keys:	6
No of Joints:	4
Date:	1798 – 1800
Any other information:	Inscription: Astor & Co./London

Instrument 3:	Clarinet	
Location:	Northamptonshire Record Office	Accession No: 191P/x265
Provenance:	Lamport Church	
Material:	boxwood	
Measurements:	L. 58. 5 cms	
No of Keys:	5 (one missing) square	
Date:	1802 – 1821	
Any other information:	Inscription: Clementi & Long	

Nottinghamshire

Instrument 1:	Bassoon
Location:	Lambley Church, Notts
Provenance:	Lambley Church, Notts
Measurements:	L. 114. 5 cms
No of Keys:	2
No of Joints:	4 + crook

Any other information: Lambley – a village study: 'Payment for reeds in the 18th century relate to the use of a bassoon to accompany services, and in 1780 provision for a new bassoon was made by the vestry'. Played by W. Burrow early 19th century.

Instrument 2: Bassoon

Location: Newark Museum

Provenance: Bassingham, Lincs.

Any other information: No details available. Sold by church c. 1983.

Suffolk

Instrument 1: Serpent

Location: St Mary's, Barking, Suffolk

Provenance: St Mary's, Barking, Suffolk

Measurements: L. 71 cms, bell diameter 11. 5 cms

No of Keys: 3

Date: 1830 – 31

Any other information: Played by Thomas Emsden c. 1830. Emsden (1807 – 1886) was parish clerk, carpenter and joiner. Inscription: I Pretty/Inventors & Makers/Waterloo Road/Near the Obelisk/London

Instrument 2: Bassoon

Location: Christchurch Mansion, Ipswich Accession No: 1947. 37

Provenance: Polstead Church, Suffolk

Measurements: L. 124. 5 cms

No of Keys: 6

Any other information: Played by grandfather of Mr Beatham. Inscription: Brane? of.../London/Pall Mall.

Instrument 3: Serpent

Location:	Christchurch Mansion, Ipswich	Accession No: 1936. 245
Provenance:	Battisford Church	
Measurements:	L. 76 cms, bell diameter 8 cms (internal)	
No of Keys:	2	
Date:	post 1813	
Any other information:	Inscription: Key/20 Charing Cross/London	

Instrument 4:	Cello	
Location:	Christchurch Mansion, Ipswich, Suffolk	Accession No: 1942-20A Later: 1957. 29
Provenance:	East Bergholt Church	
Measurements:	L. 120 cms, spike 23. 5 cms, fingerboard 56 cms, body 73. 5 cms, upper bout 33 cms, waist 25. 5 cms, lower bout 43 cms.	
Any other information:	Inscription: John Dunthorne, East Bergholt/Suffolk/March 11, 1802. Played by John Constable, and returned to Dunthorne family by him. Dunthorne was glazier and plumber.	

Instrument 5:	Clarinet
Location:	Rumburgh Churchwarden
Provenance:	Rumburgh Church, Suffolk
Material:	boxwood
Measurements:	L. 58 cms
No of Keys:	8 square
Date:	1822 – 36
Any other information:	Inscription: Dolland/Dublin. Played by James Day

Appendix B – An Index of Personal Names associated with the Choir-band period in Northamptonshire

During the course of reading churchwardens' accounts I was struck by the frequent appearances of a name variously spelt as Causeby, Corby, Corsby, Cosby and Crosby, in relation to instrument repairs. The spelling varies to the extent that the Wootton accounts use three different spellings (1803 Crosby, 1805 Corsby and 1806 Corby) and in this case over such a short span of time the repairer is undoubtedly the same person. Overall the entries date from 1787 to 1865. It is possible that these entries span two generations of the same family; the Christian name Charles appears and also the initials J. (1806) and G. (1863).

A footnote to Article 650 of Northamptonshire Notes and Queries[1] notes that

> John Causby, musical instrument maker, resided in Bridge Street [Northampton].

The Kettering Stationers, Dash and Collis, are noted several times starting with Colles (Isham 1784) and ending with Dash (Pytchley 1841). The Geddington accounts link the two names between 1803 and 1835. Dash is also mentioned at Woodford.

Other recurring names are Abel, instrument dealers at Northampton from 1794, according to Langwill,[2] (Irthlingborough 1827, Stoke Bruerne 1831). A keyed-bugle inscribed 'Abel and Sons, Northampton', is accession number CM816 in the Charles Moore Collection at Leicester University.[3]

Mr Barber tuned the organ at Milton Malsor in 1855, and a tuner of the same name attended the organ at Courteenhall in 1864.

Mr Barret was choir trainer at Cosgrove in 1816 and choir leader at Brackley St Peter in 1817 (J Barret); Wappenham Church dealt with 'Mr Barret of Brackley' in 1828.

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1 Vol IV, p205

2 *An Index of Wind Instrument Makers,* 5th ed. Edinburgh 1977, p1

3 S. J. Weston, *A Catalogue of Instruments in the Charles Moore Collection,* Leicester 1981, p5

Briggs, choir trainer at Great Harrowden and Hardwick, and Luke Buckingham of Silverstone and Wappenham have been referred to in Chapter 5.

Mr Clarke repaired the Organ at Maidwell in 1872. It is possible that he was related to George Clarke, schoolmaster, painter and cellist of neighbouring Scaldwell and Lamport.

The name Cox appears four times – organ repairs at Syresham, 1849, tuning at Brackley St Peter in 1850 – 51 and an earlier entry relating to a pitch-pipe sold to Hardwick Church in 1812. This last is probably a different Cox; another Cox was an Irthlingborough musician.

The Drakard noted at Easton on the Hill (bassoonist or reed dealer 1825) appears in the spelling Drakeard at nearby Stamford Baron in 1806 as a supplier of anthem books.

The name Humphrey appears on three occasions – at Clipston in 1780 (bassoon sales), Thrapston 1785 (organ repairs) and much later at Cranford St Andrew for harmonium tuning in 1868. These three are probably different persons, given the diversity of date, and the distance between Clipston and Thrapston.

John Jenkins, bassoonist at Wappenham during the 1780s, evidently moved to Towcester from 1795 where he was allowed money for reeds.

It seems that the choir-bands of Stoke Albany and Marston Trussell on the Leicestershire borders were among the last in Northamptonshire . In 1860 Lawrence was paid for violin strings at Marston Trussell; six years later he was in receipt of money for strings at Stoke Albany. He supplied further strings at Marston in 1871 (for the cello) and supplied a 'Baſs Violin Bow' in 1872.

Parkinson was an organ and harmonium repairer and tuner, noted at little Billing (1866) and at Little Harrowden the next year.

The name Wright appears several times but only two references could be related – the choir leader at Bradden in 1794 and the 'Chas Wright' who trained the Northampton All Saints children in 1816 – 17.

Name	Function	Location
ABBOTT	Violinist	STOKE ALBANY
ABBOTT Thos.	Cellist or dealer	ASHLEY
ABEK (ABEL) Mr.	Dealer	IRTHLINGBOROUGH
ACKERMAN Arthur	Organist	WARKSWORTH
ADKINS J. C	Harmonium Seller	GREAT HOUGHTON
ALLEN Charles	Cello Repairer	IRTHLINGBOROUGH
AMBLE	Organist	CULWORTH
ARNOLD John	Composer	LAMPORT, HARDWICK GEDDINGTON
ARIS Mr.	Stationer	IRTHLINGBOROUGH
ATTERBURY Benjamin	Clarinettist	COGENHOE
BAILEY Mr.	Organ removal	TITCHMARSH
BAKER J.	Cello Repairs	GEDDINGTON
BAND Benjamin	Clarinettist	SILVERSTONE
BARKER Richard	Musician	MEARS ASHBY
BARKER	Organ Tuning	COURTEENHALL
BARKER Mr.	Organ Tuner	MILTON MALSOR
BARMFORD Thos.	Cellist	HARRINGTON

Name	Function	Location
BARRETT J.	Choir Leader?	BRACKLEY ST PETER
BARRETT Mr. of BRACKLEY	Stationer	WAPPENHAM
BARRETT Mr.	Choir Trainer	COSGROVE
BASON Thomas	Bassoonist	WICKEN
BATSON Danl	Ledges in Gallery	ALDWINCLE ST PETER
BAXTER	Violinist	IRTHLINGBOROUGH
BEALE Mr.	Cellist	WOODFORD
BEARDSMORE	Gallery Building	DENTON
BEESLEY Thomas	Bassoonist	WAPPENHAM
BEESLEY William	Bassoonist	WAPPENHAM
BELLING Mr.	Bookbinder	IRTHLINGBOROUGH
BENJAMIN Richard	Bassoonist	CULWORTH
BENT	Oboist/Bassoonist	TOWCESTER
BERY John	Choir Trainer	ARTHINGWORTH
BETTS Mr.	Cello Repairs	HELIDON
BIRD Wm	Stationer?	DAVENTRY
BIRDSTALL Mr.	String Dealer	HARDINGSTONE
BLAND	Dealer	NORTHAMPTON ST GILES

Name	Function	Location
BLOCKLEY John	Bassoon Repairs	PRESTON CAPES
BLOTT Thomas	Cellist	RAUNDS
BONHAM Mr.	Cello Repairs	CHIPPING WARDEN
BRADSHAW John	Subscriber to Cello	HARDWICK
BRADSHAW Robert	Subscriber to Cello	HARDWICK
BRIGGS Mr. (See HARDWICK)	Choir Trainer	GREAT HARROWDEN
BRIGGS Wm	Choir Trainer	HARDWICK
BRIMMING	Viola Player	GEDDINGTON
BRODERIP	Bassoon Repairs	WAPPENHAM
BROWN Rev. A. W.	Incumbent	PYTCHLEY
BROUGHTON Thos	Dealer	HARDWICK
BUCKNAM (BUCKINGHAM) Luke	Oboist	SILVERSTONE
"	Bassoonist	"
"	Cellist	"
"	Clerk	WAPPENHAM
BUCKNAM (BUCKINGHAM) Joseph	Cellist	SILVERSTONE
BUTLIN Wm	Bassoonist	ASHBY ST LEDGERS

Name	Function	Location
BUNTING Mr.	Organ Tuner	KILSBY
BURDETT John	Cellist	BRAMPTON ASH
BURTON Thos	String Maker	EVERDON
CANNON Thomas	Violinist	LAMPORT
CARTER	Choir Leader	TOWCESTER
CARTWRIGHT	Choir Trainer	WOOTTON
CASWELL Thomas	Cellist	MILTON MALSOR
CATLIN James	Singer	WOLLASTON
CAUSBY	Cello Repair	HARDINGSTONE 1787
CAUSBY Mr.	Cello Repairs	EASTON MAUDIT
CHAD	Musician	IRTHLINGBOROUGH
CHAPMAN Thomas	Cellist	STOKE BRUERNE
CHATER John	Flautist	WOLLASTON
CLARKE George	Cellist	LAMPORT
CLARKE James	Musician	LAMPORT
CLARKE Mr.	Organ Repair	MAIDWELL
CLARK Mrs.	Organist	DINGLEY

Name	Function	Location
COE James	Organ pipes carriage	HARRINGTON
COKER	For harmonium	WOODFORD
COLLES Mr.	Stationer	ISHAM
COLLIS (See COLLES)	Stationer	GEDDINGTON
COOK Richard	Choir Trainer	ARTHINGWORTH
COOPER William	Bassoonist	SULGRAVE
CORBY	Cello Bow Repairs	DALLINGTON
CORBY J.	Bassoon Repair	WOOTTON
CORBY Mr.	Harmonium Repair	CRANFORD ST. JOHN
CORLEY G.	Organ Tuning	ROCKINHAM
CORLEY Mr.	Harmonium Dealer	NASSINGTON
CORSBY C.	Cello Repairs	GREAT HOUGHTON
CORSBY Charles	Cello Repairs	HARPOLE
CORSBY Mr.	Cello Repairs	WOOTTON
CORSLEY (CORSBY?) Mr.	Cello Repairs	GRENDON
COSBY Charles	Dealer	MOULTON
COX	Organ Repairs	SYRESHAM
COX	Musician	IRTHLINGBOROUGH

Name	Function	Location
COX Charles	Organ Tuner	BRACKLEY ST PETER
COX Mr.	Pitch-pipe sale	HARLESTONE
CROFTS David	Organist	DARLINGTON
CROSBY of NORTHAMPTON	Cello Repair	IRTHLINGBOROUGH
CROSBY Mr.	Dealer	MEARS ASHBY
CROSBY Mr.	Cello Repairs	WOOTTON
CUPPER Wm.	Singers table repair	WOLLASTON
CUTHBERT R.	Musician	IRTHLINGBOROUGH
DANIEL Mr. C.	Organ fund	DAVENTRY
DASH Mr.	Stationer	PYTCHLEY
DASH Mr.	String Dealer	WOODFORD
DASH W. & J.	Stationer	GEDDINGTON
DAWKINGS Wm.	Organ builder Rothwell	HARRINGTON
DAY Mr.	Cello Repairs	RAUNDS
DEACON Mr.	Bassoonist	ASHTON
DENMAN W. & Son of York	Organ Tuning	THURNING
DICKENS Richard	Flautist	LAMPORT

Name	Function	Location
DICKS of RINGSTEAD	Cello repairs	WOODFORD
DRAGE Mr.	Bassoonist	LOWICK
DRAKARD	Bassoonist? Reed dealer	EASTON ON THE HILL
DRAKEARD	Book seller?	STAMFORD BARON
DRYDEN Sir Henry	Benefactor	CANONS ASHBY
"	"	MORETON PINKNEY
DUNKLEY William	Organist	MILTON MALSOR
D. W.	Hymn writer	OUNDLE
EAGLESTON	Cellist	CULWORTH
EARL Thos	Gallery Repairs	DUNFORD
ELLIOTT E.	Cellist	HARPOLE
ELLSTON Mr.	Organ Tuning and Repair	CRICK
FACE	Musician	COGENHOE
FAREY	Musician	COGENHOE
FISHER Rev. Mr.	Incumbent	GREAT HARROWDEN
FORD	Cellist	IRTHLINGBOROUGH

Name	Function	Location
FOSTER Mr.	Book binder/String Dealer	WOODFORD
FOX Richard	Choir Trainer	ARTHINGWORTH
FOX Lazarus	Musician (Cellist?)	ARTHINGWORTH
FRANCIS John	Flautist	LAMPORT
FRANCIS Thomas	Musician	LAMPORT
FREEMAN Geo	Organ blower	DRAUGHTON
FREESTONE John	Dealer	IRTHLINGBOROUGH
GADSBY	Bassoonist	LOWICK
GARDENER Charles	Bassoonist	KINGSTHORPE
GARDINER Richard	Cellist	SILVERSTONE
GARNER (GARDNER) William	Cellist and Bassoon Repair	KINGSTHORPE
GASGOIGNE Jas	Organ Blower	MIDDLETON CHENEY
GASKINS Mr.	Bassoon Repair	BRADDEN
GEXTON	Musician	COGENHOE
GIBLER Thomas	Organist	KINGSTHORPE
GILBERT Thomas	Cello Repairs	RAUNDS
GILKS Samuel	Cello Repairs	MORETON PINKNEY

Name	Function	Location
GIVINEY John	Warden	TOWCESTER
GLEED William	Organist	MILTON MALSOR
GODDARD Mr.	Dealer in Strings	WESTON BY WELLAND
GRAY Wm	Setting up of Organs	WHITTLEBURY
GRITTON Mr.	Oboist/Bassoonist	STOKE BRUERNE
GROOM Mr.	Cellist	IRTHLINGBOROUGH
HADDON Wm	Cellist	CRICK
HARVEY of WELLINGBOROUGH	Musical Instrument Repairs	IRTHLINGBOROUGH
HARVEY Henry	Choir Leader	TOWCESTER
HALE Abel	Silk for Organ	WHITTLEBURY
HERBERT Rev. Charles	Incumbent	GRENDON
HIGHAM Valentine	Cellist	BLAKESLEY
HILL Mr.	Dealer	FAXTON
HOBBS Mr.	Choir Trainer	GREAT HARROWDEN
HOLT Henry	Violinist	SILVERSTONE
HORN William	Organist	LOWICK
HORNER	Musician	IRTHLINGBOROUGH

Name	Function	Location
HOW Jonathan	Violinist	GEDDINGTON
HULL James	Cello Repairs	RAUNDS
HUMPHREY Mr.	Gallery Builder	WOODFORD
HUMPHREYS	Harmonium Tuning	CRANFORD S. A.
HUMPHREYS J.	Bassoon Owner/Dealer	CLIPSTON
HUMPHREYS Mr.	Organ Repairs	THRAPSTON
IBBS Mr.	Cello bow and String Dealer	WOODFORD
JACKSON	Musician	EASTON ON THE HILL
JARMAN Thos	Composer	CLIPSTON
JENKINS	Oboist/Bassoonist	TOWCESTER
JENKINS John	Bassoonist	WAPPENHAM
JOHNSON Henery	Organist	YARDLEY HASTINGS
JOHNSON L.	Cello Repairs	EASTON MAUDIT
JONES Mr. J. N.	Choir Leader	DAVENTRY
JONES Samuel	Bassoon Sale	SULGRAVE

