

**'A MUSICAL PLACE OF THE FIRST QUALITY':
A HISTORY OF INSTITUTIONAL MUSIC-MAKING IN
YORK, c. 1550-1989**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT
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ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks to record the history of institutional music-making in York over the last five hundred years or so. It begins with a history of music in York Minster and in other Anglican and Nonconformist churches in the city. This is followed by a history of the city's own band of musicians, the York waits; a description of the great musical festivals held in York in the 1820s and 1830s; and successive chapters on the concert life in York from c. 1730 to 1875. The history of concerts in York from 1876 to the present day is subsumed in a larger account of the secular institutional music-making within the city during this period, which includes sections on choirs, orchestral societies, brass bands, military bands, festivals, and educational institutions. The summary and conclusion is preceded by a chapter describing the work of York musical instrument builders, music publishers, and music sellers.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BIHR	Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York
YC	<u>York Courant</u>
YCA	York City Archives
YCh	<u>York Chronicle</u>
YEP	<u>Yorkshire Evening Press</u>
YG	<u>Yorkshire Gazette</u>
YH	<u>York Herald</u> and <u>Yorkshire Herald</u>
YML	York Minster Library
YPL	York Public Library

MAP OF YORK

Key

Anglican churches

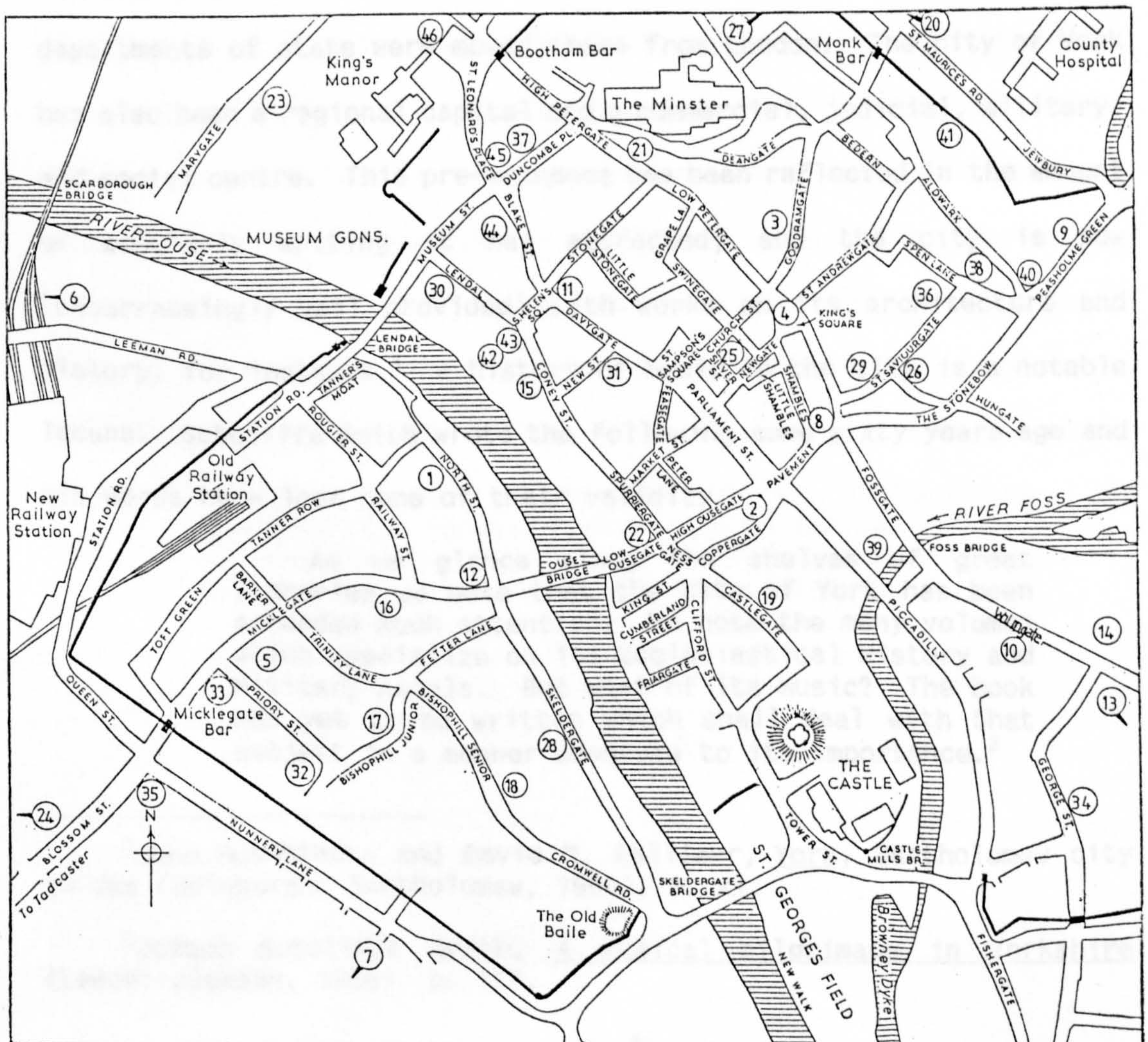
1. All Saints, North Street
2. All Saints, Pavement
3. Holy Trinity, Goodramgate
4. Holy Trinity, King's Court
5. Holy Trinity, Micklegate
6. St. Barnabas
7. St. Clement
8. St. Crux
9. St. Cuthbert
10. St. Denys
11. St. Helen
12. St. John
13. St. Lawrence
14. St. Margaret
15. St. Martin, Coney Street
16. St. Martin-cum-Gregory
17. St. Mary, Bishophill Junior
18. St. Mary, Bishophill Senior
19. St. Mary, Castlegate
20. St. Maurice
21. St. Michael-le-Belfrey
22. St. Michael, Spurriergate
23. St. Olave
24. St. Paul
25. St. Sampson
26. St. Saviour
27. St. Thomas

Nonconformist churches

28. Albion Street, Wesleyan
29. Centenary, Wesleyan
30. Lendal, Congregationalist
31. New Street, Wesleyan
32. Priory Street, Presbyterian Church of England
33. Priory Street, Baptist
34. St. George, Roman Catholic
35. St. Mary's Convent, Roman Catholic
36. St. Saviourgate, Presbyterian/Unitarian
37. St. Wilfrid, Roman Catholic
38. Salem, Congregationalist

Secular buildings

39. Merchant Adventurers' Hall
40. St. Anthony's Hall
41. Merchant Taylors' Hall
42. Guildhall
43. Mansion House
44. Assembly/Festival Ct. Rooms
45. Theatre Royal
46. Exhibition Buildings



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The historical importance of the city of York has long been recognized. York was for centuries a great religious centre, and in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries the royal court and departments of state were moved there from London. The city of York has also been a regional capital and a commercial, judicial, military, and social centre. This pre-eminence has been reflected in the amount of scholarly writing it has attracted, and the city is now 'embarrassingly well provided' with works on its architecture and history, for instance.¹ A history of music in the city is a notable lacuna. Sutcliffe Smith wrote the following some sixty years ago and his words have lost none of their validity.

As we glance along the shelves of great libraries we note that the City of York has been accorded much attention. We note the many volumes which specialize on its Ecclesiastical History and Military Annals. But what of its music? The book has yet to be written which shall deal with that subject in a manner adequate to its importance.²

¹John Hutchinson and David M. Palliser, York, Bartholomew city guides (Edinburgh: Bartholomew, 1980), p. xi.

²Joseph Sutcliffe Smith, A musical pilgrimage in Yorkshire (Leeds: Jackson, 1928), p. 158.

This thesis is the first study to treat of the musical life of York and it is hoped that it goes at least some way towards dealing with the subject in an adequate manner. It will attempt to illustrate the role played by various institutions, both sacred and secular, in the music-making which has taken place in the city of York over a period of almost five hundred years, and will seek to throw light on how people in York have used and are using music, and what (if anything) was significant about their use of it.