Name	Function	Location
KERR Mrs.	Donor of 1838 Organ	NORTHAMPTON ST SEPULCHRE
KNIGHTON J.	Choir Leader	LITTLE HARROWDEN
KORKELL M.	Harmonium Tuning	LITTLE BILLING
LARKIN Edmund	Organist	PETERBOROUGH ST JOHN
LAWRENCE	Violinist	STOKE ALBANY
LAWRENCE Mr.	Violinist	MARSTON TRUSSELL
LINNELL William	Cellist	SILVERSTONE
LINNELL George	Cellist	SILVERSTONE
LINNETT Thos	Choir Leader	DODFORD
LINNETT W.	Choir Leader	DODFORD
LONGLANDS James	Gallery Builder	GRENDON
LONGMAN	Bassoon Repairs	WAPPENHAM
LOWSBY Mr.	Bassoon Repair	BRADDEN
MABBUTT John	Bassoonist	OLD
MANSEL Josiah	Bassoonist	TITCHMARSH
MASSAM	Double Bass Player	IRTHLINGBOROUGH

Name	Function	Location
MARRIOTT of RUSHDEN	Cello Repairs	IRTHLINGBOROUGH
MOBBS G.	Leader of Volunteer Band for Concert at Kettering St Andrews	KETTERING ST ANDREWS
MOBBS Samuel	Cellist	PYTCHLEY
MORRIS John	Musician	MEARS ASHBY
MORRIS William	Musician	MEARS ASHBY
MOUNTFORT Mrs.	Subscriber to Cello	HARDWICK
MUNDEN John	Composer, Brixworth	LAMPORT
NICKELS Thos	Cellist	HARRINGTON
NOBLES Mr.	Cello Repairs	RINGSTEAD
OXLEY Ben	Flageolet Player	MILTON MALSOR
OXLEY William	Bugle Player	MILTON MALSOR
PACK Mr.	Choir Leader or Warden	GEDDINGTON
PACKWOOD George	Cellist	RUSHDEN
PAGE William	Cello Repairs	ASHLEY

PALMER Henry	Clarinettist	MILTON MALSOR
Name	**Function**	**Location**
PARKINSON	Harmonium Repair	LITTLE BILLING
PARKINSON	Organ Tuner	GREAT HARROWDEN
PARR Mr.	Choir Leader	HARRINGWORTH
PARRISH Mr.	Oboist/Bassoonist	STOKE BRUERNE
PARTRIDGE Serjeant	Cellist	WOLLASTON
PERKINS Charles	Violinist	WOLLASTON
PELL John	Serpent Player	MILTON MALSOR
PITTS Mr.	Organ Repair	BARNWELL ST ANDREW
PORTIN Samuel	Dealer in Cloth (Organ Curtains)	TOWCESTER
PRESTON Mr.	Dealer in Strings	TITCHMARSH
PRICE J.	Musician	DESBOROUGH
PROCTER	Gallery Builder	GRENDON
RADSHAW Robert	Bassoon Repairs	ROCKINGHAM
RAINBOW	Musician	COGENHOE
RALPH W.	Cellist	HELIDON
REYNOLDS Eleanor	Singer	WOLLASTON

RICHARDSON Mr.	Organ Repairs	STOKE BRUERNE
Name	**Function**	**Location**
RICHARDSON John	Builder of Gallery	WELDON
RIVETT Ann	Singer	WOLLASTON
RIVETT Maria	Singer	WOLLASTON
RIVETT Rebecca	Singer	WOLLASTON
RIVETT William	Oboist	WOLLASTON
ROBERTS	Bassoonist	NORTHAMPTON ST GILES
ROBINSON Richard	Organist	MILTON MALSOR
ROOE (ROW) Mr.	Cellist	HELPSTON
ROOKSBY	Violinist	IRTHLINGBOROUGH
SALMAN Wm	Cello Repair	DESBOROUGH
SANDILANDS Rev. Alfred J.	Incumbent	RINGSTEAD
SCARISBRICK Mr.	Harmonium Tuning	WOODNEWTON
SEELEY Mr.	Stationer	WAPPENHAM
SHACKLETON J.	Oboist/Bassoonist	TOWCESTER
SHARMAN Edward	Cellist	COGENHOE
SHARMAN James	Clerk, violinist	COGENHOE

SHARMAN John	Subscriber to Cello	HARDWICK
Name	**Function**	**Location**
SHARMAN S.	Subscriber to Cello	HARDWICK
SHARMAN Thomas	Violinist	COGENHOE
SHARP Mr.	Stationer	EASTON ON THE HILL
SHAW	Organ Repairs	BUGBROOKE
SHELTON Wm	Cellist	ASHLEY
SHRIVES John	Clerk	PYTCHLEY
SLATTER Joseph	Clerk	BARNWELL ST ANDREW
SMALLEY John	Cellist	ASHLEY
SMITH James	Organ Maintenance	HARRINGTON
SMITH Mr Bryan of KETTERING	Survey of new Gallery	WOODFORD
SMITH Samuel	Singing Master	HARPOLE
SMITH Thomas	Oboist	IRTHLINGBOROUGH
SMITH Thomas	Organ Repairer	HOUGHTON
SPEECHLEY Mr.	Organist at Organ Opening	TITCHMARSH
SPENCER T.	Bassoon Repair	STAMFORD BARON
STAFFORD William	Grocer (Singers' Feasts)	WESTON BY WELLAND
STONE Rev. T. H.	Incumbent	EYE

STROUD	Harmonium Player	STOKE ALBANY
Name	**Function**	**Location**
SUMMERS John	Cellist	PYTCHLEY
SUMPTER Mr.	Choir Leader?	IRTHLINGBOROUGH
SUTTON	Gallery Painting	EARLS BARTON
SWAN James	Bassoon Carriage	BRADDEN
TANS'UR William	Composer	LAMPORT
TARRISS	Musician	ASHLEY
TASLEY Thomas	Bassoon Seller	OLD
TAYLOR R.	Organ Blowing	ROCKINGHAM
THOMPSON Edward	Organist	OXENDON
TWISELTON Joseph	Drummer	MILTON MALSOR
TYRELL Ann	Musician	LAMPORT
TYRELL Samuel	Violinist	LAMPORT
TYRELL William	Musician	LAMPORT
TYLER F.	Clarinettist	EASTON ON THE HILL
VALENTINE Eliza	Organist	COGENHOE

VARNHAM	Clerk?	WELFORD
Name	**Function**	**Location**
VIOL	Choir Trainer	TOWCESTER
VORLEY John	Organ Repairs	THRAPSTON
WADDINGTON Mr.	Stationer	OXENDON
WALTER Mr.	Choir Leader	WESTON BY WELLAND
WALTER George	Cellist	WOLLASTON
WALTER Joseph	Choir Leader	WOLLASTON
WARD Richard	Organ Blower	NORTHAMPTON ALL SAINTS
WARNER Christian	Singer	WOLLASTON
WARNER Ezekiell	Cellist	NORTHAMPTON ST SEPULCHRE
WARNER George	Organ Repairs	RAUNDS
WARNER Mark	Violinist	WOLLASTON
WARNER Richard	Singer	WOLLASTON
WARNER Sally	Singer	WOLLASTON
WARREN Richard	Choir Leader or Parish Clerk – Violinist	IRTHLINGBOROUGH
WATKINS Stephen	Cello Repairs	HELIDON

WEBB John	WOODWIND Player	KILSBY
Name	**Function**	**Location**
WESTBY Thomas	Cello Repairs	PYTCHLEY
WHITTAM Mr.	Cellist	IRTHLINGBOROUGH
WILLIAMS Wood	Bassoon Repairs	STOKE BRUERNE
WILLOUGHBY Thomas	Bassoon Repairs	PRESTON CAPES
WILSON Mr.	Dealer	ISLIP
WRIGHT Chas	Choir Trainer	NORTHAMPTON ALL SAINTS
WRIGHT Mr.	Choir Leader?	BRADDEN
WRIGHT Mr.	Organ Handle Repairs	YARDLEY HASTINGS
WRIGHT Mr. of London	Organ Repair	KETTERING
WRIGHT Thomas	Flautist	LAMPORT
WOOD W.	String Dealer/Cellist	STOKE ALBANY
WOODLAN Mr.	Bassoon Repair	CLIPSTON
WOODWARD	Choir Leader	EASTON ON THE HILL
YARDLEY Sparks	Cello Repair	BOZEAT

Appendix C – Northamptonshire churchwardens' accounts transcripts

(Alphabetical order within hundreds)

1) Cosgrove (Cleyley)

			£	s.	d.
1794	April 22	Reeds for ye Musical Instrums	0	6	0
1796	March 30	Bought Reed for baſsoon	0	1	0
1796	Oct 19	Two Reeds	0	1	0
1798	April 18	5 Reeds for the Musical Instrument	0	3	6
1798	Nov 13	Reeds for the Musical Instrument	0	4	8
1799	Oct 16	Reeds for ye Musical Instruments	0	3	0
1800	Oct 19	Reeds for Musical Instruments	0	2	0
1810	Oct 19	For reeds & c	0	6	0
		For music books & c	0	13	10
1816	April 15	For playing the organ	2	0	0
	Nov 10	Paid Mr. Barratt teaching the singers to chant	1	8	0

2) Stoke Bruerne (Cleyley)

			£	s.	d.
1773		paid for Reeds	0	6	0
		paid the Reeds Box and Reeds	0	3	9
		paid five shillings towards the Voxhumane	0	5	0
1774		paid an ſhilling for menden the Baſſon Croak	0	1	0
		paid for a hoboy Reed	0	0	9
		paid for a hoboy Reed	0	1	6
	Nov 15	paid for Reeds	0	6	0
1780	Feb 1	paid to Mr. Gritton for Reeds	0	3	0
		paid to Mr. Parrish for Reeds	0	2	6
1781	Jan 30	paid for reeds	0	3	0
	Nov 5	Reeds and one hoboy Reede	0	0	9

1783	July 11	paid forReeds	0	2	0
1785		Pd for two reeds	0	2	0
1787	Nov 5	Pd for two hoboy Reeds	0	1	0
1788		2 baſsoon and 2 Hautboy Reeds	0	3	0
1791		Pd for 2 baſson & Hautboy reeds	0	3	0
1792		Pd for a baſson & Hautboy Reeds	0	1	6
1793		3 Baſson & Hautboy Reeds	0	4	6
		Pd for baſson &Hautboy Reeds	0	3	6
1794		3 baſsoon & 3 Hautboy Reeds	0	4	6
1795		2 Baſson &2 Hautboy Reeds	0	5	0
1801		Pd for Reeds	0	5	0
1803		Pd for Reeds	0	5	0
1804		Pd Wood Williams a Bill for Mending the			
		Baſsoon	0	5	0
		pd for Reeds	0	10	0
1810		Thomas Chapman for Baſs Viol strings	0	14	0
1812	March 20	Pd for 2 Baſsoon reads	0	2	0
	March 29	To Bafs vial Strings	0	7	0
1813	April 19	Thomas Chapman for Baſs viol strings	0	7	0
	Oct 9	Pd for 2 Baſsoons Reeds	0	3	0
1831	Dec 26	Mr. Abel's Bill for Reeds	0	7	0
1832	June 25	Pd for a Baſsoon Reed	0	2	0
1833	March 27	Pd for 3 Baſsoon Reeds	0	6	0

3) Wicken (Cleyley)

			£	s.	d.
1779		Paid for Basoone Reades	0	2	0
1782	Nov 9	2 Basoone Reades	0	2	0
1785	Nov 5	pd for two Baſons reads	0	2	0
1787	June 16	for two Baſsoon Reads	0	2	0

1788	May 7	To two Bafsoon Reads	0	2	0
1789	May 3	One Baſsoone Read	0	1	0
1790	Nov 17	To Thomas Baſson for A Baſesoon Read	0	1	0
1792	April 5	To Thos Baſsons for two Baſsonne Reads	0	2	0

4) Ashley (Corby)

			£	s.	d.
1824	May 11	pd Jn Smalley for a baſs voil bridge	0	0	6
1824	Aug 31	pd for a baſs voil string	0	1	0
	Oct 21	pd for a brigg for the baſs voil	0	0	10
		pd for a string for do	0	0	8
1825	Ap 2	pd Wm Tarrifs (?) for singers meat	0	12	0
	Nov 14	pd for string for bass viol	0	5	0
		Strings for the baſs viol	0	5	0
1829	Feb 24	pd Thos Abbott for baſs strings	0	5	0
		pd for Beef for Singers	0	10	0
1831	March 10	pd for repairing the baſs Voil			
		+ a bridge and string	0	2	10
1832	May 21	pd for a base voil string	0	0	9
1833	Apr 30	pd for a String + bow for base	0	3	3
	Dec 22	pd for strings and for the bass Voil	0	4	2
1834	Nov 29	pd W Skelton for strings for the Base Viol	0	4	7
1835		pd Wm Page for a Bow for baſs Voil	0	6	0
		pd Mr Abbott for strings for baſs	0	4	0
		pd same time for a bridge	0	1	6
1836	Aug 14	pd for bass string	0	0	6
	Oct 11	pd Mr Abbott for a sett of strings	0	4	0
	Dec 20	pd two baſs strings	0	1	6
1839	Jul 3	pd Wm Skelton for string for the base Viol	0	2	0
1840	Apr 12	pd for Strings for the Violin	0	1	10

1843	May	pd for Violin strings	0	3	0
1844	Aug 14	pd for Violin strings	0	3	0

5) Cottingham (Corby)

			£	s.	d.
1812	Mar 27	Pd for 2 Reeds to the Baſsoon	0	4	0
1813	Dec 28	Pd for the Singers	2	2	0
1814	Ap 3	Pd for the Books for the Singers	0	5	0
1815	Dec 26	Pd the Singers	2	2	0
		Pd for 2 Hautboy Reeds and 2 Baſsoon Reeds	0	4	0
1816	Jan 2	Pd the Singers	2	2	0
1816	Nov 4	Pd the Singers	2	2	0
1819	Dec 24	Pd the Singers	2	2	0
1820		Pd the Singers at Crismas	2	2	0
1822	Jan 1	Pd the Singers	2	2	0
1822	Jun 11	Pd for 2 Base Strings	0	2	0
1823	Jan 3	Pd for Base Strings	0	3	4

6) Geddington (Corby)

			£	s.	d.
1789	Jul 12	Pd for Mending the Bass viol	0	14	0
1794	Oct 9	bought 2 strings for the Base Vial	0	1	6
1796	Feb 20	Pd Mr Coll [is +Dash?] (torn page)			
		Strings for the baſs and violin	0	7	5
1796	Oct 13	Pyd for Base Strings	0	1	3
1799	Apr 3	gave Wm Brimming - Tenor String	0	0	6
	May 4	Two 4 scrues of J Baker for the Base Viol	0	2	1
1813	Oct 9	Wm- String for the Voilincelo	0	4	3
1814	Feb 11	Jonathen How strings for the Voilincelo	0	4	4
1824	Apr	pd for a bow for the tenor voil	0	4	0

7) Stoke Albany (Corby)

			£	s.	d.
1803	Dec 3	Pd for 2 Sining (sic) books	0	15	0
	Dec 26	Singers	0	5	0
1804	Dec 26	Pd the Singers	0	5	0
1805	Dec 26	Pd for Singeing	0	5	0
1806	Dec 26	Pd for Singing	0	5	0
1807	Dec 26	Pd for Singing	0	5	0
1808	Dec 26	Pd for Singing	0	5	0
1809	Dec 26	Pd for Singing	0	5	0
1810	Dec 26	Pd for Singing	0	5	0
1813	Nov 5	Pd for Singing	0	5	0
1814	June 15	Pd for Singing	0	5	0
1815		Pd for Singing	0	5	0
1816	June 24	Pd for a Baſs Vioal	3	3	0
	Nov 5	Pd for Singing	0	5	0
1817	Apr 2	Pd for Strings for the Baſse	0	2	6
1818	Dec 27	Pd for Singing	0	5	0
		Pd for Singing	0	4	0
		Strings for the Baſse & Reeds	0	4	6
1819	Dec 27	Pd for Singing	0	5	0
1820	Jan 15	Strings for the Bass and Reeds	0	5	0
	Dec 27	Pd for Singing	0	5	0
1821	Dec 27	Pd for Singing	0	5	0
1822	Apr 4	Pd for Strings for Base	0	2	6
	Dec 25	Pd for Singing	0	5	0
1823	Dec 26	Pd for Singing	0	5	0
1824	Sep 21	Paid for Base strings	0	2	2
	Dec 21	Paid for Singing	0	5	0

1825	Sep 24	Paid for Base Strings	0	1	8
	Nov 5	Paid the Singers	0	5	0
1826	Nov 5	for Base strings	0	1	9
	Dec 28	Pd for Singers	0	10	0
1827	Nov 29	pd the Singers	0	10	0
1828	Sep 24	Pd for Base strings	0	1	6
	Dec 25	Pd the Singers	0	10	0
		for Base Strings	0	2	9
1829	Dec 25	Paid the Singers	0	10	0
1830	Dec 25	Paid the Singers	0	10	0
1831	Dec 25	Pd the Singers	0	10	0
1833	Dec 29	Ringers and Singers	0	15	0
1834	Nov 25	pd Ringers & Singers	0	15	0
1835	Mar 22	Pd for Strings	0	3	0
	Xmas	Gave the Ringers and Singers	0	15	0
1836	Mar 24	Pd for Musical Strings	0	3	6
	Dec 27	Gave the Ringers and Singers	0	15	0
1837	Apr 2	Strings for Music	0	3	6
	Dec 27	Ringers & Singers	0	15	0
1838	Apr 3	Music Strings	0	4	0
	Dec 26	Paid the Ringers & Singers	0	15	0
1839	Dec 27	Pd the Ringers & Singers	0	15	0
1840		W Wood for Strings	0	5	8
	Dec 25	Ringers & Singers	0	15	0
1841	June 16	Strings for Violincello	0	1	8
1842		Singers	0	15	0
1847	Jan 5	Pd for Fiddle strings	0	13	0
		Singers	0	15	0
	Dec 27	Pd the Singers	0	15	0
1849	Dec27	Pd the Singers	0	15	0

1850	Dec27	Pd the Singers	0	15	0
1851	Dec 27	Paid the Singers	0	15	0
1852	Dec27	Pd Singers	0	15	0
1853	Nov 5	Singers & Ringers	0	15	0
1855	Apr 24	Baſs Vioal String	no price given		
	June 1	Singers & Ringers	0	15	0
1856	Jan 7	Singers	0	15	0
	Xmas Day	Ringers & Singers	0	15	0
1857	Xmas day	Ringers & Singers	0	15	0
1858	Feb 9	Abbot for Wine	1	12	0
		Abbot for Fiddle Strings	0	3	0
		Singers & Ringers	0	15	0
1860	Dec 26	Singers & c	0	15	0
1861	Dec 26	Ringers & Singers	0	15	0
1863	Oct 9	Ringers & Singers	0	15	0
	Nov 5	Ringers & Singers	0	15	0
1864	Oct –	Ringers & Singers	0	15	0
		Fiddle string	0	0	6
1865	Xmas day	Ringers & Singers	0	15	0
	Nov 5	Ringers & Singers	0	2	0
1866	Feb 22	Laurence for violin Strings	0	3	2
1867	Xmas Day	Singers & ringers	0	17	6
1868	Mar 25	Bass strings	0	1	6
	Dec 25	Singers [Ringers 7 & 6]	0	10	0
1869	Dec 25	singers	0	10	0
		Candles for Singing	0	0	7
1871-2		Stroud (?) for playing Harmonium	3	0	0

8) Great Weldon (Corby)

			£	s.	d.
1819	Dec 25	Paid to the Singers	0	5	0
1821	Nov 9	Paid the Singers	0	9	0
1822	Dec 23	Paid the Singers	0	5	0
1823	Dec 25	Paid Singers	0	5	0
1824	Dec 25	Paid Singers	0	5	0
1825	Dec 25	Paid the Singers	0	5	0
1826	Dec 25	Pd the Singers	0	5	0
1827	Dec 25	Pd the Singers	0	5	0
1828	Nov 20	Gave the singers	0	5	0
1829	Dec 25	Gave the singers	0	5	0
1830	Dec 25	Paid the Singers	0	5	0
1831	Jan 27	Gave Singers	0	5	0
1838	Apr 27	John Richardson for making a new gallery in the church	16	14	4
1848	Mar 29	Mr Clark for tuning the Organ	0	4	0

9) Little Weldon (Corby)

			£	s.	d.
1810	Nov 14	Gave the Singers at Christmas	0	5	0
1811	Oct 10	Sining (sic) Girls	0	5	0
1814	Dec 25	Gave the Singers	0	5	0
1815	Dec 25	Paid the Singers	0	5	0
1816	Dec 25	Paide the Singers	0	5	0
1817	Dec 26	Paid the Singers	0	5	0
1818	Nov 5	The Singers	0	5	0
1819	Nov 5	The Singers	0	5	0
1820	Dec 25	Paid the Singers	0	5	0
1821	Dec 25	Gave the Singers	0	5	0

1822	Dec 25	Paid the Singers	0	5	0
1823		Payd the Singers at Crismas	0	5	0
1824	Dec 27	Paid the Singers	0	5	0
1825	Dec 27	Paid the Singers	0	5	0
1826	Dec 25	Paid the Singers	0	5	0
1827	Dec 27	Pd the Singers	0	5	0
1828	Dec 25	Gave the Singers	0	5	0
1829	Feb 29	Pd towards a Baſsviol	2	8	0
1829	Dec 25	Paid Singers	0	5	0
1830	Dec 25	Paid Singers	0	5	0
1831	Dec 25	Paid Singers	0	5	0
1832	Dec 26	Singers Fees	0	5	0
1840	Dec 27	Paid the Singers	0	5	0
1841	Dec 25	Singers	0	5	0
1842	Dec 25	Singers	0	5	0
1843	Dec 25	Singers	0	5	0
1844	Dec 25	Paid the Singers	0	5	0
1845	Dec 25	Paid Singers	0	5	0
1846	Dec 25	Pd the Singers	0	5	0
1847	Dec 25	Pd the Singers	0	5	0
1848	Apr 3	Pd for Repairing Organ	0	4	0

10) Weston by Welland (Corby)

			£	s.	d.
1802	July 6	Paid for 4 Baſs Vial Strings	0	4	10
1803	Mar 17	Paid Mr Walker for Meat at the Sing Feast	1	16	11
1804	Sep 28	Paid for the vial Strings	0	4	0
		paid for Meat at the Singers feast	1	12	7
		Paid for the Baſs vial Strings	0	1	0

1805	—	Paid for the Baſs Viol Bag	0	6	6
	—	Paid for the Singers Beef	1	4	0
	—	Paid for the Baſs Voil Strings	0	4	0
1806	—	Paid the Singers beef	1	9	6
1807	—	Paid for a Base viol String	0	1	6
	—	Paid for the Singers Beef	1	11	5
	—	Paid for the Singers Beef	0	14	0
1808	—	Paid for 2 Basevoial strings	0	2	6
1810	—	Paid Mr Gottard Bill for Baseviol strings and Clockwire	0	6	0
1810	Oct 22	Baseveals (sic) Strings	0	2	6
1813	Mar 3	Base Viol Strings	0	3	6
	Apr 29	Paid Mr Goodard for 4 Base Vial Strings	0	4	2
1814	—	2 Base Viol strings	0	2	0
1818	—	Paid for Baſs Viol Strings	0	2	4
1821	—	Pd for 2 Baſs Vioil strings	0	2	4
1826	Oct 12	Pd for 4 Baſs viol strings	0	3	6
1827	Nov 27	2 Baſs Viol strings	0	1	2
1831	Oct 25	Pd for 4 Baſs Viol strings	0	4	0
1832	Apr 22	Singers Beef	1	7	0
1838	Apr 9	4 Baſs Viol strings	0	4	0
1839	Apr 29	Pd for 4 Baſs viol strings	0	4	0
1840	Apr 16	4 Baſs Viol strings	0	4	0
1841	Apr 12	4 Baſs Viol strings	0	4	0
1842	March 25	4 Baſs Viol strings	0	4	0
1843	Apr 14	Strings for the Baſs	0	4	0
1844	Apr 10	Strings for the Baſs	0	4	0
1845	Apr 8	Strings for the Baſs	0	4	0
1846	Apr	Strings for the Baſs	0	4	0

1855	—	Paid for Strings for the Baſs & repairing of do	0	10	0
	—	Paid for Hymn Books for the Singers	0	7	6
1857	Jan 2	Paid for Singers Beef	1	1	7
	Jan 31	Paid for vegetables for Singer	0	2	1
		Paid Wm Staffords bill for Grocery and the Singers Feast	0	7	10

11) Dodford (Fawsley) ***NB There are only year dates in this volume***

			£	s.	d.
1828		Pd Thos by Bill to reparing gallery	0	12	0
1841		Church Music	1	0	0
1844	Jan	Pd W Linnett for Music	1	0	0
1845		W Linnett for Music	1	0	0
1846		W linnett	1	0	0
1847		W Linnett for Music	1	0	0
1848		Church Music	1	0	0
1849		Music	1	0	0
1850		T Linnett	1	0	0
1851	Mar 22	Music	1	0	0
1852		Mr Linnett	1	5	0
1853		W Linnett Music	1	0	0
1854		Music	1	0	0
1855		W Linnett Music	1	0	0
		Basket for Music Books	0	2	6
1856		Music	1	0	0
1857		Music	1	0	0
1858		Music	1	0	0
1859		T Linnett Music	1	0	0
1860		Mr Linnett (cash expenses & Music Fees)	1	8	0
1861		Expenses of Church Music	1	0	0

1862		Church Music, Candles	1	15	0
1863		Thomas Linnett Church Music	1	0	0
1864		Linnett Church Music	1	0	0

12) Ashby St. Ledgers (Fawsley)

			£	s.	d.
1792	Oct	for Psalms Books	0	12	0
1804	Jan	Reeds for the Basehowon	0	2	0
1810		Willm Boltin for Reeds	0	2	6
1815		2 Reeds to the Baſsoon	0	2	0
1821		2 Reeds to the Baſsoon	0	2	0
1823		1 Reed to the Baſsoon	0	1	6
1825		2 reeds to the Baſson	0	3	0
1826		Pd for a Baſson reed	0	1	6
1857	May 20	Paid for 3 Music Books	0	3	0
1860	Jan 24	Paid the Singers	0	5	0
		Paid for Bow for Base Vial	0	4	0
1878	Dec 25	Three New Hymn books	0	7	6

13) Daventry (Fawsley)

			£	s.	d.
1812	Dec 26	Singers Xmaſs Box	0	10	0
1813	Nov 31	Singers Xmaſs Box	0	10	0
1814	Apr 4	Violincello's Strings at Sundry Times	0	5	0
	Dec	Singers Xmaſs Box	0	10	10
1815	Dec 26	Singers Xmaſs Box	1	0	0
1816	Apr	To repairing a Violincello	1	6	4
	Dec 26	Singers Xmaſs Box	1	0	0
1817	Dec 26	Singers Xmaſs Day	1	0	0
1818	Dec 26	Singers Xmaſs Boxes	1	0	0

1819	Dec 28	Singers Xmaſs Box & Order	1	0	0
1821	Dec 26	Paid Singers a Christmas Box	1	0	0
1822	Apr 28	Pd Wm Bird for a Music Book	0	2	6
	Dec 27	Paid the Singers	1	0	0
1823	Dec 26	Paid the Singers Christmas Box	1	0	0
1824	Dec 25	Paid the Singers	1	0	0
1825	Dec 25	Paid Singers Xmas Box	1	0	0
1826	Dec 26	Paid Singers Xmas Box	1	0	0
1827	July 18	Pd Mr Jn Jones for Singers at Conferm^{n}	0	8	0
	Dec 26	Paid Singers Christmas Box	1	0	0
1828	Dec 26	Paid Singers Christmas Box	1	0	0
1829	Dec 25	Paid Singers Christmas Box	1	0	0
1830	Dec 28	Paid Singers Christmas Box	1	0	0
1831	Dec 31	Singers Xm Box	1	0	0
1833	Jan 2	Xms Box Singers	1	0	0
	Dec 26	Paid Singers Xmas Box	1	0	0
1834	Dec 25	Paid Singers Xmas Box	1	0	0
1836	Jan 10	Singers Xmas Box	1	0	0
	Dec 25	Paid Xmas Box to Singers	1	0	0
1838	Jan 10	Xmas Box to the Singers	1	0	0
1839	Jan 3	Xmas Box to the Singers	1	0	0
1840	Jan 4	Xmas Box Singers	1	0	0
1846	Dec 29	Pd Singers at St James's Chapel	0	2	6
1841	Jan 2	Singers Christmas Box	1	0	0
1842	Jan 10	Singers Christmas Box(Mr Naules?)	1	0	0
	Dec 31	Singers Christmas Box	1	0	0
1844	Jan 11	Paid Singers	1	0	0
	Dec 24	Singers	1	0	0
1845	Apr 26	Paid Singers	1	0	0
1846	Feb7	Singers	1	0	0

1847	Dec	Singers	1	0	0
1848	Dec 19	Singers	1	0	0
1849	Dec 14	To the Singers Fund	1	0	0
1851	Jan 8	Singers Annual Subscription	1	0	0
	Dec 22	Singers Fund	1	0	0
1852	Dec 22	pd to Organ Fund	1	0	0
1853	Dec 25	Mr C Daniel for Organ Fund	1	0	0

14) Everdon (Fawsley)

			£	s.	d.
1813	Apr 9	For Strings For the Baſs - viol	0	4	0
		For Reeds for the Baſshoon	0	2	0
1816	March 26	Viol strings	0	3	10
		A baſsoon Reead	0	1	0
1823	March	To Thos Burton by Bills for Washing & Mending and Finding Brushes Make Besams & Voil Strings and Dust Clothes for 4 Years	5	10	7
1834	March 26	Paid for a New Set of vial Strings	0	3	6
1835	Apr 22	Paid for Base voil Bow	0	5	0
1836	Apr 28	New Version Psalm Books for Singers	0	1	8
1837	March 25	Voil Strings	0	4	6

15) Helmdon (Fawsley)

			£	s.	d.
1819	March 3	Pd Mr Betts a Bill Repairing a Violoncello and Carriage	2	9	6
1828	March 27	Pd for a new Bow for the Baſs Voil a new Bridge and Strings	1	12	0
1831	Feb 21	Paid Stephan Watkins for mending the Baſs Voil	0	2	4
		4 New strings for do do	0	4	0

1838	May 3	Paid for repairingthe Baſs Voil and Bow New			
		Bridge & Strings	0	8	6
		paid for a New Bag for do	0	3	6
1843	March 1	Repairing the Baſs Viol	2	8	0

16 Kilsby (Fawsley)

			£	s.	d.
1822		Pd for Reeds	0	2	0
1824	Dec 25	Pd singers	0	10	0
1825	Dec 26	Paid the Singers At Christmas	0	10	0
1826	Dec 28	Paid the Singers at Christmas	0	10	0
1827	March 27	Pd Webb for Reeds	0	2	0
	Dec 25	Pd the Singers	0	10	0
1828	June 4	Pd the Singers	0	10	0
		Pd John Webb for Reeds	0	2	0
1829	Dec 28	Paid the Singers	0	10	0
1831	Jan 4	Paid the Singers	0	10	0
	June 29	Pd for singers Books	2	5	6
1833	Dec 15	Pd Singers	0	10	0
1834	Dec 25	Pd the Singers	0	10	0
1854		Mr Buntings Bill for Tuning Organ	2	2	0

17) Preston Capes (Fawsley)

			£	s.	d.
1777	—	Pd for A New Baſsoon	3	13	6
1781	Oct 22	To Reeds for the Baszoon	0	2	0
1786	July 19	Paid for Two reeds for the Baſson	0	2	0
1792	—	Paid for two reeds for the Basson	0	2	0
1785	—	Paid Mr Blockley for Repairing Baſsoon	0	15	0
		For a new Reed	0	1	0

1796	—	Paid for a new Baſsoon Reed	0	1	0
1805	Oct 14	Pd John Blockley for Reeds and repairing Baſsoon	0	11	0
1813	—	Thos Willouby for reeds and repearing Baſsoon	0	5	0

18) Moreton Pinkney (Greens Norton)

			£	s.	d.
1800	Apr 29	Pd for a first String for the Bass vioal	0	0	0
	May 29	Pd for a Third String for the Vioal	0	1	3
	June 14	Pd Two yds of Stuff to make a Case for the Baſs Vioal	0	3	0
1801	Oct 3	Paid for mending the Baſs Vioal	0	10	6
1806	Oct 20	Pd for a String for Vioal	0	0	9
1808	Feb 8	Two strings for the Vioal	0	2	1
1810	Oct 19	First String for the Baſs	0	0	8
1811	July 10	Pd for A String Viol	0	0	4
1814	March 25	Strings for Viol	0	2	6
1815	March 29	One String for the Viol	0	1	4
1826	Oct 20	Pd Sam[l] Gilks for Repairing the Bass Vile	0	6	0