The research embodied in this thesis was carried out in order that various questions concerning music-making in the city (some of which are listed below) could be answered, answers which previously could not be readily ascertained. Who were the waits who played in York Minster in the seventeenth century and on what occasions did they play there? What music was performed in the concerts in eighteenth-century York? What were the instrumental and vocal forces used in the York musical festivals of the early nineteenth century? When and under what circumstances did the present York Musical Society begin?

In writing Music in England Blom made the explicit assumption that a history of music in England is no more than a history of music in London. He wrote that

... music in this country [i.e., England] has always been largely centralized in the capital ... and on the whole it is true that musical conditions in London reflect those throughout the country ... Many Italian and German towns ... have almost watertight little histories of their own; England has a single big one ... and its focal point is London.³

³Eric Blom, Music in England, rev. ed. (West Drayton: Penguin Books, 1947), p. 9.

Thus Blom gave credence to the old saw that England was the land without music (except for its capital city, that is).⁴ It is true that Italian cities such as Mantua, Rome, and Venice, and German cities such as Berlin, Dresden, Hamburg, and Leipzig have very rich musical traditions which stand comparison with those of London, and which outshine those of English provincial cities. But it is not true to say that the history of music in the English provinces is of such little importance that it can be subsumed in a history of music in London.

To be fair to Blom it must be said that, when he was writing, the sources which would have provided him with information about English provincial music were very widely scattered. The position after almost fifty years is little better. For instance, of all the northern towns and cities worthy of entries in The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians, i.e., Bradford, Halifax, Harrogate, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle upon Tyne, Sheffield, and York, only Sheffield has been given an independent history of its music.⁵

The city of York has been the subject of entries in two major musical encyclopaedias published in recent years.⁶ Each entry is approximately one thousand words in length and, while they both contain a certain number of errors (some of which are carried from one

⁴For a discussion of the origins of the phrase describing England as 'the land without music', see Musical times 116 (1975): 439, 625, and 877.

⁵Eric D. Mackerness, Somewhere further north: a history of music in Sheffield (Sheffield: Northend, 1974).

⁶Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, s.v. 'York,' by Francis Jackson; The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians, s.v. 'York,' by Ernest Bradbury and Watkins Shaw.

entry to the other), present reasonably accurate accounts of music-making in York as far as they go. But in each case the entries have omitted much of importance. There have also been writings upon particular aspects of York's music-making which will be noted below at the beginning of each chapter as appropriate.

The research necessary for the writing of this thesis has involved the examination of much archival material, a list of which can be found in the Bibliography. In addition, various York newspapers covering the years from 1728 to 1900 have been systematically searched for any items of musical interest. For locating such items for the period after 1900 I have relied heavily on the card index in the Reference Section of the York Public Library. In an attempt to find a national perspective on the musical activity in York, the Musical times has been examined from its beginnings in 1844 up to the present day, and likewise the indexes of The Times have been consulted from 1781. Because the emphasis of the thesis is on institutional music-making rather than that of individuals, the lives and works of York musicians are discussed only in passing, and not with a fullness that might have been demanded on other occasions. For instance, it would have been interesting to describe the music composed and collected in the early eighteenth century by a prebendary and two succentors of York Minster, namely Edward Finch, William Knight, and Valentine Nalson; or to trace the successive generations of the remarkable Camidge family.

York Minster has a continuous tradition of music-making which stretches back for hundreds of years, broken only by the hiatus caused by the English Civil War. In singing the daily offices the Minster choir has performed music composed by some of the greatest English

composers, essentially to the glory of God but also to the musical enrichment of generations of York residents. A study of the music-making in the Minster reveals the kinds of music sung and the vocal forces which were used to perform it. While the opportunity there for congregational singing in the services has always been severely limited, as in other Anglican cathedrals, York churches (and since the eighteenth century, chapels also) have provided an opportunity for singing in groups. (For most people, church and chapel remain their sole opportunity for making music with others.) Nicholas Temperley has rightly claimed that until very recently the music of English churches and chapels was the only 'regular, formal musical experience for perhaps half the population of England'.⁷ Given that this is so, it would seem appropriate to examine such an important aspect of York's musical life.

Another musical experience shared by many residents of York was that provided by the City waits, who performed on civic ceremonial and festive occasions; they also acted as town watchmen, perambulating the streets by night and in the early morning sounding the watches with instrumental music. From their beginnings shortly before 1400 they were an essential part of the musical life of the city until towards the end of the eighteenth century when their importance gradually declined. In addition to their municipal duties the York waits also provided music for secular gatherings (e.g., meetings of the various York guilds, entertainments at the houses of noblemen) in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, at least, while from the 1730s onwards they took part in the early concerts given in York.

⁷Nicholas Temperley, The music of the English parish church, 2 vols. (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1979), 1:xvii.

Public concerts were held in London from 1672, and during the early eighteenth century they quickly spread to the provinces. The first known public concert in York was given in 1709 during the summer assizes, and a regular series of concerts was established there in 1729 or 1730. Successive chapters will discuss the various concert series which have been promoted in York since their beginning in the early eighteenth century, and descriptions will be given of the singers and players who performed there, the audiences for whom they performed, the music they played, and the places where they performed. Concerts in York in the period from 1876 to the present day have been included in a chapter which covers a variety of forms of music-making, thus reflecting the broadening of musical activity within the city during this time. In view of their particular importance, a whole chapter has been devoted to the concerts given in the Yorkshire Musical Festivals which were held in York in the early nineteenth century. There is one chapter of this thesis which does not directly treat of the institutional music-making of the city of York. This examines the ancillary occupations of musical instrument building, music publishing and music selling which have been carried on there for hundreds of years and whose importance to those making music within the city was significant at least until the middle of the nineteenth century.

And finally a note of an omission. Among the institutions which have contributed to the musical activity in York during the last 250 years are its theatre, known since 1769 as the Theatre Royal, and the Grand Opera House, which was opened in 1901. Music was regularly performed in both places, but an absence of any relevant documentary evidence for the latter and the very fragmentary nature of that

surviving for the former have led to a reluctant decision to exclude these venues from this survey.

CHAPTER II

'A DEEP, AND SWEET SNOWY CREW OF QUIRISTERS':

MUSIC IN YORK MINSTER; c. 1550-1989

The tradition of the choral service in the Church of England, as performed in cathedrals and collegiate churches throughout the country, has been one of the main features of English musical life since the Reformation.¹ Elaborate musical settings of texts prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer and from the Bible have been expressly composed for cathedral worship and have presupposed for their performance an expert musical force involving vicars choral, lay singing men, boys, and an organist. There follows a description of the part which York Minster has played in this national tradition which will discuss the varying numbers of singers who performed there, the repertoire of music which they sang, the organists who led this music-making, and the instruments (almost exclusively an organ) which accompanied it. It should be noted that the services of the Minster are devoted to the glory of God and as such are primarily intended

¹Edward Horace Fellowes, English cathedral music ... revised by Jack Allan Westrup, 5th ed. (London: Methuen, 1969); Harold Watkins Shaw, 'Church music in England from the Reformation to the present day,' in Protestant church music: a history, by Friedrich Blume and others (New York: Norton, 1974), pp. 693-732.

neither for the edification nor the musical delight of any congregation that may be present, although from the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards the services have frequently attracted large congregations.

The liturgical background to the post-Reformation history of music in York Minster can be found in Cowie's chapter in a volume of the Victoria History of the Counties of England and the historical background in three chapters in A history of York Minster.² On the music and musicians of the Minster there are short works by Purey-Cust and Bairstow that have recently been superseded by the work of Peter Aston, in which the results of more detailed research are presented.³ The organs of York Minster have predictably attracted a number of writings, many of which are antiquarian in character, but as yet their history (particularly in the second half of the seventeenth century) has not been systematically chronicled.

In order to place in context the musical changes made in the Minster at the Reformation it will be necessary to describe briefly the musical establishment as it existed in the preceding years. From about the middle of the twelfth century to the beginning of the 1500s the adult male voices in the choir were those of the vicars choral, who initially (as their name suggests) were deputies provided by the

²L.W. Cowie, 'Worship in the Minster,' in P.M. Tillott, ed., The city of York, The Victoria History of the Counties of England (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 343-357; Gerald Edward Aylmer and Reginald Cant, eds., A history of York Minster (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), chaps. V-VII.