19) Blakesley (Greens Norton)

			£	s.	d.
1812	Dec 25	Pd for Base Voil Strings for 3 years and repairing	1	0	0
1815	March	Pd V Higham Baſs viol Strings	0	7	6
	July	Pd V Higham Baſs viol Strings	0	7	6
1817	May 31	Pd for repairing strings for the Baſs Vioal 2 yrs	0	16	0
1819	Nov	Paid Valtine Higham for bass viol strings for 2 yrs	0	13	6
1821	March 26	Paid Mr Highams Bill	0	14	6

1824	April 18	paid Mr Corsby for Repairing of the Baſs Viol	1	11	6
	—	Pd V Higham for viol Strings for 2 Years	0	10	6
1828	April 13	Paid for strings for the Baſs voil	0	5	0
1829	April 10	Paid for strings for the Voilincello	0	5	0
1832	Dec 24	Violin strings	0	5	0
	—	Repairing the Baſs Voil	1	19	6
1833	March 24	Carriage from Northampton of the Violincio	0	1	0
1834	March 26	Thomas Higham Strings for the Violencoe	0	5	0
1835	April 16	Thos Higham Strings for the Violincello	0	5	0
	—	Thos Higham Strings for the Violincello	0	5	0
1836	Apr 12	Viol Strings	0	5	0
1837	Oct 18	Thos Highams bill	0	5	0
1839	Apr 9	Thos Higham for Viol strings	0	5	0
1840	—	Viol strings	0	5	0

20) Bradden (Greens Norton)

			£	s.	d.
1787	—	Pd for a Book of Psalms for the Parish Clerk	0	2	0
1794	—	Allowed to Mr Wright for Psalm Books	10	17	6
1813	—	Paid for the Bason coming	0	1	6
1827	Nov 5	Two Baſsoon Reeds	0	3	6
1830	Dec 27	Mr Gaskins for repairing Baſsoon	0	6	0
1831	May 31	Paid Mr Lowsby for reapairng Baſsoon	0	16	0
	—	James Swan for carriage of Baſsoon to and from Northampton	0	6	0
	—	Two new reeds	0	4	0

21) Silverstone (Greens Norton)

			£	s.	d.
1777	—	Two base viall string	0	1	3
1778	April	To a string for the Baseviall	0	1	0
	May	String for the Baseviall	0	1	0
	August	To Two strings for the base Viall	0	2	0
1779	Nov 31	To Base Viall strings	0	2	6
1780	Jan 21	paid for 2 Strings for the Base Viall	0	2	2
	Apr 29	Pd Luke Bucknam for Reeds for the Hoboy	0	1	0
1781	Mar 9	Paid Joseph Bucknam for Base Vial Strings	0	4	6
	June 22	Luk Buknam 2 Reeds for the Hoby	0	1	0
	July 28	Pd Ritch Gardiner for Base Viall string	0	1	0
	Oct 12	Pd Luke Bucknam hoboy Reed	0	0	9
	Dec 11	Two strings for the Baseviall	0	2	3
1782	May 31	To Three Reed for the hoboy	0	1	9
	Aug 23	Two Strings for the bass viall	0	2	0
1783	March 4	Pd Ritch^{d} Gardiner for 2 Strings for the base viall	0	2	0
	Apr 12	Pd Luke Bucknam for Hoboy Reed	1	1	0
	Nov 19	Pd Rittch^{d} Gardiner 3 Strings and Carridge for the base viall	0	3	4
1786	—	Pd Ritch^{d} Gardiner for 2 Base Viall strings	0	2	10
	Oct 9	Pd for 3 Strings for the Base Viall and Carrig	0	2	9
1816	March 19	Hennrey Holt for 2 years Vilin Strings	0	4	9
1817	March 17	Will^{m}and George Base Vial Strings Easter 1817	0	5	0
	Oct 19	Pd Henrey Holt for vilion strings	0	2	0
		Will Linnel Base Vial Strings	0	5	0
1818	Oct 22	Henery Holt for Violin Strings	0	2	0
		Will^{m}Linnel Base vial Strings	0	5	0
1820	Apr 18	Will^{m}Linnell Strings for the Base Vial	0	5	0
	July 19	Benjaman Band To Buy Reads for Clarnet	0	1	0

1832	Apr 25	Paid to the Singers	0	10	0
1833	Jan 1	Paid the Singers for Christmas	0	10	0
1834	Jan 16	Paid the Singers for Christmas	0	10	0
1836	March 12	Paid the Singers for Christmas	0	10	0
1837	March 25	Singers at Christmas	0	10	0
1838	March 23	Singers at Christmas	0	10	0

22) Cold Ashby (Guilsborough)

			£	s.	d.
1781	Oct 18	Pd for Baſsoon	3	9	0
1781	March 22	Two Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	2	0
1788	March 30	Paid for 2 Reeds for Ye Baſsoon	0	2	0
1789	April 11	Paid for two Hautboy Reeds	0	1	0
	May 13	Paid towards the gallery	10	0	0
1792	Apr 9	Paid for Two Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	2	0
	Nov 5	Paid For Mending the Baſsoon	0	2	6
	July 12	for 2 Hautboy Reeds	0	1	0
1793	Apr 3	2 Baſsoon reeds	0	2	0
1794	Apr 21	Paid for 2 Baſsoon Reeds	0	2	0
1795	Apr 17	2 Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	2	0
	Apr 22	Paid for repairing the Baſsoon	1	11	6
	Nov 5	Paid for a Baſs Viol	2	10	0
1796	March 28	2 reeds for the Baſsoon	0	2	0
1797	Feb 14	Paid for 2 Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	2	0
1798	March 30	Paid for 4 Strings for the Baſs voil	0	4	0
	Apr 5	Paid for 2 reeds for the Baſsoon	0	2	0
1799	March 25	2 Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	2	0
1800	Apr 14	Paid for 2 reeds for the Baſsoon	0	2	0
	Nov 5	for 2 reeds for the Baſsoon	0	2	0
	Nov 5	Paid for a Bow for the Baſs voil	0	7	6

1802	Apr 14	2 reeds for Bassoon	0	2	0
	June 14	Paid for a bridge for the Baſs voil	0	1	0
1803	Apr 8	2 reeds for the Bassoon	0	2	0
1804	Apr 3	2 reeds for the Bassoon	0	2	0
1805	Apr 15	2 reeds for the Bassoon	0	2	0
1806	Apr 7	Two reeds for the Bassoon	0	2	0
1807	March 30	Two reeds for the Bassoon	0	2	0
1808	Apr 17	Two reeds for the Bassoon	0	2	0
1809	Apr 3	Two reeds for the Bassoon	0	2	0
	Apr 10	Paid for a set of strings for Bass Viol	0	5	0
1810	Apr 20	Paid for 2 Reeds for the Bassoon	0	2	0
1811	Apr 15	Paid for 2 Reeds for the Bassoon	0	2	0
1812	March 30	Two new Reeds for the Bassoon	0	2	0
	July 23	Paid for two Strings for the Bass viol	0	2	2
1813	July 31	Paid for 2 reeds for the Bassoon	0	2	6
	July 31	Paid for Strings for the Bass Voil	0	3	8
1819	March 25	Rec^{d}for the old Bass voil	1	5	0
1821	March 8	Paid for Mending a Key for Baſsoon	0	0	6
1837	March 25	Paid for the Bass viol Strings	0	3	2
1839	May 1st	repairng Baſs viol	0	3	2
	Nov 9	Bass Vial Strings	0	2	0
1867	Feb 7	3 Hymn Books	0	6	0
1869		Cherries Bill for enlarging of Singers'Pew	2	3	10
		Sep tuning Organ	0	10	0

23) Crick (Guilsborough)

			£	s.	d.
1812	—	Baſs Voil Strings	0	4	3
1813	—	Music Books for Crick Choir	1	2	0
1816	Jan 27	Voil Strings	0	5	0

1818	—	Copying the Regester and Voil Strings	0	9	6
	—	Pd for a Music Book for the Choir	1	1	0
1821	Oct 30	Wm Haddon for Voil Strings	0	15	0
1825	Nov 20	paid towards erecting the Galery	25	17	6
1834	July 10	To Wm Haddon for Baſs voil Strings	0	5	0
1835	June 25	Wm Haddon for Baſs Voil Strings	0	5	0
1837	Jan 9	Wm Haddon for Baſs Voil String	0	5	0
1841	Jan 27	Strings for the Bass Violin	0	5	0
1842		Mr Ellstow, Repairing and Tuning the Organ	2	0	0

24) Yelvertoft (Guilsborough)

			£	s.	d.
1820	—	Plaistering the gallery	not noted separately		
1821	—	green bag for the baſs	0	5	0
1825	—	Pd towards a Box for the singers	0	8	6
1827	—	painting the church and gallery	not noted separately		
1835	Oct 27	4 Base strings	0	3	0
1839	Jan 4	Repairing base	0	16	6
1840	—	three Base strings & carr^{d}	0	2	5s

25) Easton Maudit (Higham Ferrers)

			£	s.	d.
1819	June 15	Paid for a Claronet	1	2	0
		Paid for strings to baſs- voil	0	5	0
1822	Nov 8	For Candlesticks for the gallery	0	3	0
1823	Apr 14	1 lb of candles for singers	0	0	$7^{1}/2$
1824	Jan 10	1 lb of candles for singers	0	0	$7^{1}/2$
	Apr 26	2 lbs of candles for the Singers	0	1	2
	July 17	2 Reeds for a Claronet	0	1	0
1825	March 20	2 clarionet Reeds	0	1	4

1828	Apr 17	2 Reeds for the Clarinet	0	1	0
1829	March 30	2 Reeds for the Clarinet	0	1	4
	Aug 18	Clarionet reed	0	0	4
	Sep 19	Paid for repairing a Clarionet	0	3	6
	Oct 12	Baſs vial strings	0	3	6
	Dec 24	Singers' Annual donation	1	5	0
	Dec 24	Psalm Book for singers	0	5	0
1830	Jan 1	Paid for Clarionet Reids	0	2	0
	Apr 10	Baſs Viol Strings	0	1	6
		Slate for the Singers	0	0	6
	Oct 2	clarionet Reeds, Baſs String + rosin	0	2	6
	Dec 24	Singers' Annual Donation	1	5	0
1831	March 12	Three Clarionet Reeds	0	1	0
	May 21	Set of Strings for the Baſs viol	0	4	0
		2 Clarionet Reeds	0	0	4
	Oct 12	2 yards of Green Baize to make a baſs Voil Bag	0	3	8
	Oct 12	Clarionet Reeds plus Baſs Strings	0	3	4
	Oct 14	pd for repg a Baſs Viol	0	5	0
	Dec 24	Singers Annual Donation	1	5	0
1832	May 27	Baſs String Plus Clarionet Reeds	0	1	6
	Sep 22	Third string for the Bass	0	1	0
	Sep 29	Three Clarionet Reeds	0	1	0
	Dec 25	Paid the Singers	1	5	0

1833	Jan 5	Baſs Strings plus clarionet Reeds	0	1	4
	March 30	Paid for hairing Baſs viol Bow	0	1	6
	Feb 4	Paid for mending a clarionet	0	5	0
	Feb 9	a first and third string for the Baſs	0	1	8
	May 7	Clarionet Reeds	0	1	0
	Aug 26	Baſsoon Reeds plus Clarionet do	0	3	0
	Sep 9	Strings for the Bass	0	1	8
	Oct 7	Third String for the Bass	0	1	0
	Dec 24	Paid the Singers	1	5	0
1834	Dec 17	Paid the Singers	1	5	0
	Dec 27	2 Doz of Psalm Books for the use of the Singers	0	10	6
1835	July 1st	Paid L Johnson for a set of Viol Pegs and repg the finger-board	0	3	0
	Nov 24	two Basſsoon Reeds	0	2	6
	Dec 24	Singers	1	5	0
1836	March 25	Two Clarionet reeds	0	0	6
		Rosin and Baſs Strings	0	1	2
	Nov 26	3 Baſs Viol Strings	0	3	2
	Dec 24	Singers	1	5	0
1837	Aug 26	A four Baſs Viol string	0	1	6
	Oct 4	A Baſsoon Reed	0	1	9
	Dec 25	Singers	1	5	0
1838	Nov 23	Rosin for the Baſs- viol	0	0	6
	Dec 21	Paid the Singers	1	5	0
1839	March 2	Baſsoon reed	0	1	9
		Bâſs- voil string	0	0	8
		3 Psalm Books for the Singers	0	1	6
	Oct 26	1st String for the Baſs	0	0	8
	Dec 24	Singers	1	5	0

1840	Apr 25	Music for the Church	0	18	0
		Baſs Viol Stringſ	0	0	6
	July 11	Baſsoon Reed	0	1	6
	Sep 12	2 Strings for the Baſs	0	1	4
	Dec 12	Viol strings and Rosin	0	2	0
	Dec 24	Singers	1	5	0
1841	Jan 23	Basſoon Reed	0	1	6
	Aug 28	2 Baſs Strings	0	1	8
	Nov 9	Baſsoon Reed	0	1	6
	Dec 24	singers	1	5	0
1842	May 4	2 Baſs Viol Strings	0	1	6
	May 14	Hall's Psalm tunes	0	10	0
	June 6	Corby for mendg a Clarionet	0	2	0
	Nov 19	A Baſsoon reed	0	1	6
	Dec 24	Singers	1	5	0
	Dec 31	2 Bafs Viol Strings	0	1	6
1843	Nov 22	Baſsoon for the church	1	0	0
	Dec 23	Singers	1	5	0
1844	Jan 20	Baſsoon reed	0	1	6
	June 22	A baſsoon reed	0	1	6
	July 6	Set of Baſs Viol Strings	0	3	10
	Nov 29	Two Strings for Baſs Viol	0	1	0
	Dec 24	Singers	1	5	0
1845	Jul 5	A Baſsoon reed	0	1	6
		Baſs Vial strings	0	3	0
	Dec 25	Paid the Singers	1	5	0
1846	Feb 28	3 Strings for the Baſs Viol	0	3	0
	July 11	3 Baſs Viol Strings	0	1	4
	July 17	Paid to Mr Causby for putting new hair to bow	1	11	2
	Dec 9	Donation to Singers	1	5	0

1847	Jan 2	Baſs viol Strings	0	1	1
	Dec 24	Donation to singers	1	5	0
1848	Jan 1	Set of Baſs Viol strings	0	3	8
	Dec 24	Donation to Singers	1	5	0
1849	Jan 4	A Set of Strings for the Baſs viol	0	3	0
	May 19	Clarionet reed	0	0	6
	Nov 14	Clarionet reed	0	0	4
	Dec 25	Donation to Singers	1	5	0
1850	Jan 21	Clarionet reeds	0	0	4
	March 25	Clerk's wages from Mich' to Lady Day	1	15	0
	do	Clarionet reed	0	0	4
	Dec 24	Donation to Singers	0	10	6

26) Raunds (Highham Ferrers)

			£	s.	d.
1809	—	Baſs strings	Price Missing		
1812	Oct 21	Mr Day Mending the Baſs	0	3	6
1814	—	Thos Gilbert's Bill for repairing the Baſs	1	0	0
1815	—	For the Bass Bow	0	1	0
1820	Sep 22	Baſs Strings	0	1	0
1821	June 5	Thos Blott for Bass strings	0	8	6
1822	Apr 15	Baſs Vioal Bow mendg	0	1	6
	Aug	Baſs strings	0	7	1
1823	Apr 18	Baſs string	0	1	6
1824	May 27	2 Baſs strings	0	1	6
	Nov 24	Baſs strings	0	4	10
1834	Oct 18	Baſs viol strings	0	5	0
1835	Apr 29	Baſs viol Strings	0	5	0
	Nov 16	James Hall repairing violonchello	0	1	6
1878	Oct 28	Mr Geo Warner Repairing our Organ	0	6	6

27) Ringstead (Highham Ferrers)

			£	s.	d.
1825	—	Wood in gallery	0	10	6
1834	Feb 19	A Bays Bag for Baſs viol	0	3	6
	—	Strings for Baſs viol	0	3	6
1835	July	To Mr Nobles for repairing Base viol	0	11	0
1836	Jan 23	To a book for Singers	0	11	0

28) Irthlingborough (Higham Ferrers)

			£	s.	d.
1812	Aug 11	Pd Marriott of Rushden for repairing the Baſs	1	17	6
1817	Nov 3	Gave Ric^{d} Smith the Singer	0	5	0
1817	Dec 13	Gave Singers at Christmas	0	5	0
1818	[no date]	Gave the singers at two different times	0	4	6
1818	[no date]	Gave the Singers for teaching the Children to sing	1	10	0
1819	Oct 30	gave the Singers at different times in the Year	0	4	0
1819	May 24	Gave the Singers 6 of them 5s and 1 2/6d for teaching the children at Sunday School to sing	1	7	6
	June 8	Pd Mr Aris for 12 psalm books	0	15	0
		Pd Chas Allen for repairing of the Baſs	0	0	6
1820	May 6	Pd the Singers for Teaching the children at the Sunday to Sing Five of them 5/- each	1	5	0
		Gave Ric Warren for giving out the Psalms	0	5	0
	July 24	Pd Mr Aris for 12 Psalm books 2 dozen	0	18	6
		Gave the Singers at Christmas	0	5	0
		Pd Harvey of Wllingboro for repairing a musical instrument	0	3	6

1821		Gave the Singers for teaching the children at the Sunday to Sing. Warren, Chad, Cuthbert, Cox and Horner	1	5	0
		Pd to 3 1 shilling	0	3	0
		Gave the singers 5 of them at the Sunday school 6 each	0	2	6
	June 6	Gave the Singers 7 of them 6 each	0	3	6
	Sun. Aug. 11	Gave the Singers	0	1	6
	Sun. Sept 15	Gave the Singers	0	2	0
		Pd Mrs Sumpter on account of the ringers and singers at the Coronation as for bill	1	2	0
		Gave the singers their Christmas Box	0	5	0
1822	Aug 21	Pd for repairing Baſs Viol	4	12	6
		Pd to the Singers	0	6	0
1823	Feb 27	Mr Aris for Viol strings.	0	5	0
1824	Dec22	Viol Strings	0	4	9
1825	Dec 25	The Ringers and Singers Christmas Box	0	10	0
1826	—	Set of viol Strings	0	4	3
	May 6	R Cuthbert for repairing a Bow of Baſs Viol	0	1	6
	Nov 26	Candles for The Church Music	0	9	6
	Dec 25	Singers Christmas Box	0	5	0
1827	Feb 26	Mr Abek [Abel] for Musical instrument	1	18	6
		Mr Whitten for Viol String			
	Feb 27	Mr Whittam for Viol String	0	2	9
	Apr 18	Singers Christmas Box	0	1	0
	Dec 25		0	5	0
1828	Feb 19	Mr Sumpter for the Singers and Ringers Christmas box	0	10	0
1829	May 22	Mr Groome for a set of viol strings	0	4	3
	Dec 25	Singers Christmas Box	0	5	0

1831	Dec 19	2 strings for Baſs Vioal	0	1	9
		Gave singers a Christmas Box	0	5	0
1832	Dec 22	4 Oboy Reeds Th^{s} Smith	0	6	0
		A sett of Baſs strings	0	4	3
1833	Feb 19	In Changin 2 oboy reeds	0	1	6
	Dec 28	Pd ringers & singers Christmas Box	0	10	0
1834	Jan 15	Pd for obey Reeds	0	6	0
	July 15	Paid for Baſs viol Strings	0	2	3
	Dec 25	Ringers and Singers for a Christmas Box	0	10	0
1835	Dec 25	the singers	0	5	0
1836	Apr 7	Paid for a new set of Baſs Strings	0	3	9
	May 29	Paid for a New Baſs Bridge	0	1	6
	Dec 26	Paid the Singers	0	5	0
1837	Dec 21	The Singers	0	5	0
	Dec 26	Fords Bill for Baſs strings	0	6	3
1838	Apr 1	Paid for Hautboy Reeds $^{1}/_{2}$ each	0	3	6
	Dec 25	Paid the Singers	0	5	0
1839	Apr 1	Paid for Hautboy Reeds	0	5	0
	Dec 21	Paid for Baſs Viol Strings	0	1	6
	Dec 25	Paid the Singers	0	5	0
1840	Dec 25	Paid the Singers	0	5	0
1841	Feb 27	Paid for 3 Oboe Reeds	0	5	0
	Dec 25	Pd the Singers	0	5	0
1842	Dec 26	Paid the Singers	0	5	0
1843	Dec 25	Paid the Singers	0	5	0
1845	Dec 25	Paid the Ringers and Singers 5s each	0	10	0
1846	Dec 19	Ringers at Christmas, Singers at Christmas	0	10	0
1847		Singers at Christmas	0	5	0
1848		Gave the Singers at Christmas	0	5	0
1849	May 1	Pd Mr John Freestone for a new Baſs	4	0	0

1850	Dec 25	Singers Christmas Box	0	5	0
1853	Aug 25	Gave Warren, Baxter and Roodsby for Vi^{n}			
		Strings	0	15	0
	Dec 25	Singers 5s Ringers 5s at Christmas	0	10	0
1855	May 30	Pd Croſby of Northampton Repairing Bass	0	10	0
		Singers at Christmas	0	5	0
1856	Dec 25	Singers at Christmas	0	5	0
1857	Aug 12	Pd the balance of the Double baſs	4	2	6
		Singers Christmas	0	5	0
1858	Dec 14	Pd Maſsam for a Double Baſs String	0	2	6
		Singers	0	5	0
1859	June	At the request of the Rector, the choir and other, the churchwardens allowed £3.10.6 towards the expense of the Choir going to Peterborough Cathedral, to a grand Singing party for the improvement of Church Choirs. The greatest part of the expense was paid by Subscription	3	10	6
		Pd Singers & Ringers at Christmas	0	10	0
1860	Apr 12	Pd M Bellamy for binding Books for the Church Choir as per bill	0	11	0
1861	March 30	for repairing double baſs	0	10	0
	Dec 28	Singer Christmas	0	5	0
1862	June 19	Expense of Choir to Peterborough	1	13	6
		Singers	0	5	0
1863	July 26	Expenses of Choir to Peterborough	2	15	0
1865	Dec	Singers for Xmas	0	5	0
1868	Dec 26	Singers & Ringers	0	10	0
1869	Dec 25	Singers & Ringers	0	10	0
1870	Dec 25	Singers & Ringers	0	10	0

29) Lowick (Higham Ferrers)

			£	s.	d.
1774	May 23	paid for 2 Baſsoon reeds	0	2	0
1776	—	For Reeds for 2 years for Musik	0	4	6
1780	May 22	Pd for Reads on the basone for 4 Years	0	8	0
1783	May 29	Pd for the Basoon Mending	0	15	0
1787	—	Paid Richard Gadsby for Reeds for 7 years past	0	7	0
1790	Apr	Paid Richard Gadsby for reeds and Strings	0	5	0
1791	Apr 1	Pd to Richard Gadsby for Reeds	0	5	0
1792	Apr 9	Paid to Richard Gadsby for Reeds	0	5	0
1793	Apr 1	to Richd Gadsby 2 Reeds and Strings	0	5	0
1794	Apr 15	Pd to Richard Gadsby for Reeds	0	5	0
1795	Jan	Paid to Richard Gadsby for reeds and String	0	5	0
1796	March 24	Pd to Richard Gadsby for Reeds and strings	0	5	0
1798	—	Paid Richd Gadsby for reeds and Strings	0	5	0
	Dec 24	Paid Mr Drage for Reparring Baſsoon	0	4	6
	—	Paid Mr Drage for his Baſsoon	0	9	0
1799	March 20	Alowed for Richard Gadsby at of the Verstrey for Som Reeds	0	5	0
1800	March 28	Pd Pd to Mr Drage for reeds and Cleaning the Baſsoon	0	11	6
	Apr 14	Allowed Ric^{d} Gadsby for String	0	5	0
1801	Apr 6	Alowd Richd Gadsby	0	5	0
1802	Apr 20	Alow^{d} R Gadsby	0	5	0
1840		The Church Singers at Christmas	1	0	0
1842		The Church Singers at Christmas	1	0	0
1843	July 12	Six hymn for the Singers One Rector	0	9	0
	Sep 3	The Church Singers at Christmas 1843	1	0	0
1863		William Horne for Playing the Organ 4 Sundays	0	15	0

30) Woodford(Higham Ferrers)

			£	s.	d.
1811	Dec 25	Gave the Singers and Ringers	0	8	0
1812	Apr 20	Paid Mr Beal for 2 years Base Strings	0	14	5
	Dec 25	Singers	0	5	0
	—	Violencel Bow haired	0	2	6
1813	May 11	Paid Mr Beal for Baſs strings	0	6	5
	Dec 25	Ringers and Singers	0	7	6
1817	—	Paid Mr Beal for Baſs strings	0	8	7
1818	Feb 17	Paid Mr Beal for Baſs strings	0	3	5
	Dec 25	Gave the Singers	0	2	6
1819	Apr 3	Paid for Baſs Bow new hairing and brush for church	0	6	0
	Apr 19	Mr Beal his bill for Baſs string	0	6	5
1827	Oct 24	Ringers and Singers at Christmas	0	10	0
1828	Apr 23	Paid for Note Book and Baſs Strings	0	11	3
	Dec 23	Pd Ringers and Singers at Christmas	0	10	0
1829	Apr 18	Pd for strings for Baſs	0	7	0
	June 2	Paid for Base Bag	0	3	7
	Dec	Paid Ringers and Singers 5s each	0	10	0
1830	March 6	Base strings	0	1	6
	July 27	Base strings	0	1	9
	Dec 25	Paid the Ringers and Singers 5s each	0	10	0
1831	June 10	Base string	0	1	6
	Dec 26	Paid the Singers	0	2	6
1832	Sep 1	Paid for Base String	0	0	10
	Dec 25	Singers and Ringers 2/6 each	0	5	0
1833	Feb 22	Paid for Base string	0	1	6
	Apr 27	Paid for two Base Strings	0	1	6
	Dec 25	Paid the Singers	0	2	6

1834	Jan 31	Paid Mr Dash for Base Strings	0	2	6
	May 14	Paid Mr Dash for Base Strings	0	0	10
	Dec 25	Ringers and Singers 2/6 each	0	5	0
1835	June 12	Base String	0	0	8
	July 10	Base String	0	1	0
	Sept 11	Base String	0	0	9
	Dec 25	Ringers 2/6 Singers 2/6	0	5	0
1836	March 31	Paid for Base strings	0	0	10
	June 25	Paid Dicks of Ringstead for repairng the Church Base	0	10	0
	Oct 26	Paid for Base Bow new haired and stringed	0	2	0
	Nov 18	Paid Mr Dash for Base string	0	1	4
	Dec 25	Ringers and Singers at Christmas	0	5	0
1837	May 5	Paid Mr Dash for Base string	0	0	9
	Oct 20	Paid for Base string	0	0	9
	Dec 25	Ringers and Singers	0	5	0
	Dec 26	Paid Mr Foister's bill for binding 2 Music Books	0	3	6
1838	July 3	Base string	0	0	8
	Sep 15	Paid Mr Foster for Base	0	1	0
	Dec 25	Ringers $^{2}/_{6}$ Singers $^{2}/_{6}$	0	5	0
1839	March 18	Base Bow new haird	0	2	6
	June 28	Paid Mr Bryan Smith for Survey of work and valuation of a new gallery in Woodford Church	1	10	0
	July 31	Paid Mr Humphrey for Building a New Gallery in the church by Valuation of Mr Bryan Smith of Kettering	97	10	9
	Dec 25	Paid the Ringers $^{2}/_{6}$ Singers $^{2}/_{6}$	1	5	0
1840		Paid Mr Ibbs for Base String	0	1	7
	July 22	Paid Mr Ibbs for Base Bow 5/- string 7d	0	5	7
	Dec 25	Ringers 2/6 Singers 2/6	0	5	0

1841	March 23	Paid Mr Ibbs for Base string	0	1	4
	Oct 7	Base strings	0	1	5
	Dec 25	Singers at Christmas	0	2	6
1842	May 22	2 Base Strings	0	1	0
	Dec 26	Ringers and Singers	0	5	0
1843		Ringers and Singers at Christmas	0	5	0
1844	Apr 9	Mr Ibbs bill for Baſs Strings	0	2	4
	Dec 25	Singers at Christmas 2/6 each	0	2	6
1845	March 4	Mr Ibbs for Base string	0	0	6
	Dec 25	Ringers and Singers 2/6 each	0	5	0
1846	Dec 25	Ringers and Singers at Christmas	0	5	0
1847	Dec 25	Ringers and Singers at Christmas	0	5	0
1848	Dec 25	Gave Ringers and Singers	0	5	0
1849	Dec 25	Ringers and Singers	0	5	0
1850	July 10	Paid for Baſs Strings	0	2	8
	Dec 25	Ringers and Singers	0	5	0
1851	Feb 14	Bas for Baſs	0	1	0
	June 14	For mending Baſs bow	0	0	2
	Dec 18	A String for the Baſs	0	0	7
	Dec 25	Gave Ringers 2/6 Singers 5/-	0	7	6
1852	Dec 25	Singers 5/- Ringers 2/6	0	7	6
	Dec 25	Two strings for the Baſs	0	1	0
1853	July 29	Books Psalm & Hymn Tunes	0	7	6
	Dec 25	Singers 5/- Ringers 5/-	0	7	6
1854	Dec 25	Ringers 2/6 Singers 5/-	0	7	6
	Dec 26	Paid Mr Ibbs for reparing tune books	0	2	9
1855	Dec 25	Singers 5/- Ringers 2/6	0	7	6
1856	Dec 25	Ringers and Singers	1	0	0
1857	Dec	Ringers and Singers	1	0	0
1858	Nov 14	Coker for Harmonium	0	3	0

31) Brackley (Kings Sutton)

			£	s.	d.
1810		Church Musick	0	5	0
1813		Church Musick	0	5	0
	Apr 26	Allow'd for church musick	5	6	6
1817	Oct 11	Mr J Barretts Bill	0	7	0
		Do for the Church Music	1	5	0
1818	March	Church Music	1	5	0
1819	June 23	Church Music	1	5	0
1821	—	Church Music	1	5	0
1821	June 5	Church Music	1	5	0
1822	May 23	Church Music	1	5	0
1823	Nov 11	Church Music	1	5	0
1824-5		[No Church music was entered but Barret was paid £1.5.0]			
		Repairing Violin	0	10	0
1825-6		Barrett books	20	13	9
		Church Music	1	5	0
1826-7		Barrett (Musick)	2	0	0
1827-8		Barrett for Music	1	5	0
1828-9		Barrett for Music	1	5	0
1829-30		Mr Barretts Bill	1	16	0
1830-31		Mr Barretts Bill	1	11	3
1831-32		Mr Barretts Bill	1	11	3
1850-51		Charles Cox (tuning organ)	0	12	0

32) Culworth (Kings Sutton)

			£	s.	d.
1785		Pd for reeds for the Bassoon and Haut Boy	0	3	0
1786		Pd for reeds for the Bassoon and Haut Boy	0	3	0
1788		Two Reeds for the Baſsoon etc etc	0	3	0
1789		Pd for reeds for the Bassoon	0	3	0
1790		Reads for the Baſsoon	0	3	0
1791		Pd for Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	3	0
1793		Pd for Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	3	0
		Reeds for the Basoon	0	3	0
1794		Pd for the Basoon	0	3	0
1795		Pd reeds for the Bason	0	3	0
1796		Pd for Reeds for the Basoon	0	3	0
1797	June 24	Pd for Reeds for the Basoon	0	3	0
1798	June 11	Reed for the Basoon	0	3	0
1800		R Benjamin for Reeds	0	3	0
1801	Apr 26	Pd Richd Benjamin for Reeds	0	3	0
1802	May 2	Reeds for the Basoon	0	3	0
1804	March 30	Pd Richd Benjamin for Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	3	0
1806	Apr 19	Pd Richd Benjamin for Reeds	0	3	0
1807	May 2	Pd Richd Benjamin for Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	3	0
1808		Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	3	0
1809	June 11	Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	3	0
1811	Feb 13	Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	3	0
	June 3	Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	3	0
1812	Sep 22	R^{d} Benjamin for Reeds	0	3	0
1813	Apr 9	Pd Richd Benjamin for Reeds	0	3	0
1815	Sep 22	P^{d} Richd Benjamin for Reeds	0	3	0
1816	March 20	Pd for 3 New Psalm Books for the Singers	0	10	0
1824	Nov 12	Pd a Bill to J^{n} Eagleston for Strings for Baſs Vial	0	4	3

1825	March 3	Pd for Strings for the Baſs Vial	0	4	2
1859		Amble as Organist	2	12	0

33) Hellidon (Kings Sutton)

			£	s.	d.
1788	May 6	Pd for Bassoon Reeds	0	2	0
1794	Jan 29	Pd for Basson Reeds	0	2	6
1795	Sep 7	Paid for the Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	2	6
1796	June 18	Pd for Mending the Baſsoon	0	2	6

34) Middleton Cheney (Kings Sutton)