³Arthur Perceval Purey-Cust, Organs and organists of York Minster (York: Sampson, 1899); Edward Cuthbert Bairstow, The music of the Minster, York Minster historical tracts, 27 (London: S.P.C.K., [1927]); Peter Aston, The music of York Minster (London: Stainer & Bell, 1972); Peter Aston, 'Music since the Reformation,' in Aylmer and Cant, A history of York Minster, pp. 395-429.

canons of the Minster to sing in their absence the choral services of the church. By the middle of the thirteenth century the vicars choral at York had developed for themselves a fully corporate organization, ceasing to be appointed or maintained by individual canons. The number of vicars choral was thirty-six, and the musical skills required of them were enshrined in Rule 24 of their statute and minute book:

... that, if he has a tenor vicoe [sic], he will learn how to sing pricksong (prickson) and faux-bourdon (faburden) and to keep the pitch; and that, if his voice be not tenor, he will learn how to sing, besides pricksong and faux-bourdon, descant (discant) and to keep the pitch.⁴

Lay singing-men were introduced into the choir towards the end of the fifteenth century because the vicars choral had become so impoverished that they could not afford to maintain a full complement of vicars,⁵ and possibly also because the increased complexity of the music performed necessitated the assistance of professional singers. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there had been seven choristers, the number of whom was increased to twelve in 1425 through a bequest of £300 from Thomas Dalby, Archdeacon of Richmond.⁶ From the earliest times the choristers were expected to have good voices, and by 1531 they were instructed in 'plainson[g], prikesong, figuracion and descaunt' by the master of the choristers.⁷

⁴Frederick Harrison, Life in a medieval college: the story of the vicars-choral of York Minster (London: Murray, 1952), p. 63.

⁵Ibid., p. 238; Aylmer and Cant, A history of York Minster, p. 200.

⁶[James Raine, ed.], The statutes, etc., of the cathedral church of York, 2nd ed. (Leeds: Jackson, 1900), p. 144.

⁷YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Lease register, Wa f. 50v.

There are numerous references to organs in York Minster from the early fourteenth century onwards,⁸ but the office of organist is not an ancient one, and it is not until the sixteenth century that there is mention of a lay organist, with the appointment of Thomas Kirkby on 3 June 1531 as 'maister of the queristers', among whose duties was to 'play of the organs within the said [Lady] chappell in the hie quere of the said church at such tymes as shalbe convenient and requisit within the same'.⁹ Before this time the duties of organist had been fulfilled by the vicars choral.

Prior to the Reformation the Use of York was employed for services within churches in the province and diocese of York, including those in York Minster. The main mass of the day was usually sung in plainsong, but in large churches such as the Minster there was another mass, usually the Mass of our Lady, which was probably sung in a polyphonic setting.¹⁰ There is no evidence to suggest what music was actually sung, although it is likely that music such as that found in the so-called 'York masses' would have been within the choir's competence.¹¹

At the beginning of the Reformation the master of the choristers (and organist) at York Minster was Thomas Kirkby, whose duties, those of playing the organ and instructing the choristers, have been

⁸Aston, The music of York Minster, pp. 4-5.

⁹YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Lease register, Wa ff. 50v-51r.

¹⁰Walter Howard Frere, York service books, York Minster historical tracts, 19 (London: S.P.C.K., [1927]), pp. [9-10].

¹¹Hugh Baillie and Philippe Oboussier, 'The York masses,' Music and letters 35 (1954): 19-30; Hugh Benham, Latin church music in England, c. 1460-1575 (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1977), pp. 111-113.

mentioned above; he died in 1540 and was buried in York Minster.¹² John Thorne was the next master of the choristers and organist, so far as is known, and was appointed on 24 July 1542, having been paid the previous year as 'organist within the choir'.¹³ Caldwell has argued convincingly that Thorne had previously been a singer at St. Mary-at-Hill, London.¹⁴ Thorne's contract is very much the same as Kirkby's, involving the teaching of the choristers and the playing of the organs, especially at the Lady Mass. Within five years of Thorne's appointment came the death of King Henry VIII, the crowning of the nine-year old Edward VI, and a new administration headed by Lord Protector Somerset which eagerly pursued the plan of ecclesiastical reform, initiating a visitation of each cathedral.

The Royal Visitors gave their injunctions to the cathedral church of York on 26 October 1547, and these involved the sweeping away of all sung services other than Matins, one mass a day (the High Mass), and Evensong and Compline.¹⁵ These injunctions were followed in 1549 by the Act of Uniformity, which ordered the replacing of all existing Latin service-books by the Book of Common Prayer within the space of four weeks. Throughout the country this Act was less effective than its provisions allowed for, and there is evidence to suggest that the

¹²The year of his death is indicated by the granting of letters of administration to his estate. BIHR, Prerogative Court of York, Probate records, 13 September 1540; his epitaph is recorded in Francis Drake, Eboracum; or, The history and antiquities of the city of York (London: By the Author, 1736), p. 495.

¹³YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Lease register, Wa ff. 157v-158v; Chamberlain's accounts - rolls, E1/79.

¹⁴John Caldwell, English keyboard music before the nineteenth century, Blackwell's music series (Oxford: Blackwell, 1973), pp. 31-32.

¹⁵Raine, Statutes, p. 63.

Lady Mass was still being sung in the Minster in 1551.¹⁶ However, sterner measures were to follow, and after Archbishop Grindal's visitation of the Minster in 1552 the following injunctions were issued.

15. Also wee will and commaunde that there be none other note songe or used in the said churche at any service there to be hadde, savinge square note, playne, so that every sillable may be playnelie and distinctlie pronounced and undrestand, and withoute any reportes, or repetinges, which may induce any obscurenes to the herers.

24. Also wee will and commaunde that there be no more playnge of the orgaynes either at the Mornynge prayour, the Communion, or the Evenynge prayour within this churche of Yorke, but that the said playnge do utterlie cease and be left the tyme of Divyne service within the said churche.

25. Also forsomuch as playnge of the orgaynes ought and muste be ceassed, and no more used within the churche of York, we thinke it mete that the master of the queresters for the tyme beinge, who oughte to playe of the same orgaynes in times past, who canne nowe no more so do, that [he] ... do his diligence ... in suche vocacion as he can conveniently and may: therefore we will and commaunde that the said master of the queresters for the tyme beinge helpe to singe Divyne service to th'uttermost of his powre within the quere of the churche of Yorke, speciallie of the Sondays and other Halidaies.¹⁷

It has been inferred from this last injunction that Thorne suffered deprivation of office because of his adherence to the Catholic faith, but, as Aveling points out, all the evidence from York is contradictory. In his will Thorne makes no mention of the old faith, while his epitaph (he was buried in the Minster) bears witness to the esteem and regard in which he was held:

¹⁶John Browne, History of the metropolitan church of St. Peter, York, illustrated by extracts from authentic records, by plans, sections, etc. 2 vols. (London: Longman, [1842-1847]), 1:296.

¹⁷Raine, Statutes, pp. 74 and 77.

Here lyeth Thorne musitian most perfitt in art;
In logicks lore who did excell, all vice who set
apart,
Whose lief and conversation did all mens love
allure,
And now doth reign above the skyes in joyes most
firm and pure.
Who dyed Decemb. 7, 1573.¹⁸

Thomas Morley compared Thorne's ability to compose upon a plainsong with that of Preston, Redford, and Tallis, which was high praise indeed.¹⁹ An 'In nomine' for strings, once solely ascribed to John Thorne, is now found to be possibly the work of Robert White; the two other extant compositions of Thorne's are an offertory for organ entitled 'Exsultabant sancti' and a motet entitled 'Stella coeli' for three voices, in which the part-writing, the points of imitation, and the balance of the sections are most competently handled.²⁰ It has been suggested that this motet was written in York in 1551 as a thanksgiving for deliverance from the plague.²¹

John Thorne was succeeded in office by his son, Henry, who was appointed on 17 December 1573, in the first instance for one year only, being described in the chapter acts as 'magister et instructor choristarum et custodem organum',²² which suggests that by this time

¹⁸Hugh Aveling, Catholic recusancy in the city of York, 1558-1791, Publications of the Catholic Record Society. Monograph series, 2 (London: Catholic Record Society, 1970), p. 312; BIHR, Dean and Chapter wills, 5, ff. 79-80; Drake, Eboracum, p. 500.

¹⁹Thomas Morley, A plain and easy introduction to practical music, ed. by R.A. Harman (London: Dent, 1952), p. 177.

²⁰Paul Doe, ed., Elizabethan consort music I, Musica Britannica, 44 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1979), pp. 43 and 185; Denis Stevens, ed. Early Tudor organ music II; music for the mass, Early English church music, 10 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1969), pp. 51-53; Aston, Music of York Minster, insert loose in back pocket.

²¹Aston, Music of York Minster, p. 6.

²²YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Chapter acts, H4 f. 115v.

organs were once again in use in the Minster. Henry Thorne remained in office until his death in 1597, being buried in the Minster on 28 March of that year. He was followed by Cuthbert Byas (from 1597 to 1604) and Henry Farrande (from 1604 to 1607), who was dismissed from office for neglecting his duties, embezzlement, and causing trouble with the vicars choral.²³ For the period between 1607 and 1616 neither the chapter acts nor the various accounts of Minster expenditure mention an organist by name, and suggestions that the duties of organist were fulfilled by William Browne (sometime organist at Durham) must be treated with caution.

Thomas Kingston was admitted organist on 30 August 1616 and master of the choristers twenty-five days later.²⁴ He was almost certainly the Thomas Kingston who had been organist at Lincoln Cathedral from 1559 to 1616, whose behaviour there had often been the cause of considerable concern to the cathedral authorities. In 1611 he had been admonished by the Dean and Chapter 'for beating the boys and calling Mr Dye, the Master of the Choristers, an ass,' and the next year he was ordered 'never hereafter to meddle with teaching the Quiristers.' He was again admonished in 1615 because he was 'verye often drunke and by means thereof he hathe by unorderlye playing of the organs putt the quire out of time and disordered them.'²⁵ After

²³YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Chamberlain's account rolls, E1/107; Chamberlain's account books E2/2; Chapter acts, H4 ff. 395r and 422r.

²⁴YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Chapter acts, H4 ff. 507v and 514v.

²⁵John Ebenezer West, Cathedral organists past and present; a record of the succession of the organists of the cathedrals, chapels royal, and principal collegiate churches of the United Kingdom, from ... the Reformation to the present day, etc. (London: Novello, 1899), pp. 47-48.

an initial trouble-free period at York, Kingston was expelled from the office of master of the choristers on 4 February 1619 'on account of certain failings', and in 1629 he was admonished by the Dean and Chapter because 'he was lately so inebriated that at evensong he was unable to perform his duties, to the great scandal and disgrace of the church'.²⁶ However, Thomas Kingston remained in office at York until 1633, when he was appointed master of the Magnus Song School, Newark.²⁷

John Hutchinson, probably the man of that name who was organist at Southwell Minster from 1628 to 1634, was appointed organist of York Minster on 24 March 1634.²⁸ Following the 'great and close siege' of 1644, York fell from royalist to parliamentary control, a concomitant of which was the ending in the Minster of the services sung with choir and organ. John Hutchinson appealed to the Commonwealth Committee for York and the Ainsty for compensation for loss of office and earnings, but the Committee was unsympathetic.

9 March 1648. Upon the peticon of John Hutchinson, organist, that it appeareth that the peticoner was onely a servant at pleasure to the Deane and Chapter, therefore this Committee contendeth that they have not any meanes or power to relieve the peticoner herein.²⁹

²⁶YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Chapter acts, H4 ff. 558v and 676r.

²⁷Noel George Jackson, Newark Magnus: the story of a gift (Nottingham: J. & H. Bell, 1964), p. 72.

²⁸YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Chapter acts, H4 f. 745r.

²⁹Angelo Raine, ed., 'Proceedings of the Commonwealth Committee for York and the Ainsty, from York City MSS. E30, 31, and House Books XXXVI and XXXVII,' in Charles Edward Whiting, ed., Miscellanea, vol. 6, The Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record series, 118 (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1953), p. 11.

On 10 November 1657 grants were given by the Trustees for Maintenance of Minors 'to poor officers of [York] Cathedral', included among whom was John Hutchinson, who was given a grant of four pounds.³⁰ He died shortly afterwards and was buried at St. Michael-le-Belfrey on 6 January 1658.

Very little is known of the music sung in the Minster before the beginning of the 1700s. In the second half of the sixteenth century there are payments for music copying in the Minster accounts but very little detail of what was copied. There were two payments for music copying in 1526/1527 when Leonard Mason was paid 26s.8d. for two books of four parts with 'Kyrrealley et missis' and John Gibbons 3s.4d. for copying various hymns and a Te Deum into the choirbooks; in 1569 Henry Lythe, of London, was given ten shillings 'for prickinge songes to be songe in the quere', and in 1581 thirty-four quires of 'royall paper' were bound 'into xviiij bookes for prickinge of songes for the quere'. Also in 1581 the Earl of Huntingdon's musicians were given four pounds 'for settinge of songes for the quere'.³¹ Five part-books, copied for the choir of York Minster in the 1610s (now in York Minster Library with shelf-mark M 13 S), contain music for morning and evening prayer by Byrd (his so-called Great Service), Morley, Mundy, Parsons, and Shepherd.³² John Hutchinson, organist at York Minster from 1634 to

³⁰Arnold Gwynne Matthews, Walker revised, being a revision of John Walker's Sufferings of the clergy during the Grand Rebellion, 1642-60 (Oxford: Clarendon P., 1948), p. 19.

³¹James Raine, ed., The fabric rolls of York Minster, with an appendix of illustrative documents, Publications of the Surtees Society, 35 (Durham, etc.: Andrews, etc., for the Surtees Society, 1859), pp. 101, 115, 118.

³²David Griffiths, comp., A catalogue of the music manuscripts in York Minster Library, York Minster Library sectional catalogues, no. 2 (York: [University of York Library], 1981), pp. 78-79.

1645, composed several anthems of which three full and seven verse are extant. His anthem 'O Lord, let it be thy pleasure' was in the repertoire of the Minster choir until the middle of the nineteenth century, while another anthem of his, 'Behold how good and joyful a thing it is', was thought to be sufficiently representative of its period to warrant inclusion in the collection which Thomas Tudway compiled for Lord Harley during the years between 1714 and 1720;³³ it is reasonable to assume that at least some of Hutchinson's anthems were in the repertoire of York Minster choir in the 1630s and 1640s.

The number of singers in the Minster choir between 1552 and the abolition of the traditional services in the 1640s is difficult to determine. In 1552 one of Archbishop Holgate's injunctions to the Dean and Chapter of York commanded

... that there be with most convenient spede provided ... so many vicars chorall ... as the landes of there house called the Bederne will conveniently susteyne ... and so many as shall want of the nombre of twentie that singinge men be provided ... to the some of every one eighte poundes by yere.³⁴

Whether the number of male adult singers did reach the specified number of twenty either then or in the remainder of the century is not clear, but in the period between 1617 and 1624 the number of vicars choral and songmen fluctuated between twelve and fourteen.³⁵ During the years from 1552 to 1645 the number of choristers probably never fell below the pre-Reformation total of twelve, this number being

³³Thomas Tudway's collection is now in the British Library, shelfmark Harleian MSS. 7337-7342.

³⁴Raine, Statutes, p. 72.