			£	s.	d.
1833-4		Violincello Strings	0	5	7
1839-40		Violin String	0	0	5
1840-41		Violincelo Strings	0	1	8
1843	Apr 5	Vilein strings	0	1	6
1854	Jan 7	Violincello Strings	0	2	7
	Jan 28	Violincello Strings	0	2	6
1861	June 20	Bill for Violincello Strings	0	1	0
1873	Apr 14	Jas Gascoigne organ Blower (1year)	2	0	0

35) Wappenham (Kings Sutton)

		£	s.	d.
1783	Paid John Jonkons to find reeds for the Baſeſoon	0	5	0
1784	Paid Joh Jenkins to find reeds for the Baſeſoon	0	5	0
	Paid for mending the Baſsoon	0	2	0
1785	Thos Beesley to find reeds for the Baſsoon	0	5	0
1786	Gave Wm Beesley to find reeds for the Baſsoon	0	5	0
1787	Wm Beesley to buy reeds for the Baſsoon	0	5	0
1788	Paid Wm Beesley to buy reeds for the Basſoon	0	5	0

1789	Nov 5	Reeds for yea Baſsoon	0	5	0
1792	Jan 18	Pd to Longman & Broderip for repairing the baſsoon etc.	2	0	0
		Reeds for do	0	5	0
	Nov	Wm Beesley for Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	5	0
1793	Nov 5	Pd Wm Beesley for reeds for the Baſsoon	0	5	0
1795	Apr 7	Paid Wm Beesley to buy Reeds	0	5	0
1796	March 9	Gave W^{m} Beſley to By Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	5	0
	July 27	Gave W^{m} Beſley to By Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	5	0
1798	March 20	Pd Wm Beesley for Reeds for thr Baſsoon	0	5	0
1799	March 2	Pd Wm Beeſley for Baſsoon Reeds	0	5	0
1800	March 7	Pd Wm Beeſley for Baſsoon Reeds	0	5	0
1802	Apr 17	Pd Wm Beeſley for Baſzoon Reeds	0	5	0
	Nov	Luke Bucknam for reeds for the Baſsoon	0	5	0
1804	March 29	Pd Luk Buckingam for Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	5	0
1805		Pd Luke Buckingam for Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	5	0
1806	Apr 7	Pd Luke Buckingham for Baſsoon's Reeds	0	5	0
	Dec	Pd Luke Buckinham for Baſsoon Reeds	0	5	0
1808	Apr 14	Paid Luke Buckingham for Baſsoon Reeds	0	5	0
1809	Apr	Pd Luke Buckingham for Baſsoon Reeds	0	5	0
1810	Apr 23	Paid L^{k} Buckingham for Baſsoon Reeds	0	5	0
1811	Feb 20	Luke Buckingham to buy Reeds	0	5	0
1812	March 30	Paid Luke Buckingham for Baſsoon Reeds	0	5	0
1813	Jan	Paid Luke Buckingham for Baſsoon Reeds	0	5	0
1814	Apr	Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	5	0
1815	March 27	Paid Luke Buckingham for Baſsoon Reeds	0	5	0
1816	Apr 13	Baſsoon Reeds	0	5	0
	Dec 24	Baſsoon Reeds	0	5	0
1818	March 23	Paid Luke Buckingham for Baſsoon Reeds	0	5	0
	Nov 5	Paid L Buckingham for reeds for a Baſsoon	0	5	0

1822	Apr 17	Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	5	0
1823	Feb 1	Paid L Buckingham for Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	5	0
1824	Mar 30	Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	5	0
	Nov 5	For a New Baſsoon	5	12	9
		Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	5	0
1828	Nov 5	Paid Mr Barrett Brackley for Binding Psalm Books	0	9	0
1830	Feb 17	Pd Mr Barret of Brackley for a sett of strings for the Baſs voil	0	4	3
		Exchange for Music	2	2	0
		Paid for Baſs viol strings	0	5	0
1832	Apr 22	Baſs voil Strings	0	5	0
	Nov 5	Baſs voil Strings	0	5	0
1835	Apr 1	Baſs voil Strings	0	5	0
	Nov 13	Baſs Voil Strings	0	5	0
1836		Baſs Vial Strings	0	5	0

36) Eye (Nassaburgh)

			£	s.	d.
1816	March 2	Candles for the Singers	0	6	5
	Apr 8	Clarionet Repairing	0	7	0
1817	Apr 6	Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	3	8
		Singers Gratuity due Easter Last	3	3	0
		Candles for the Singers	0	5	3
1819	Apr 6	for Baſsoon Reeds	0	4	0
1820	Mar 9	Candles for the Singers	0	4	2
		Singers Salary	3	3	0
		Reads for Singers	0	4	0
1821	Jan 20	Singers Salary	3	3	0
		Candles for the Singers	0	5	0

1824	March 24	Singers Gratuity	3	3	0
1826	March 25	Singers Salary	3	3	0
	Nov 25	A woman a day Cleaning the New Gallery	0	1	0
1830	Apr 13	Paid the Singers Salary due Easter 1829	3	3	0
		Paid the Singers Salary due Easter 1830	3	3	0
1831		Paid the Singers Salary	3	3	0
	Dec 25	Singers salary	3	3	0
1833	Apr 9	Singers Gratuity due Easter 1833	3	3	0
	Oct 13	Revd J H Stone for Psalm Book for the Clerk	0	1	4
1834		Singers Salary due Easter 1834	3	3	0
1835	March 4	Singers Salary Due Easter 1835	3	3	0
1851		Organist's Salary	1	0	0

37) Stamford St Martins (Nassaburgh)

			£	s.	d.
1781	Dec 25	Gave the Singers	0	5	0
1782	Jun2	Gave to Singers for 2 Reeads	0	2	0
	Dec 20	Gave to the Singers	0	5	0
1783	Dec 25	Gave the Singers	0	5	0
1784		Pd for 2 Baſsoon Reeds	0	2	0
	Oct 15	Gave Singers at Christmas	0	5	0
1785	March 13	Gave ye Singers for Reades	0	2	0
	Oct 14	Gave to the Singers at Christmas	0	5	0
		Gave to the Singers for Reads	0	2	6
1786	March 17	Pd to Reeds for Baſson	0	2	0
	Oct 20	Pd 2 Haughtboy Reeds	0	1	0
	Dec 28	Gave ye Singers	0	5	0
1787	Aug 12	Pd for Reads	0	5	0
	Dec 25	Gave the singers	0	5	0

1788		Paid for 2 singing Books	0	8	0
		Paid the Singers at Christmas	0	5	0
1789	Dec 25	Gave the Singers	0	5	0
1790	Feb 17	Pd for Reeds for the Singers	0	2	0
	Dec 25	Gave the Singers on Christmas Day	0	5	0
1791	Nov 20	Paid for Musick Reeds	0	4	0
		Gave the Singers at Christmas	0	5	0
1792		For Musick Reeds	0	5	0
		To the Singers at Christmas	0	5	0
1793	Oct 11	Gave to the Singers at Chrismas	0	5	0
		Pd for Musick Reeds	0	4	0
1794		Gave to the Singers at Christmas	0	5	0
		Pd fd for 6 Reeds	0	7	6
1795	Oct 19	Pd ye Singers at Christmas	0	5	0
1796	Nov 28	Pd Reeds for Church Music	0	4	0
1798	Nov 11	The Singers for Reeds	0	4	0
	Dec 30	Paid the Singers	0	5	0
1799	Nov 12	Singers for Reeds	0	4	0
	Dec 25	Pd Singers	0	5	0
1800		Repearing the Baſsoon	0	12	0
	Oct 4	Reeds for the Singer	0	4	0
	Dec 25	gave Singers	0	5	0
1801	Apr 26	Reeds for Singers	0	5	0
	Dec 26	Gave the Singers	0	5	0
1802	Feb 9	Paid T Spencer Bill for Bassoon mend	0	13	0
	Apr 22	Singers	1	1	0
	May 29	Reed Money for the Singers	0	5	0
	Dec 25	The Singers Salley	1	1	0
1803		Paid Reeds for the Singers	0	5	0
		Paid the Singers at Christmas	1	1	0

1804		Easter St Martins singers	1	1	0
		Basoon Reeds	0	5	0
		Christmas St Martins Singers	1	1	0
1805		Easter Paid the Singers	1	1	0
		Christmas Paid the Singers	1	1	0
		paid for Reeds for the Singers	0	5	0
1806	Apr 10	Singers	1	1	0
	Oct 17	Basoon reeds	0	5	0
	Dec 28	Singers	1	1	0
		Drakeard for Anthems Books	1	2	0

38) Titchmarsh (Navisford)

			£	s.	d.
1805-6		Pd for Reeds forthe Baſsoon	0	8	6
1809-10		Pd for Reeds for Baſsoon	0	12	0
1810-11		Pd for Reeds for Baſsoon	0	5	3
1825	Oct 27	To Repairing the Basoon and Reeds	0	10	0
1829	Apr 9	Josiah Mansel for 2 Reeds for the Bason	0	4	0
1830	May 11	Josiah Mansel for two reeds	0	4	0
1831	Nov 2	Mr Preſton a bill for vialin strings	0	9	0
1833	Jan 14	Josiah Mansell for Basoon reeds	0	4	6
1837	July 28	To Mr Bailey for Bill for the men when cleaning the church and aſsisting putting up the Organ, also 26 Dinners for the children at the Confirmation	1	16	4

39) Duston (Nobottle Grove)

			£	s.	d.
1809	Feb 3	Paid the singing Master	1	10	0
	Feb 24	Paid for 6lb of Candles All the Church for singing	0	6	6
	Apr 1	Paid the Singing Master	0	19	0
	June 24	Paid the Singing Master	3	0	0
	Dec 22	Paid the Singing Master Ten Weeks	2	10	0
1810	Apr 20	Paid the Singing Master Bill	3	5	0
	Aug 18	Paid the Singing Mas^{t}	1	12	6
1812	Jan 2	Paid for a stall for the Singers	0	5	6
1844	Dec 6	Bas vial Bow	0	5	0
1852	May 30	To strings to Baſs vial	0	1	4
1868	Jan 26	Pd singers up to 1866	1	10	0
1870	Jan 4	Harmonium (hired)	0	2	6
	March 17	Singers	1	0	0

40) Harpole (Nobottle Grove)

			£	s.	d.
1793		Pd for Set of Strings for the viol	0	4	0
1801		Pd for mending Base viol	0	15	6
		Pd Sam1 Smyth (has singing Master) agreed upon At Vestry	1	1	0
1802		Pd for Mending Baſs Viall	1	11	0
1807	Jan 28	New Pitch Pipe and repairing Baſs viol	2	5	0
		A Bag for Baſs viol	0	5	6
1808	June 1	E Elliott for Baſs viol String	0	5	6
1838	Oct 6	Charles Cosby for Repairing Baſs Viol	1	6	0

41) Great Harrowden (Orlingbury)

			£	s.	d.
1788	Feb 12	By Cash paid for a Baſsoon	0	4	0
1795	March 10	Paid for Candles for the Singers and oil for the Clock	0	1	7
	Nov 5	Paid for a Baſs Vial	4	4	0
		The Revd Mr Fisher gave 10/6d towards it	3	13	6
	Dec 25	Paid Mr Briggs and Mr Hobbs for Learning the Singers	2	6	0
		Paid another bill of their and a Baſs Vial Bag	3	9	0
1796	Dec 25	Paid to W Briggs & Hobs for learning the Singers			
		Repairing the Baſs	3	2	6
1798	Apr 15	Paid To Strings to the Base	0	2	6
	Oct 16	Paid for Strings to the Base	0	2	9
	Dec 25	Paid for A string to the Base	0	4	0
1799	Apr 1	Pd to threes Stringe to the Base	0	4	0
	Dec 25	Pd For Strings to the Base	0	5	0
1800	Apr 13	Pd String to the Base	0	1	3
	Dec 26	Pd for Strings to Base & Screw	0	3	10
1801	Apr 18	Pd for Strings to the Base	0	2	10
1802	Apr 15	Paid for Strings to the Bace	0	2	6
1804	Apr 6	Paid for Strings to the Base	0	2	0
1806	Apr 6	Paid for Strings to the Base	0	1	6
1807	Apr 6	Paid for Strings to the Base	0	1	6
1808	Apr 6	Paid for Strings to the Base	0	1	6
1814	Apr 14	Paid Hobbs A Bill for attending the Singers 52 weeks at 2d p week	5	4	0
		Paid for a pitch pipe	0	5	6
	Oct 12	Pd Hobbs 26 weeks for singing	1	6	0

42) Little Harrowden (Orlingbury)

			£	s.	d.
1788	Sep 20	Paid toward Reparing the Basoon	0	4	0
1797	Apr 12	Candles for the Singers	0	2	6
1803	June 9	to Books for Singers	0	15	0
1815		To 4 Base Strings	0	4	8
		To 1 Base String	0	1	0
1818		Base string	0	1	0
1819		For new base string	0	1	6
		A new base bow	0	10	6
1821	Oct 31	3 Bass string	0	4	0
1822		2 Baſs String	0	2	3
1826	Feb 23	Baſs Strings	0	4	4
1828	March 30	Baſs Strings	0	5	0
1829		Baſs Strings	0	5	0
1835	Jan 14	Pd for New mouthiece for the Clarinet & repairing	0	6	6
	Jan 21	Pd for Repairing Base Vioil	1	6	6
1841	Apr 1	J Knighton leading the Singing	2	5	0
1844	June 27	Base Bow haring 1/0 [illegible] 1/0 making a total of	0	2	0
1850		New Base Bow	0	12	0
1861		Singers and Ringers at Confirmation etc	0	18	0
1867		Parkinson Tuning Organ	1	10	0

43) Old (Orlingbury)

		£	s.	d.
1774	Paid Thomas Tasley for the basen	0	13	0
	Paid for too reed for the basone	0	2	6
1775	Paid for a New Reed for the Bassoon	0	1	6

1776		Paid for a new reed & Case for the Bassoon	0	4	0
1777		paid ditto [John Mabbut] for three Reids for the Bassoone	0	4	0
1778		Paid for three Reids for the Baſsoone	0	3	0
1785	Feb 11	Pd for a Reed for the Baſsoon	0	1	0
1788	Nov 12	Pd for two Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	2	0
1789	Apr 4	Pd for a Crook for the Baſsoon	0	6	0
1793	Sep 21	Pd for mending the Baſsoon & for a New reed	0	6	0
	Dec 21	Pd for 2 reeds	0	1	6

44) Pytchley (Orlingbury)

			£	s.	d.
1833	Dec 25	Gave the Ringers and Singers	1	0	0
1834	March 14	Paid Sam[1] Mobb Playing the Baſs	2	0	0
	Dec 25	Gave the Ringers and Singers	1	0	0
1835	March 25	Pd Samuel Mobbs Playing the Baſs	2	0	0
		Repairing the Bass	0	6	0
	Nov 16	Gave the Ringers and Singers	1	0	0
		Pd Samuel Mobbs for playing the Bass	2	0	0
1837	Apr 24	Sam[1] Mobbs music	2	0	0
1838	Apr 26	Sam Mobbs playing the Baſs at Church	2	0	0
1839	Jan 11	Ringers and Singers their yearly gratuity	1	0	0
	March 28	Sam1 Mobbs playing the Baſs at Church	2	0	0
1840	Jan 4	Samuel Mobbs for one year playing the Baſs	2	0	0
		do for Baſs Boe and Strings	0	8	10
	Dec 26	Singers Gratuity	0	10	0
1841	March 29	Mr Dash, stationer, as per bill for Violincello string, Parchment Registers etc for 1839, 1849, 1841	1	11	11
	Apr 10	Samuel Mobbs for playing the Bass one year	2	0	0

1842	March 23	Mr Dash, stationer, as per bill for violincello strings etc	0	10	0
		Samuel Mobbs for playing the bass one year	2	0	0
	Dec 24	Singers Gratuity	0	10	0
1843	Apr 13	Samuel Mobbs for playing the Bass one year	2	0	0
	Dec 25	Singers Gratuity	0	10	0
1844	Apr 6	S Mobbs for Bass Strings etc (in 1842)	0	3	10
		S Mobbs for playing the Bass	2	0	0
	Oct 23	Samuel Mobbs for playing the Bass, half a year	1	0	0
	Dec 30	Singers Gratuity	0	10	0
1845	March 19	Saml Mobbs remaining half year allowance for playing the Bass	1	0	0
	Oct 18	Samuel Mobbs for playing the Bass, half a year	1	0	0
	Dec 27	Singers Gratuity	0	10	0
1846	Apr 1	Thos Westbury for repairing the Bass	0	1	0
	Apr 9	Saml Mobbs remaining half year allowance for playing the Bass	1	0	0
		Mr Dash as per bill for violincello strings.			
		Parchments Musick Books from Feby 1843 to Jany 23rd 1846	2	2	7
	Oct 13	Samuel Mobbs, Playing the Bass half a year	1	0	0
	Dec 29	Singers gratuity	0	10	0
1847	Apr 3	Saml Mobbs, half years allowance for playing Bass	1	0	0
		Mr Dash as per Bill, for Registers Violincello Strings etc	0	9	7
	Oct 8	Saml Mobbs for playing the Bass half a year	1	0	0
	Dec 29	Singers Gratuity	0	10	0

1848	Apr 7	Sam[l] Mobbs, For Playing the Bass half a year	1	0	0
		Mr Dash as Per bill, for Registers Violincello			
		strings etc	0	8	11
		Sam[l] Mobbs for playing the Bass half a year	1	0	0
	Dec 27	Singer gratuity	0	10	0
1849	Apr 20	Sam[l] Mobbs, For Playing the Bass half a year	1	0	0
		Mr Dash as Per bill, for violincello Strings			
		Registers etc	0	7	8
		Mr Edey for repairing the Bass	0	8	6
	Dec 26	Singers gratuity	1	0	0
1850	March 30	John Summers, for playing the Bass one Year	2	0	0
		Mr Dash as per bill for violincello Strings,			
		Parchment Registers	0	6	1
	Dec 28	Singers Gratuity	0	10	0
1851	Apr 19	John Summers, for playing the Bass one Year	2	0	0
		Mr Dash as per bill for violincello Strings,			
		Parchment Registers etc	0	11	1
	Dec 27	Singers Gratuity	0	10	0
1852	Apr 10	Mr Summers, for playing the Bass one year	2	0	0
		Mr Dash as per bill for Violincello Strings,			
		Parchment , Registers etc	0	7	0
	Dec 28	Singers Gratuity	0	10	0
1853	March 26	Mr Summers, for playing the Bass one Year	2	0	0
		Mr Dash for violincello Strings, Parchments etc	0	6	5
	Oct 12	Mr Summers for playing the Bass half a year	1	0	0
	Dec 27	Singers Gratuity	0	10	0

1854	Apr 15	Mr Summers, for playing the Bass half a Year	1	0	0
		Mr Dash for Violincello Strings, new hymn books			
		Parchments etc	0	16	0
	Oct 20	Mr Summers for playing the Bass half a year	1	0	0
	Dec 27	Singers gratuity	0	10	0
1855	Apr 7	Mr Summers, for playing the Baſs half a Year	1	0	0
		Mr Dash for Violoncello strings,			
		Parchments, forms of prayer etc	0	7	9
	Oct 29	Mr Summers for playing the Bass half a year	1	0	0
	Dec 26	Singers Gratuity	0	10	0
1856	March 24	Mr Summers for Playing the Bass half a year	1	0	0
	Oct 18	Jn Summers for playing the bass half a year	1	0	0
1857	Jan 1	Singers Gratuity	1	0	0
1858	Jan 1	Singers Gratuity	1	0	0
1859	Jan 1	Singers Gratuity	1	0	0
1860	Jan 1	Singers Gratuity	1	0	0
1862	March 8	Repairing organ	1	5	0

45) Lamport (Orlingbury)

			£	s.	d.
1825	Feb 26	Two Reeds for the the Baſsoon	0	3	6
1831	July 12	To the Singers for Books and Instruments	1	0	0
1832	Nov 1	To the Singers at Christmas	1	0	0
1833	Dec 25	To the Singers	1	0	0
1834	July 19	To the Singers	1	0	0
1835	Nov 16	to the Singers	1	0	0
1837		The Singers	1	0	0
	Dec 26	To the Singers	1	0	0
1838	Dec 26	The Singers	1	0	0
1839	Dec 30	The Singers	1	0	0

1840	Dec 31	The Singers	1	0	0
1842	—	The Singers	1	0	0
	May 13	Paid towards a Base viol for the use of the Parish	0	2	6
	Dec 28	The Singers	1	0	0
1844	Jan 29	The Singers	1	0	0
1845	Jan 4	The Singers	1	0	0
1846	Jan 5	The Singers	1	0	0
	Dec 26	The Singers	1	0	0
1847	Dec 27	The Singers	1	0	0
1849	—	The Singers	1	0	0
1850	Jan 7	The Singers	1	0	0
1851	Jan 1	The Singers	1	0	0

46) Barnwell St Andrew (Polebrook)

			£	s.	d.
1778	Jan 12	Pd for 4 books for the Church for the Singers Use	0	8	4
1779	Dec 24	Pd for a Hautboy reeds and a Case for the use of the Singers at Church	0	16	0
1802		Pd for 2lb of Candles for the Singers	0	1	8
1806		Pd for 1lb of Candles for the Singers	0	0	11
1808		Paid Thos Bell for a Pitchpipe for the Clerk	0	8	6
1824	Dec 23	To Joseph Slater [Clerk] for Candles bought by him for the use of the Singers as acct	0	6	8 1/2
1835	Jan 8	To Cash paid Singers 1834	0	15	0
	Feb 14	To Cash for Singers 1835	0	7	6
1846	Oct 11	Mr Pitts annually rep. Organ	0	10	0
1849		Mr Pitts tuning organ	1	0	0
1850		Paid Wm Pitts	1	0	0

47) Arthingworth (Rothwell)

			£	s.	d.
1798	Feb 10	Paid Richard Fox and John Bery for teaching the Singing	4	10	0
	March 25	Pd Rd Cook for Teachin the Singing	1	0	0
	Oct 21	Pd Rich Cooke for Singing	1	0	0
1800	Apr 6	Pd Richd Cooke for Singing	1	1	0
	June 24	Pd Richd Cooke for singing	1	1	0
	Dec	Pd Richd Cooke for Singing	1	1	0
1801	April	Richd Cooke for Singing	1	1	0
	Apr 15	Pd Rich Cooke for singing	1	1	0
	June 10	Pd Richd Cooke for Singing	1	1	0
	Dec 25	Pd Richd Cooke for Singing	1	1	0
1802	Apr 21	Pd Richard Cooke for Singing	1	1	0
		Pd Lazares Fox	0	10	0
	June 5	Pd Richd Cooke for singing	0	10	6
	Oct 11	Pd Richd Cooke for Singing	0	10	6
	Dec 25	Pd Richd Cooke for Singing	0	10	6
		Pd the Singers for Feast	0	10	6
		Strings for the Baſs Voial	0	3	0
		Strings for the Baſs Vioal	0	4	6
1803	April	Pd Richd Cooke for Singing	0	10	6
		Pd Lazares Fox	0	10	6
		Strings for the Baſs Voial	0	1	6
	June 26	Pd Rich Cooke for singing	0	10	6
	Oct 16	Pd Richd Cooke for Singing	0	10	6
	Dec 19	Pd Richd Cooke for Singing	0	10	6
	Dec 26	Pd to the Singers at Christmas	0	10	6
	Dec 26	Pd to the Singers at Christmas	0	10	6
		Pd For Strings for the Baſs viol	0	2	0

1804	Dec 17	Pd Lazarus Fox for Singing	0	10	6
		2 Baſs Viol Strings	0	2	0
	March	Pd Richd Cooke for Singing	0	10	6
	July 2	Pd Richd Cooke for singing	0	10	6
	Oct 6	Pd Richd Cooke for Singing	0	10	6
	Oct 13	Pd Lazarus Fox	0	5	3
		2 Strings for the Bass Voial	0	1	9
		Pd Richard Cooke	0	1	6
	Oct 24	Pd Richard Cooke for the singing	0	10	6
	Dec 26	Singers Feast	0	10	6
1805	Jan 30	Pd Richd Cooke	0	10	6
		Pd Lazarus Fox	0	5	3
	June 23	Pd Richard Cooke for singing	0	10	6
	Oct 6	Richd Cooke for Singing	0	10	6
	Oct 27	Pd Lazaras Fox	0	5	3
		4 Strings for the Baſs Voial	0	4	6
	Dec 25	Singers Feast	0	10	6
		Pd Richard Cooke for Singing	0	10	6
1806	Apr 3	Pd Richd Cooke for Singing	0	10	6
		Pd Lazaras Fox	0	5	3
	Apr 27	3 Strings for the Baſs Vioal	0	3	0
	May 20	Pd Rich Cooke for Singing	0	10	6
	Oct 12	Pd Richd Cooke for Singing	0	10	6
		Pd Lazarus Fox too strings and Sing	0	7	3
	Dec 25	Pd Richard Cooke for Singing	0	10	6
		Singers Feast	0	10	6

1807	March 30	Pd Lazarus Fox sing	0	5	3
		Pd for Strings	0	3	9
		Pd Richard Cooke for Sining	0	10	6
	July 1	Pd Rich Cooke for Singing	0	10	6
	Oct 17	Pd Richd Cooke for Singing	0	10	6
		Pd Lazarus Fox string (& C)	0	9	9
	Dec 25	Pd Ricd Cooke for Singing	0	10	6
		Gave the Singers	0	10	6
1808	March 26	Pd Lazreth Fox for singing	0	5	3
	April	Pd Richd Cooke for Singing	0	10	6
		Pd Lazreth Fox for Strings	0	4	6
	May 31	Pd Richd Cooke for Sining	0	10	6
	Oct 19	Pd Richd Cooke for Singin	0	10	6
		Pd Laz Fox	0	5	3
		Pd Laz Fox for string	0	1	9
		Pd Richd Cooke for Singin	0	10	6
	Dec 30	Pd Lazarus Fox	0	2	7$^{1}/_{2}$
		gave the Singers	0	10	6
1809	March 29	Paid Richard Cooke for Singing	0	10	6
	April	Paid Lazarus Fox Quarters singing	0	2	7$^{1}/_{2}$
	May 1	Paid Fox one String and Whole set	0	5	3
	June	Paid Richard Cooke for Singing	0	10	6
	Oct 7	Paid Richard Cooke for Singing	0	10	6
	Oct 12	Paid Lazarus Fox $^{1}/_{2}$ year singing	0	5	3
		String for Baſs Vioal	0	0	9
	Oct 14	Paid Richard Cooke for Sining	0	10	6
	Dec 29	Gave the Singeres at Christmas	0	10	6

1810	Apr 14	Paid Richard Cooke for Singing	0	10	6
	June 30	Paid Richard Cooke for Singing	0	10	6
	Oct 7	Paid Richard Cox for Singing	0	10	6
	Dec 26	Singers Feast	0	10	6
		Paid Richard Cox For Singing	0	10	6
1811	March 27	Paid Richard Cooke for Singing	0	10	6
	May 29	Paid Richard Cooke for Singing	0	10	6
	Oct 1	Paid Richard Cox for Singing	0	10	6
	Dec 28	Paid Richard Cox For Singing	0	10	6
		Paid for the Singers Feast	0	10	6
1812	March 28	Paid Richard Cox for Singing	0	10	6
	July 8	Paid Richard Cox For Singing	0	10	6
	Dec 26	Paid for the Singers Feast	0	10	6
1813	March 28	Paid Richard Cooke for Singing	0	10	6
	June 27	Paid Richard Cooke for Singing	0	10	6
	Oct 8	Paid Richard Cox for Singing	0	10	6
	Dec 26	Paid Richard Cox For Singing	0	10	6
		The Singers Feast	0	10	6

(Richard Cooke continued to be paid on four occasions per year from 1814 until 1832. The Singers' Feast also continued)

1815	Oct 5	4 New Version Books	0	7	0
1834	March 28	2 Music Books	0	15	0

(The Singers Feast continued without payment to Richard Cooke until 1859 when it was combined with a feast for the Ringers.)

			£	s.	d.
1839	Dec 19	Pd for Psalms and Hymn Books	0	12	0
1851	March 1	Reparing Base Viol	1	11	6

48) Braybrooke (Rothwell)

			£	s.	d.
1784		Bought reeds & a Box	0	3	6
1798	May 29	Baſsoon Reeds	0	2	0
1799	May 29	Baſsoon Reeds	0	2	0
1805	July 12	Paid for Bazzoon and Hoboy reeds	0	1	5
	Aug 14	Paid Mr Tolton for Haughtboy	0	8	0
1808	June 30	Wm Curtice for teaching the singers	1	10	0
	Sep 21	Pd Thos Binley for mending the Basezoon	0	5	0
1809	Sep 2	Paid for 2 Strings for the Base Vial	0	1	8
1815	Sep 1	A New book for the singers	0	5	0
1841	Jan	Pd [illegible] baſs strings	0	3	0
1845	Dec 31	Pd [illegible] Baſs strings	0	3	0

49) Clipston (Rothwell)

			£	s.	d.
1773		Pd for a Bassoon mending	1	7	0
1780		Pd to Mr J Humphreys for the Baſsoon	1	10	0
1785		Repairing the Baſsoon	1	10	10
1789	Oct 7	For a Baſs Viol Bow for the choir	0	9	0
1795	Jan 3	For reparing the Baſsoon	0	10	6
1800	Nov 10	For repairing the baſs	1	5	0
1814	Feb 9	Pd Woodham Paid for Baſsoon repairing	1	10	0
	Dec 25	Rep'g the Church Violoncello	0	15	6

50) Harrington (Rothwell)

			£	s.	d.
1815	Dec 12	Paid for the Hoboy for the parish of Harrington and reeds	0	11	10
1825	Jan 17	Allowed for the Baseviol per year to be strings	0	5	0

1826	Jan 20	Paid Thoms Barnford for Baſsvial Strings	0	5	0
1828	Dec 26	Paid Thomas Nickels for Base Voil Strings	0	5	0
1829	Dec 25	Thom^{s} Nickels For Baſs Viol-strings	0	5	0
1830	Dec 25	Paid Thomas Nickels for Base Viol Strings	0	5	0
1831	Dec 25	Thomas Nickls for Baſs Voil Strings	0	5	0
1832	Dec 25	Thomas Nickls for Basviol Strings	0	5	0
1833	Dec 25	Thos Nickles for Base viol Strings	0	5	0
1834	Dec 25	Thomas Nickls for Base viol Strings	0	5	0
1835	Dec 25	Thomas Nickls for Strings	0	5	0
1836	Dec 26	Thom^{s} Nickls Baſs Vial Strings	0	5	0
1837	Dec 25	Thomas Nickls Baſs Strings	0	5	0
1838		Thomas Nikls for Strings	0	5	0
1839	Dec 25	Thomas Nickle Baſs Strings	0	5	0
1840	May 19	James Smith Bill for the Organ etc.	1	3	0

51) Marston Trussell (Rothwell)

			£	s.	d.
1847	July	Paid for Violincello Strings	0	4	6
1850	May	Paid for Violincello Strings	0	1	4
1852		Paid for Basevial Strings	0	1	$3^{1}/_{2}$
1853		Pd for Basevial String	0	0	6
		Pd for Basevial String	0	1	2
1854	Dec 26	Baſs viol Strings	0	1	6
1855	Dec 26	Baſs viol Strings	0	1	6
1857	Jan 2	Baſs viol Strings	0	0	6
1858	Jan 19	Baſs viol Strings	0	1	6
	Dec 14	Baſs viol string	0	0	6
1860	May 22	Mr Lawrence for violin Strings	0	1	1
1867	Apr 21	Baſs strings	0	1	8
1871		Mr Lawrence for Baſs Strings	0	1	5

1872		Baſs Violin Bow	0	6	0
1875		New lamps for Gallery			
1876		Dix Repair Harmonium	0	7	6

52) Kingsthorpe (Spelhoe)

			£	s.	d.
1784	Oct 26	Three New Reeds	0	2	6
1785	May 4	Two New Reeds	0	2	0
1793	Jan	Charles Gardner for Reeds to the Baſsoon	0	3	0
1797		Paid for Reeds	0	2	6
	Oct 18	Reeds & Strings	0	2	6
1799		Wm Garner Base Vial	0	2	6
1800	Oct 15	Wm Gardner Reed & String	0	2	6
		for Basoon mending	0	5	0
1801	Jan 17	Reeds & Strings	0	3	0
	Jun 11	Gardner Reeds and Strings	0	3	0
1802		Singers Strings	0	3	0
	Oct 27	Reeds	0	3	0
		Strings for the Baſs	0	6	0
1803	Sep 3	Reeds for Singers	0	3	0
1805	May 17	Strings for the Baſs	0	3	0
	Oct 15	Strings for the Baſs	0	3	0
1807	July 11	Paid Gardner for reads	0	1	6
1809	Jan 17	Paid Mr Gardner for reads	0	2	6
	July 3	Paid for reads	0	1	6
1813		Strings for the Baſs	0	2	6
1814		Strings for the Baise	0	5	0
1815		Strings for the Baſs	0	5	0
1816	May 9	Strings for the Baſs	0	5	0
1880		Thomas Gibler Organist Midsummer-Christmas	6	0	0