³⁵Aston, 'Music since the Reformation,' p. 405; Harrison, Life in a medieval college, p. 233.

recorded in the 1570s, the 1580s, and the early 1600s.³⁶ The present constitution of most cathedral choirs (where the boys outnumber the men by more than two to one) would imply an imbalance in the pre-Restoration choir at York but it should be remembered that the proportions of adult to boys' voices in choirs of that period were completely the reverse of those today, although, as Le Huray suggests, the boys would probably have had to use the more penetrating chest voice and the men to exercise considerable restraint in terms of volume for a balance to be achieved.³⁷

Some of the music sung in the Minster between the 1550s and the mid-1640s would have been accompanied by an organ - anthems and services in verse style, for instance - but it is probable that full anthems and services were most often sung unaccompanied.³⁸ There are many references in the Dean and Chapter accounts to organs in the Minster during the period before 1632, but none with any great amount of detail.³⁹ However, the building of the organ in 1632 is extremely well documented. In 1631 the York High Commission Court imposed on Edward Paler of Thoralby a fine of one thousand pounds for committing incest with his sister's daughter, the sum of which King Charles granted to the Dean and Chapter 'for setting up a new organ, for furnishing and adorning the altar, and enhabling them to mainteyne a library keeper'. An agreement to build an organ was signed on 20 March 1632 between the Dean and Chapter and Robert Dallam, 'citizen

³⁶YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, St. Peter's account, E2/21, passim; Chamberlain's account books, E2/2, passim.

³⁷Peter Le Huray, Music and the Reformation in England, 1549-1660 (London: Jenkins, 1967), pp. 119-120.

³⁸Ibid., p. 115.

³⁹Raine, Fabric rolls, pp. 17, 27, 71, 74, 76, and 105.

and blacksmith of London', the organ to comprise a great organ of eight stops and a chair organ of five stops, each stop containing fifty-one pipes.⁴⁰ The contract sum agreed with Dallam was £297 but the total cost of the organ, including the making and carving of the organ loft, painting, and other sundries, was of the order of six hundred pounds.⁴¹

The instrument was completed on 24 June 1634, and immediately excited favourable comment. On 17 August three military men from Norwich visited the Minster and noted in an account of their travels that there they

... saw, and heard a faire large high Organ, newly built, richly gilt, carv'd and painted, [and] a deep, and sweet snowy Crew of Quiristers.⁴²

A year later Sir William Brereton noted in his travel diary that he had seen 'a very stately organ lately erected in the minster-quire'.⁴³ The most famous account of the organ is that given by Thomas Mace when he recalled a service held in the Minster in 1644.

Now here you must take notice, that they had then a Custom in that Church, (which I hear not of in any other Cathedral, which was) that always before the Sermon, the whole Congregation sang a

⁴⁰YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Chamberlain's account rolls, E1/135, extracts from which have been published in Raine, Fabric rolls, pp. 319-325; Michael Sayer, 'Robert Dallam's organ in York Minster, 1634,' BIOS Journal 1 (1977): 60-69.

⁴¹Raine, Fabric rolls, pp. 319-325. Although the agreement specifies eight stops on the great organ, the individual stops listed number nine.

⁴²Leopold George Wickham Legg, ed., A relation of a short survey of 26 counties, observed in a seven weeks journey begun on August 11, 1634, by a captain, a lieutenant, and an ancient, all three of the military company in Norwich (London: Robinson, 1904), p. 16.

⁴³Sir William Brereton, Travels in Holland, the United Provinces, England, Scotland, and Ireland, M.DC.XXXIV.-M.DC.XXXV ... ed. by E. Hawkins, Chetham Society, Remains historical & literary, &c., vol. 1 (Manchester, 1844), p. 72.

Psalm, together with the Quire and the Organ; And you must also know, that there was then a most Excellent-large-plump-lusty-full-speaking-Organ.⁴⁴

It is widely supposed that neither wind nor stringed instruments were used in English church services, other than on a very intermittent basis, until about 1575 or so, and there are no records of any such instruments being used at services in York Minster until 1590 when a payment of ten shillings was made to 'thos that played upon Sagbuttes and Cornettes the xvijth of November'; a similar payment was made in 1591.⁴⁵ The players of these instruments were most likely the York waits, although they are not specifically mentioned in the Dean and Chapter accounts until 1600. Thereafter payments were made to them in 1607, 1611, 1623, 1624, and 1639, in which latter year they played at no less than twelve services in the Minster during the month of April on the occasion of the king's visit to York.⁴⁶

Dallam's organ did not survive long after the siege of York. The first order from the Commonwealth Committee for York and the Ainsty concerning the removal of the organ from the Minster came on 4 August 1645, to which the Chancellor of the Minster, Phineas Hodson, apparently returned a 'delatory and unfitting answer'. The second order from the Commonwealth Committee was uncompromising:

It is therefore now ordered that the sequestrators repair to the house of the said Dr Hodson there to seise and take the said goods [i.e., the organ pipes] ... and deliver them to Mr Dossy ... and for these services the sequestrators

⁴⁴Thomas Mace, Musick's monument; or, A remembrancer of the best practical musick, etc. (London, 1676), p. 19.

⁴⁵Le Huray, Music and the Reformation, pp. 125-126; YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, St. Peter's account, E2/21 ff. 38v. and 40v.

⁴⁶YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, St. Peter's account, E2/21, f. 58r; Fabric rolls, E3/62/1-3, E3/63, and E3/64.

may take assistance of musketeers as they think
fitt.⁴⁷

A subsequent order of 29 June 1646 gave instructions to Mr. Dossy to pull down 'the great organ loft in the Minister and canopie over the same'.⁴⁸ On 25 January 1647 the Committee ordered that the organ pipes should be sold, the sale of which is confirmed in a list of things removed from the Minster during the Great Rebellion.⁴⁹

Richard Marsh was installed Dean at York Minster on 14 August 1660 and within twelve days Edward Gower could write that the Dean had 'carried things on in order to a settlement of the Church here [i.e., at York] very high; the singing men and organs are preparing'.⁵⁰ The history of the organ (or organs) in use in the Minster in the thirty years following the Restoration is incomplete. After the mention of the organs in Gower's letter, the next extant record of an organ in the Minster occurs on 26 August 1662 when a Mr. Preston was paid forty shillings 'for the constant amending and keeping the organ from tyme to tyme in tune'.⁵¹ This organ must have been something of a makeshift, for among the injunctions made at Archbishop Frewen's visitation early in 1663 is one which ordered 'that the great organ be made and sett upp before Michaelmas next'.⁵² This organ was presumably the one built by Mr. Preston at a cost of £260, the sum of which was

⁴⁷Raine, 'Proceedings of the Commonwealth Committee for York and the Ainsty,' pp. 5-6.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 8.

⁴⁹Raine, Fabric rolls, pp. 333-334.

⁵⁰Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, Fifth report, part I, Report and appendix, C.1432 (London: H.M.S.O., 1876), pp. 199-200.

⁵¹YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Chapter minutes and drafts, H8/8 f. 12r.

⁵²Raine, Statutes, p. 97.

paid to him in three instalments, the first two on 3 June and 20 August 1663 respectively.⁵³

It was probably this organ built by Preston which is referred to in one of Archbishop Dolben's injunctions of 1685:

... wee require and enjoyn that the great organ of the said church be with all convenient speed repaired and made fitt for service.⁵⁴

How or why the organ came to be in a state of disrepair is not known, but it is clear from Thomas Comber's autobiography that matters had not improved by 3 April 1690 when he asked Archbishop Lamplugh to give the Minster a new organ. Lamplugh refused, having very recently given the Minster much else, but he did generously offer to give an amount equal to what Comber could raise independently.⁵⁵ On 24 January 1691 an agreement was made between Comber and Bernard Smith for the building of 'a new great Chair Eccho organ', for which Smith was to be paid four hundred pounds;⁵⁶ this was the organ that was used in the Minster until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

At the Restoration, in common with cathedrals throughout the land, York Minster found it difficult to recruit a sufficient number of singers of quality. In 1663 the number of adult male voices had still not reached the pre-Civil War minimum of twelve, for it was

⁵³YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Chapter minutes and drafts, H8/8 f. 12r and 21r; Miscellaneous register, We f. 92r.

⁵⁴Raine, Statutes, p. 102.

⁵⁵Thomas Comber, The autobiographies and letters of Thomas Comber, sometime Precentor of York and Dean of Durham, ed. by Charles Edwin Whiting, Publications of the Surtees Society, 156 (Durham: Surtees Society, 1946), pp. 22-23.

⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 55-56; a MS. copy of Bernard Smith's undertaking to build the organ is now in the Bodleian Library, Ms. Autogr. d. 11, f. 336r, a reproduction of which appears in Andrew Freeman, Father Smith, ed. with new material by John Rowntree (Oxford: Positif P., 1977), p. 196.

ordered in chapter that 'the Quire be made upp to the number of twelve videlicet five vicars and seven singingemen'; the number of singing boys throughout the period from 1660 to 1700 (and beyond) was six.⁵⁷ The failure to secure for the choir a sufficient number of competent singers led to a decision to supplement the voices with sackbuts and cornets. On the same day that an order was made to increase the number of adult male voices in the choir, quoted above, another order required

that two sackbutts and two Cornets be provided to attend the service of the Quire and that Mr Girdler and his company have £5 for one halfe yeare, and 40s. to provide themselves bookes and instruments to that purpose.⁵⁸

From the surviving evidence it is impossible to say with what regularity these wind instruments were used to accompany the choir in the singing of the services, but a series of payments to the players of sackbuts and cornets in the 1670s suggests that this assistance was provided only on major feast days and days during the York assizes.⁵⁹ The wind instruments were almost certainly played by the York city waits, as Mr. Girdler, referred to in the chapter order of 1663, was the chief wait at that time.

The only clue to the repertoire of the Minster choir in the years immediately after the Restoration is provided by evidence given by the vicars choral before a visitation of the Dean and Chapter in 1663:

Wee have 10 bookes printed in folio of services and anthems which are something rotted and decayed

⁵⁷YML, Chapter minutes and drafts, H8/8 f. 19v; St. Peter's account, E2/22, passim.

⁵⁸YML, Chapter minutes and drafts, H8/8 f. 19v.

⁵⁹YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, St. Peter's account, E2/22, passim.

[and] our written bookes are very old and much torne.⁶⁰

There is little doubt that the '10 bookes printed in folio of services and anthems' were the ten volumes of church music compiled by John Barnard and published in 1641, which contain services and anthems by such great names as Byrd, Gibbons, Morley, Mundy, Tallis, and Weelkes.⁶¹ However, in view of an order made in chapter on 3 June 1663, many of the anthems and services in Barnard's collection would seem to have been beyond the choir's competence at this time.

Ordered that the Quire be monished that for the future they attempt not to singe any Anthem untill they have perfect before by practice under paine of forfeitinge 5s a man and the boyes for every neglect to be whipped by there maister.⁶²

In 1662 Stephen Bulkeley published a book of the words of anthems sung in York Minster, and in view of the historical significance of this document it is most unfortunate that the last recorded copy seems to have disappeared with the death of its owner in 1833.⁶³

Using Lowe's Short directions for performance of cathedral service and Clifford's Divine services and anthems it is possible to set out details of the probable form of the services in York Minster at the Restoration, services which altered very little until well into

⁶⁰YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, VC 1/5/2.

⁶¹John Barnard, The first book of selected church musick, consisting of services and anthems such as are now used in the Cathedrall, and Collegiat Churches of this Kingdome, etc., 10 vols. (London: Griffin, 1641).

⁶²YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Chapter minutes and drafts, H8/8 f. 22r.

⁶³The existence of Bulkeley's work is recorded in John Crosse, An account of the grand musical festival held in September, 1823, in the cathedral church of York, etc. (York: Wolstenholme, 1825), Appendix, p. viii.

the 1800s.⁶⁴ (In the list below, musical items either for the choir or organ, or both, are underlined.)

1. Morning prayer

Preces and responses (monotoned)
Venite and psalms set (sung antiphonally to one of
a few unison tunes)

Organ voluntary

First lesson

Te deum or Benedicite

Second lesson

Benedictus or Jubilate

Apostles' Creed, Lord's Prayer (monotoned)

Responses

Anthem

Litany

Voluntary, leading into

2. Communion

Responses to the Commandments - Kyrie

Collects

Epistle

Gospel

Creed

Anthem (end of choral service)

3. Evensong

Versicles

Psalms set (sung as above)

Voluntary

First lesson

Magnificat or Cantate Domino

Second lesson

Nunc dimittis or Deus misereatur

Creed

Responses

Anthem

Throughout the 1700s Morning Prayer (Matins) was sung daily at 9 a.m. and Evensong at 5 p.m., while there was a weekly celebration of Holy Communion on Sundays. The choir performing these services would have

⁶⁴Edward Lowe, A review of some short directions for performance of cathedral service, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Davis, 1664); James Clifford, The divine services and anthems usually sung in his majesties chappell, and in all cathedrals and collegiate choires in England and Ireland, 2nd ed. (London, 1664).

been the same as that described by Gent in 1730, i.e., five vicars-choral, seven singing-men, and six boys.⁶⁵

The first organist at York Minster after the Restoration was Hawkswell, an instruction in chapter on 18 November 1661 ordering that he be paid twenty-two pounds yearly in two instalments; payments to him made during the first half of the 1660s are recorded in the Fabric Accounts.⁶⁶ His immediate successor was probably Thomas Mudd, who was appointed Master of the Choristers on 20 August 1666; he was at his burial in Durham Cathedral on 2 August 1667 described as organist of the cathedral at York, although no record of his appointment as organist there remains.⁶⁷ Mudd was succeeded by Thomas Preston on 7 September of the previous year, who during his period as organist was also master of the choristers from time to time.⁶⁸

Thomas Wanless was appointed organist on 18 April 1691, shortly after Preston's death, also holding the position of master of the choristers between 1692 and 1698.⁶⁹ On 2 July 1698 he was awarded the degree of B.Mus. by Queens' College, Cambridge, on submission of the anthem 'Awake up, my glory'. He published a collection of psalm tunes

⁶⁵Thomas Gent, The antient and modern history of the famous city of York, etc. (York: Hammond, 1730), p. 68.

⁶⁶YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Chapter minutes and drafts, H8/8 f. 7v; Fabric accounts, 1661-1827, E4a passim.

⁶⁷YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, H5 second sequence f. 58v. His burial is recorded in Edward Arthur White, transcriber, The baptismal, marriage, and burial registers of the cathedral church ... at Durham, 1609-1896, ed. by George J. Armytage, Publications of the Harleian Society. Registers, vol. 23 (London, 1897), p. 96. Brief biographical details about Mudd can be found in The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians, s.v. 'Mudd, Thomas,' by Susi Jeans.

⁶⁸YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Chapter acts, H5 second sequence f. 59v; payments to him as master of the choristers are recorded in St. Peter's account, E2/22 passim.

⁶⁹YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Chapter acts, H5 f. 219r.

in 1702 and three burial anthems in 1707; he was the compiler of two editions (published in 1703 and 1705) of a collection of the words of anthems sung in the Minster.⁷⁰ Wanless died on 2 February 1712 and was buried in the church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey, York. The music contained in Wanless' anthems is for the most part extremely dull, an opinion evidently shared by his successors at York. In the collection of Full anthems and verse anthems compiled in 1705, Wanless included seventeen of his own works out of the total number of seventy-eight, but in the collection of 1715 the number of Wanless' anthems had been reduced to nine, and by 1736 Wanless was only represented by one anthem, 'Awake up, my glory' (if indeed this anthem was in York's repertoire, and not that of Durham or Lincoln, as may have been the case).⁷¹

Wanless was succeeded as organist by Charles Murgetroyd, who was appointed on 10 November 1712, having served an apprenticeship with

⁷⁰Thomas Wanless, The metre psalm-tunes in four parts. Compos'd for the use of the parish-church of St. Michael's of Belfrey's in York (London: printed by J. Heptinstall, for Thomas Baxter Bookseller ... in York, 1702); idem, Three funeral anthems, compos'd in four parts to be used in cathedrals collegiate or parish churches (London: printed for M. Hotham, 1707). No copy of this latter work seems to have survived. Its publication is listed in Edward Arber, ed. The term catalogues, 1668-1709, 3 vols. (London: By the Author, 1906), 3:571-572; Full anthems, and verse anthems, as they are ordered by the Dean and Chapter, to be sung in the Cathedral and Metropolitan Church of St. Peter in York (York: Baxter, 1703). Copy in the Drexel Collection, New York Public Library. Full anthems and verse anthems, as they are ordered by the Dean and Chapter, to be sung in the cathedral and metropolitan church of St Peter in York, etc. (York: Jackson, 1705).