53) Moulton (Spelhoe)

			£	s.	d.
1787	Dec 4	Paid for a new Baſsone	4	4	0
1812		Reeds of Mr Stanton towards a Base viol charged			
		in the last accounts	0	10	6
1815	Sep 26	Pd for repareing the Base Vial	1	2	6
1822	Jan 10	Paid for the Base Voil reparing	0	16	6
1824	Sep 29	Paid for Strings to the Baſs Voil	0	3	6
1825	June 8	Paid for reparing the Baſs-Voil, new Hairing the			
		Bow, and Strings	0	7	6
1828	Dec 28	Paid for the Bacevioel as per Bill	1	5	0
1829	Dec 27	Paid Charles Cosby for new Violincello bow	0	12	0
1851	Apr 21	The Singers at the Consecration	0	14	0

54) Towcester (Towcester)

			£	s.	d.
1769		mending Gallery seats	-	-	-
1783	May 10	Paid Carter for the Singers	0	15	6
1784	Apr 8	Wm Carter for Singers Supper	0	15	6
1785	Jan 22	Paid for Singers Supper	0	15	6
1786	Jan 13	Paid for Singers Supper	0	15	0
	June 21	Bishops visitation Singers	0	10	6
	Aug 19	A Box of hautboy Reeds for Sunday School	0	3	0
1787	March	Hautboy Reeds For the Sunday School	0	3	0
		Singers	0	15	0
1788	July 1	Reeds for the Sunday Schools	0	3	0
1789	Jan 7	Gave the Singers	0	15	0
1790	Jan 7	Singers	0	15	0
	Dec	Paid J Shackleton Reeds for Singers	0	6	0

1791	Oct	Pd for Bassoon mending	1	19	6
1792	March 27	Pd the Singers	0	15	0
1793	March 30	Gave the Singers	0	15	0
	May 20	Gave the Singers	0	15	0
		6 Reeds for the Singers	0	6	0
1795	May 25	Paid to the Singers	1	1	0
		Gave to Jenkins for Reeds	0	6	0
		Paid the Singers	1	1	0
1797	-	Paid to Singers	1	1	0
		Paid for Reeds	0	2	0
1799	Feb 29	Paid to Ginkens for reeds	0	6	0
		paid for reeds for boist	0	2	0
1800	Jan 7	Paid Psalm Singers	1	1	0
	Jan 12	Paid Carriage of Baſsoon to & from London	0	2	8
		Paid for 6 Reeds for do	0	4	8
		Paid for Repairing Bassoon	1	1	0
1801	Oct 10	Pd for a Basoon Reed	0	1	2
1802	March 25	Gave the Singers	1	1	0
	Dec 21	Gave the Singers	1	1	0
1803	Dec 25	Gave the Singers	1	1	0
1805		Singers	1	1	0
1806	Dec 25	Singers	1	1	0
1807	July 10	2 Baſsoon Reeds	0	2	0
	Oct 12	2 Baſsoon Reeds	0	2	0
1808		Paid Singers	1	0	0
1809	Apr 1	To 2 Reeds for Bent	0	2	0
		Paid Psalm Singers	1	10	0
	May 8	Bent Reeds	0	2	0
1810	May 28	Basen Reed	0	2	0
	June 22	Gave the Singers at Bishops visitation	0	10	6

1811		Psalm Singers	2	2	6
1812		Psalm Books	1	4	0
		Singers	2	2	6
		Paid for Strings and Reeds	0	10	0
1813	Dec 21	Paid Singers	2	2	0
1814	Apr 7	Repareing Baſsoon new top	1	0	0
	Nov 25	Singers	2	2	0
1816	March 4	Paid Singers	2	2	0
	Oct 12	Paid singers at Confirmation	0	10	0
	Dec 29	For Singers Feasts	2	2	0
1817	Dec 27	Pd for the Old Singers Feast	2	2	0
		Pd Hy Harvin Piching Hymn and Psalms in the three New Book	2	2	0
		Pd for 2 new Books Psalmody	0	18	0
1818	May 30	Paid Mr Sam[1] Portin's Bill for Crimson Cloth for the curtain before the organ making etc.	3	0	0
1819	Sep 12	Pd Viol for three Lessons to Boys and Girls singing with Organ and attendance D° at Visitation Towcester	1	0	0
		Pd Mr John Giviney for Viol and the Tow' Singers who attended Church Visitaion day for Beer etc.	1	11	6

55) Easton-on-the-Hill (Willybrook)

			£	s.	d.
1801		Woodwards Singers Feast	1	1	0
1803	Dec 24	Pd the Singers	1	1	0
1804		Singers Feast	1	1	0
1805		Pd the Singers	1	1	0
1806		Gave the Singers	1	1	0

1807		Paid at Singers feast	1	1	0
		Baſsoon Reparing	2	2	0
1808		Pd at Singers feast	1	1	0
1809		Paid at the Singers Feast	1	1	0
1810		Paid at the Singers Feast	1	1	0
1812		Pd at Singers feast	1	1	0
1813		Singers Feast	1	1	0
1815		Expenses at the Singers Feast	1	1	0
1816	Nov 28	Paid at Singers Feast	1	1	0
1817		Paid Singers	1	1	0
1818		Baſsoon Reapireing	2	2	0
		Paid the Singers Feast Expen	1	1	0
1819		Singers	1	1	0
1821	Jan 14	Paid the Singers	1	1	0
		The Singers	1	1	0
1822	Nov 30	Paid the Singers	1	1	0
	Dec 2	Paid for Baſsoon reeds	0	5	0
1823	Dec 27	Paid the Singers	1	1	0
1824	June 21	Paid for clarionets	3	10	0
1825	Jan 1	Paid the Singers	1	1	0
	March 24	Paid Drakard for Baſsoon Reads &c	0	8	6
	Dec 23	Paid Singers	1	1	0
1826	Dec 23	Paid the Singers	1	1	0
1828	Apr 5	Paid for Baſsoon Reeds	0	5	0
	Dec 24	pd Singers	1	1	0
1830	Oct 12	pd at Singers Feest	1	1	0
1831	June 10	Reeds & Baſs-vile Strings	0	10	0
1832	Apr 21	Singers Feast	1	1	0
	May 29	Whiting to Gallery	0	0	6
		Baſs Vile Strings	0	2	6

1833	March 12	paid singers for Music	1	0	0
1834	March 26	paid Singers	1	1	0
	Dec 25	Paid Jackson for aſsisting Clarke in Singing	0	5	0
1835	Apr 16	Paid for Music	1	0	0
		singers	1	1	0
1836	Nov 20	Singers	1	1	0
1837	March 23	for Baſsoon Reeds	0	3	0
		Singers	1	1	0
		Reeds for the Singers	0	7	0
1838	June 7	Clarrent & Baſshon Reeds	0	3	0
1839	Nov 2	Paide Singers	1	1	0
		Paide for Reads	0	6	6
	Dec 26	paid Singers	1	1	0
1840	Dec 25	singers	1	1	0
1841	Aug 7	Recvd of Mr Morton for Book of Psalms that was			
		no youse to singers	0	10	0
1842	Apr 29	Clarnet Reparing	0	6	0
	Dec 24	Paid to Singers	1	1	0
1843	Dec 20	The Singers Xmas	1	1	0
		Paid for Claronet Reeds	0	3	0
1844	Dec 25	The Singers Xmas	1	1	0
1845		A new clarionet Purchased for the Singers in the			
		hands of F Tyler			
	Dec 25	the Singers at Xmas	1	1	0
1846	Dec 25	Paid the Singers	1	1	0
1847	Feb 19	Mr Sharps bill for Reeds and Paper	0	10	0
	Dec 6	The Singers at Xmas	1	1	0
1848		The Contract for the Westend and Loft taking			
		down	47	9	3
	Dec 25	The Singers	1	1	0

1849	Dec 25	Wine 7s Singers Christmas £1.1	1	8	0
1852	Jan 19	Paid boys for blowing organ	0	13	6
		Recd of Tyler for A Clarionet	0	7	0

56) Hardingstone (Wymersley)

			£	s.	d.
1787	March 30	Pd Causby for Repairing the Base Vioil	1	2	0
1797	May 8	Pd for strings for Bass Viole	0	5	10
1799	March 27	Paid for Broom Brush and strings for the Bass viol	0	5	1
1801	Feb 3	Mr Birdstall's for Stringe-s for the Violin	0	5	10
1808	March 4	Pd for repairing the Violin	1	7	0
1810	Apr 21	Repairing Base viol	0	11	6
1811	Jan 18	paid Causby for Repairing the violin	2	6	6

57) Wootton (Wymersley)

			£	s.	d.
1783	Apr 14	2 reeds for the Baſsoone	0	2	0
1785	March 14	too Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	2	0
1786	Sep 30	Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	2	0
1787	May 8	Reeds for the baſsoon	0	2	0
1788	May 10	Reeds for the Baſsoon	0	2	0
1789	Apr 11	Reeds for Baſzoon	0	1	0
	May 30	Reeds for Baſsoon	0	2	0
1790	Oct 13	two Reeds	0	2	0
1795	May 23	Pd for Baſsoon repairing	0	7	6
		2 Reeds	0	2	0
		Reed Box	0	1	0
1796	July 30	2 Basoon reeds	0	2	0
1797	Dec 4	Reeds for Baſone	0	2	0

1800	Oct 4	Paid for two read and four strings for the bass Vial	0	7	0
1801	Nov 21	Pd for bridg for the Base vial	0	1	6
1802	Apr 17	strings to Bass vial	0	1	8
	June 4	strings to the Bass vial	0	3	4
	July 3	Pd for new strings and reparing the Bass Vial	0	7	0
1803	Oct 1	2 Base Strings	0	3	0
	Nov 19	Pd Mr Crosby for reparing Base vial as per bill	0	14	3
	Dec 26	two strings to base Vial	0	1	11
1804	Aug 6	Base Strings	0	2	6
1805	Jan 19	Pd for repairing the base Vial	0	5	0
	Apr 13	two base strings	0	3	0
	June 8	Base String for Base vial	0	2	0
	Aug 17	Pd Mr Corsby for repairing the bow to base Vial and strings to D^{o}	0	3	0
1806	Feb 8	Base String and tow Beesoms	0	2	0
		Instruction book to base Vial	0	2	0
		Reeds and case to Baſsoon	0	4	0
	Apr 4	Pd Cartwright for instructing the singers	2	0	0
	Apr 7	Five New Version Psalm book	0	5	0
		Two New Book for tunes	0	17	0
	Apr 24	Pd Cartwright for teaching the singeres	1	2	0
	Aug 9	Pd J Corby for Repairing theBaſszone	1	1	0
	Sep 27	String and Scrue to the Bace Voial	0	1	8
		Pd Cartwright for teaching the Singers	2	2	0
	Dec 14	Pd Cartwright for teaching the Singers	3	4	0
		Pd Cartwright for teaching the Singers	0	8	0
1809	Apr 10	Pd for a set of peggs for Violoncello	0	2	0
		D^{o} New Haring bow for D^{o}	0	1	6
		D^{o} D^{o} Bag for D^{o}	0	11	8

1810	May 29	Curtains for Gallery	1	5	4

Appendix D – Acknowledgements

Grateful thanks are due to the following:

The Headmistress and Staff of Bedford High School

The Baptist Music Society

The British Library

The Council for the Care of Churches

Curators of Museums and Collections of Musical Instruments

The Galpin Society

Incumbents of Parishes with Instruments

The family of Thomas Jarman

The Staff of Leicester Universtity Library

The County Archivist, deputy County Archivist and staff of Northamptonshire Record Office

The Weston Family

H. Godwin Arnold,

Mary Asbury

Gordon Ashman

Judith Bishop

Jonathan Boston

Geoffrey Brandwood

Barry Brunton

Victor Crowther

Frank Dodman

John Drackley

Brian Galpin

The late Harry Geary

Ann Gibbons

Ellen Hadfield

J.L. Haynes

Trevor Herbert

Trevor Hold

Robert Hughes

Dominic Leitner

Robert McQuillan

Donald Mackenzie

Jane Marriott

W . Mears

Robert Meikle

The late Christopher Monk

Arnold Myers

Doreen Palmer

Elizabeth Parkhouse

Manoug Parikian

Jane Pearson

Julie Pendry

Robert Petheram

Anthony Pither

David Rycroft

Mrs. G. E. Scott

Roger Tivey

Graham Wells

Harry Woodhouse

S. Young

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Ashby St Ledgers	15P/91
Ashley	16P/134
Ashton	17P/20
Aston le Walls	19P/63
Barby	24P/48
Barnwell St Andrew	28P/37
Little Billing	32P/31
Blakesley	33P/26
Boughton	39P/1
Bozeat	40P/18
Brackley St Peter	42P/65
Bradden	43P/12,13
Brampton Ash	45P/54
Braybrooke	47P/62
Brigstock	48P/35
Great Brington	49P/1790–1802
Broughton	52P/177
Bugbrook	53P/84,88
Castle Ashby	58P/84
Castor	60P/27
Chacombe	62P/24
Chipping Warden	66P/21
Clipston	70P/11, YZ9374
Cogenhoe	71P/47

Cold Ashby	72P/24
Collingtree	74P/ (Faculty)
Cosgrove	81P/136
Cotterstock	83P/20
Cottesbrook	84P/15
Cottingham	85P/37
Courteenhall	86P/79
Cranford St Andrew	87P/13a
Crandord St John	88P/40
Crick	92P/56
Culworth	94P/24,25
Dallington	95P/170 (ML3937)
Daventry	96P/70
Denton	102P/20
Desborough	103P/105,106
Dingley	104P,54
Great Doddington	105P/20
Dodford	106P/12
Draughton	107P/14
Duston	109P/99,100
Earls Barton	110P/17
Easton Maudit	111P/44
Easton on the Hill	113P/228
Etton	117P/40
Evenley	118P/9
Everdon	119P/38
Eye	121P/48
East Farndon	122P/17
Farthinghoe	123P/18
Faxton	126P/11

Geddington	133P/57,59
Greatworth	139P/39b
Greens Norton	140P/25,26
Grendon	141P/3,66
Guilsborough	143P/57,58
East Haddon	146P/1
Hanging Houghton	148P/5
Hannington	149P/20
Hardwick	151P/25
Hargrave	152P/49
Harlestone	153P/1723–1922
Harpole	154P/12
Harrington	155P/ (accounts in parish)
Harringworth	156P/84
Great Harrowden	157P/106
Little Harrowden	158P/61,106
Helidon	161P/11
Helmdon	162P/ (original acounts at Bodleian Library)
Helpston	163P/34,35,73
Holcot	170P/24
Horton	173P/12
Great Houghton	175P/29
Irthlingborough	178P/21,22
Isham	179P/65,66
Islip	180P/62
Kettering	185P/73 (accounts in parish)
Kilsby	186P/28
Kingsthorpe	189P/179,135
Kislingbury	190P/18
Lamport	191P/32,63

Loddington	196P/67
Lowick	199P/79,80
Maidwell	203P/27
Marston Trussell	206P/68
Maxey	208P/17
Mears Ashby	209P/35
Middleton Cheney	211P/84
Milton Malsor	212P/157
Moreton Pinkney	213P/6
Moulton	214P/5
Nassington	217P/13
Northampton All Saints	223P/566
Norton	243P/72
Old	246P/106
Oundle	249P/97
Oxendon	251P/13,14
Pattishall	254P/88
Paulerspury	255P/47
Peakirk	256P/36
Peterborough St John	261P/131
Pilton	268P/10
Pottersbury	272P/36
Preston Capes	273P/34
Pytchley	275P/324
Raunds	278P/139
Ringstead	280P/16
Rockingham	282P/15
Rushden	285P/5
Rushton	286P/27
Silverstone	290P/18

Spratton	295P/280
Stamford Baron	296P/26
Stanwick	299P/44
Staverton	300P/173
Stoke Albany	302P/11,12
Stoke Bruerne	303P/29
Sulgrave	310P/33
Sutton	311P/35
Syresham	313P/34
Thorpe Mandeville	323P/31
Thrapston	325P/71
Thurning	326P/1,2
Tiffield	327P/1
Titchmarsh	328P/52,53,65
Towcester	329P/57,75
Wadenhoe	268P/3
Wakerley	335P/42
Wappenham	339P/20,21
Warkworth	341P/19
Great Weldon	347P/115
Little Weldon	348P/16
Welford	349P/10
Werrington	357P/40
Weston by Welland	358P/78
Weston Favell	359P/31
Whittlebury	363P/22
Wicken	364P/24,26
Wilby	366P/36
Wollaston	369P/32
Woodford	371P/1

Woodnewton	373P/120
Wootton	374P/42
Yardley Hastings	377P/68,69
Yarwell	378P/11
Yelvertoft	379P/29