⁷¹Full anthems, and verse anthems; as they are ... sung in the cathedral and metropolitan church of St. Peter's in York ... the third edition, with the additions of 45 anthems. Collected and sold by Charles Murgetroyd, organist there (York: printed by John White, 1715); Anthems for two, three, four, five, six, seven, and eight voices. As they are now perform'd, in the cathedral and metropolitan church of St. Peter, in York ... in Durham ... in Lincoln ... collected and sold by Thomas Ellway, master of the children of the cathedral in York (York: printed by Thomas Gent, 1736).

Wanless for at least the previous three years; Murgetroyd left in 1721 to take up an appointment as organist of Lincoln Cathedral.⁷² The next organist at York Minster was William Davis, who remained at York for less than four months, to be followed by Charles Quarles who was in office from 30 June 1722 until 1727 (in which year he died, according to R.H. Newmarch), and who is probably the composer of the anthem 'Out of the deep', which was published in the Cathedral magazine, where it is ascribed to 'Mr Charles, late Organist at York'.⁷³

Edward Salisbury was appointed organist on 13 February 1728 and after being in office for three years was admonished for being absent without leave. On 12 April 1735 he was again called before the Dean and Chapter to answer charges of absenteeism, and two days later was asked to make a formal acknowledgment of his guilt, which he refused to do. On 21 April Salisbury was asked once more to acknowledge his guilt, and again he refused, upon which the Dean and Chapter dismissed him.⁷⁴ In the face of the obdurate recalcitrance displayed by Salisbury, as recorded in the Chapter Acts, two short items in the York Courant (quoted below) are of particular interest, and hint at a feud in a wider context than that conducted between Salisbury and the Dean and Chapter.

⁷²YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter of York, Chapter acts, H6 f. 44r; St. Peter's account, 1667-1720, E2/22; West, Cathedral organists, p. 49.

⁷³YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter of York, Chapter acts, H6 f. 103r; Dictionary of national biography, s.v. 'Quarles, Charles,' by Rosa Harriet Newmarch; The cathedral magazine, or, Divine harmony. Being a collection of the most valuable and useful anthems in score ... the whole selected, and carefully revised by able masters, 3 vols. (London: printed for J. French, [between 1775 and 1778]), 3:42-45.

⁷⁴YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Chapter acts, H6 f. 132r, and H8/5 (unfoliated).

23 January 1739. Mr Salisbury, formerly Organist of the Minster, and who, since his Removal from that Place, had a constant Salary paid him, by the Generosity of the late Hon. and Rev. Mr. Finch, 'till the Death of that worthy Gentleman, was last week chosen Organist of Trinity College in Cambridge.

14 July 1741. Whilst he [i.e., Mr. Salisbury] was permitted to officiate as Organist at our Cathedral, he won the Hearts of all his Acquaintance by his agreeable Conversation, and other valuable Qualifications; respected by all who had any Esteem for Virtue of any Sort; disrelish'd only by those whom his superior Merit had made his enemies.

The repertoire of the Minster choir in the 1710s and 1720s can be established by an examination of the third edition of the York Minster anthem word-book and of five volumes of music copied for William Knight (subchanter at the Minster) between 1715 and 1728.⁷⁵ The anthem word-book of 1715 shows that of a total of eighty-nine anthems (i.e., twenty-eight full and sixty-one verse anthems) the majority was by post-Restoration composers, including sixteen by Purcell and fifteen by Blow. This proportion of works by Purcell and Blow is reflected in the three volumes of anthems compiled c. 1724 (part of the set of five volumes, mentioned above); the two volumes of service music show that services by Blow, Byrd, Child, Gibbons, Purcell and Tallis, among others, were sung. The next two editions of the words of anthems sung in the Minster⁷⁶ also include anthems sung at the cathedrals of Durham

⁷⁵Full anthems, and verse anthems, 1715; YML Music MSS. M 8 S, M 14/1-2 S, and M 164/G S, whose contents are listed in Griffiths, Catalogue of the music manuscripts in YML. The fifth volume of the set copied for William Knight, that of full anthems, is now missing.

⁷⁶Anthems ... perform'd in the cathedral ... in York, 1736; Anthems ... as they are now perform'd, in the cathedral in York ... in Durham, in Lincoln ... collected by Thomas Ellway, 2nd ed. With the addition of fifteen new anthems (York: [printed by Thomas Gent], for John Hildyard, 1753).

and Lincoln, and are therefore of little use in establishing precisely the Minster repertoire.

The successor to Edward Salisbury was the twenty-year old James Nares, his position having been previously offered to, and turned down by, Charles Avison.⁷⁷ Chalmers tells an anecdote concerning Nares and Salisbury which, if true, raises interesting questions about the tuning of the Minster organ in the 1730s.

It is related, on undoubted authority, that when the old musician [i.e., Salisbury] first saw his intended successor, he said, rather angrily, 'What, is that child to succeed me?' which being mentioned to the organist-elect, he took an early opportunity, on a difficult service being appointed, to play it through half a note below the pitch, which brought it into a key with seven sharps; and went through it without the slightest error. Being asked why he did so, he said that 'he only wished to show Mr. Salisbury what a child could do'.⁷⁸

Besides ably fulfilling his duties in the Minster, Nares was also active in the concerts given at the Assembly Rooms in York, where he performed as a soloist in organ concertos and harpsichord concertos, and also as a vocal soloist.⁷⁹

Many would suggest that Nares was the most able composer to have held the post of organist at York Minster. Besides his sacred music he wrote instrumental music (of which the Eight setts of lessons for the harpsichord were published in 1747), some secular vocal music, and three pedagogical works. The majority of his anthems relies on music

⁷⁷The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians, s.v. 'Avison, Charles,' by Norris L. Stephens.

⁷⁸Alexander Chalmers, The general biographical dictionary, etc. new ed. 32 vols. (London: Nichols, 1812-1817), vol. 23, s.v. 'Nares, James.'

⁷⁹His activities as a performer in public concerts are discussed in Chapter VI.

for solo voices, especially treble; these anthems typically consist of short solo movements, often concluding with a short choral section in fugal style, of which 'By the waters of Babylon', possibly composed at York, is a good example.⁸⁰

Nares was succeeded in 1756 by John Camidge, who was probably identical with the child of that name christened in the church of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, on 8 December 1734. Camidge was a chorister in the Minster in 1742, subsequently studying with Greene and Handel in London; he was particularly famous for his organ playing, being especially noted for his extemporizations. He resigned his posts at the Minster on 11 November 1799. Of the fifteen sacred compositions by Camidge listed by Foster, only five would seem to have survived.⁸¹

Camidge's period of office coincided very closely with that of William Mason, who was precentor from 1762 until 1797. The statutes of York Minster define one of the precentor's duties thus: 'The Precentor is, by ancient statute, the director of the choir, or rector chori, in singing and psalmody',⁸² and Mason took this duty very seriously. In 1782 he compiled 'with great labour and pain' an edition of the words of anthems sung in York Minster, and not until

⁸⁰James Nares, Twenty anthems in score for 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 voices, composed for the use of His Majesty's Chapels Royal by Dr. Nares, etc. (London: printed for the author, 1778), pp. 42-47.

⁸¹YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Chapter acts, H9/1 f. 128v and H9/3 p. 216; Robert Beilby Cook, ed., The parish registers of Holy Trinity Church, Goodramgate, York, 1573-1812, Publications of the Yorkshire Parish Register Society, 41 ([Leeds]: Yorkshire Parish Register Society, 1911), p. 169; Dictionary of national biography, s.v. 'Camidge, John,' by W. Barclay Squire; Myles Birket Foster, Anthems and anthem composers: an essay upon the development of the anthem from the time of the Reformation to the end of the nineteenth century, etc. (London: Novello and Company, 1901), p. 113.

⁸²Raine, Statutes, p. 122.

1875, many editions later, was his work entirely superseded.⁸³ Mason was outspoken in his views on church music and was violently opposed to the 'complex and artificial style' of church music which only served to 'perplex and bewilder the general congregation'. He found works by the Elizabethan and early Stuart composers 'almost entirely unintelligible', and although he considered Purcell 'a great and original genius', Mason still accused him of 'pursuing the old Masters in sometimes too ostentatious a show of musical learning'. Croft and Greene were thought to indulge in the use of 'long and intricate divisions', while Nares, among others, was probably in Mason's mind when he expressed disapproval of virtuoso singing, saying that

... too great [an] indulgence ... in instrumental tricks must not only greatly diminish the gravity and solemnity of Church Music, but also render it, as a vehicle for words, much less intelligible.⁸⁴

Mason's ideas of propriety in church music are reflected in his anthem Lord of all power and might, which was published in Page's Harmonia sacra, and performed at the Chapel Royal.⁸⁵ To say the least, this anthem is an anaemic composition, and although it had undoubted appeal for many of Mason's contemporaries, it also had its critics, one of whom was William Crotch, who wrote:

⁸³Mason's remark is quoted in Bernard Barr and John Ingamells, A candidate for praise: William Mason, precentor of York (York: York Art Gallery and York Minster Library, 1973), p. 72; William Mason, ed. A copious collection of those portions of the psalms of David, Bible, and liturgy, which have been set to music and sung as anthems ... published ... under the direction of William Mason ... by whom is prefixed, a critical and historical essay on music (York: printed by A. Ward, in Coney Street, 1782).

⁸⁴William Mason, The works of William Mason, 4 vols. (London: Cadell and Davies, 1811), 3:295, 346, 348-350.

⁸⁵John Page, ed., Harmonia sacra, a collection of anthems in score, selected for cathedral and parochial churches, etc., 3 vols. (London: printed and published by the editor, 1800), 1:58-60.

... When I was organist of Ch. Ch. [i.e., Christ Church, Oxford, between 1790 and 1807] I had frequently to play Lord of all power and might (Mason), a great favourite with the majority but a most contemptible production.⁸⁶

It is interesting to note that on the evidence of the Minster anthem word-books, the three most frequently performed composers at the end of the eighteenth century were Croft, Greene, and Purcell, despite Mason's strictures upon them. Nine copies of each of the collections of anthems by Nares (published in 1779 and 1789 respectively) were purchased for the use of the Minster choir, and in 1790 eight sets of Boyce's three-volume compilation Cathedral music.⁸⁷

When John Camidge resigned his Minster posts on 11 November 1799 his son, Matthew, successfully petitioned the Dean and Chapter to be allowed to succeed him. Matthew Camidge had been a chorister at the Chapel Royal, where he studied with James Nares, and on his return to York he assisted his father in the Minster. The compositions of Matthew Camidge comprise a quantity of keyboard music, including a number of works for beginners, a collection of sacred music entitled Cathedral music (1806), and a collection of psalm tunes compiled for the church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey, York.⁸⁸ It is thought that he was the first Minster organist and master of the choristers to teach the boys to read music, when previously they had learnt everything by ear, and there are two payments to him in the Minster accounts for the purchase of pedagogical materials:

⁸⁶Jonathan Rennert, William Crotch (1775-1847): composer, artist, teacher (Lavenham: Dalton, 1975), p. 77.

⁸⁷YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, St. Peter's account (unsorted vouchers) E2 PV.

⁸⁸The most complete list of his compositions can be found in The catalogue of printed music in the British Library to 1980, 62 vols. (London, etc.: Saur, 1981-1987), 10:97-98.

1806. To Mr Camidge for the use of the Boys belonging to the Cathedral. [Payment for] Two copies of Webbe's 1st book of Exercises in soft-faing [and Two of the 2nd Book].

1822. [Payment for] 2 of Webbes singing exercises [and] 2 of Dr Nares's Ditto.⁸⁹

On 21 June 1803 Camidge's salary was increased by the Dean and Chapter 'in consideration of the great attention necessary to be paid by him in instructing the Choristers in Church Music', attention which would seem still to have been greatly needed some six years later for it is stated in Dean Markham's obituary that when he took office in 1809 'the choir could scarcely perform the choruses in the anthems, which were therefore omitted'.⁹⁰

The organ built by Bernard Smith in 1691, which had served the Minster throughout the eighteenth century, was renovated and enlarged by Green and Blyth in 1803; the number of stops was doubled although the old case-work was retained. Further improvements were carried out in 1815 and 1823, and the organ was then described by John Crosse as 'the largest and most complete instrument in Britain'.⁹¹ Six years later this organ was burnt down in the great fire started by Jonathan Martin, who described at his trial his reason for setting the Minster on fire:

While I was at prayers that afternoon [on 2 February 1829] I thought it was merely deceiving the people that the organ made such a noise of

⁸⁹Dictionary of national biography, s.v. 'Matthew Camidge,' by W. Barclay Squire; YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Chamberlain's accounts, vouchers, unsorted boxes, E2 PV.

⁹⁰YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Chapter acts H 9/3, p. 293; YG 5.10.1822.

⁹¹Crosse, An account of the grand musical festival, p. 135; YC 1.8.1803; YG 5.7.1823.

buzz, buzz. Says I to myself, I'll have thee down tonight. Thou shalt buzz no more.⁹²

Elliot and Hill were appointed to build a new organ in York Minster, one of the prebendaries (later Earl of Scarborough) having promised three thousand pounds for this purpose; but the building of the organ was not to be as straightforward as it should have been. The architect and Dean Cockburn between them changed the plans several times, while the organ builder struggled to keep within the fixed price he had tendered, and this eventually led to litigation in which the organ builder claimed compensation from the Dean and Chapter. The result of this case was a compensation award to Hill of the niggardly sum of two hundred pounds (Elliot in the meantime had died).⁹³

Matthew Camidge continued in office at the Minster until 1842 when he retired at the age of seventy-eight and was succeeded by his son, John. John Camidge (the younger) was born in York in 1790 and was taught music by his father and Charles Hague, taking the degrees of Mus.B. in 1812 and Mus.D. in 1819 at St. Catharine's College, Cambridge.⁹⁴ His most important compositions are included in a collection entitled Cathedral music, which was published in 1830, but it was as an organ virtuoso rather than a composer that he was principally known. In 1848 he was stricken with paralysis, after

⁹²Quoted in Jonathan Gray, Letters to the editor of the Musical World relative to the York organ (London, 1837), p. 10.

⁹³Gray, Letters to the Musical World summarizes the dispute and consequent litigation; YG 14.3.1835; YH 7.1.1837.

⁹⁴YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Chapter acts H 10/2, p. 370; John Venn and John Archibald Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses: a biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900, 2 parts, 10 vols. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1922-1954), pt. 2, vol. 1:496.

which date his duties at the Minster were performed by his son, Thomas Simpson Camidge.

The anthems and services in the repertoire of the Minster choir in the first half of the nineteenth century, as indicated by the surviving part-books, included many works by English cathedral composers of the eighteenth century, but the two previous centuries were represented only by the compositions of Aldrich, Child, R. Farrant, Purcell, and a former Minster organist, John Hutchinson. During this period, works by Beethoven, Haydn, Mendelssohn, and Mozart were arranged as anthems and sung in the Minster services.⁹⁵

If John Camidge's memory served him correctly, there were 'eight regular singing men' in the Minster choir in 1833 or so.⁹⁶ Finding this number to be inadequate, he persuaded the Dean and Chapter to put at his disposal the salaries of two of these singing men with which he engaged 'eight supernumeraries at £10 a year each, whose duty it was to attend the two services on Sundays, and one weekday service'.⁹⁷ On 20 January 1847 the Dean and Chapter agreed to the appointment of two more choristers, thus increasing the number from eight to ten, at the same time resolving that

it be intimated to Dr. Camidge that in the opinion of the Chapter the present state of the choir in regard to the boys is not satisfactory and that the Chapter in authorizing him to appoint two

⁹⁵Griffiths, Catalogue of the music manuscripts in YML, passim.

⁹⁶Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the State and Condition of the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches in England and Wales. Great Britain. Parliamentary papers, 1854 (1821-1822) xxv, 917-918.

⁹⁷Ibid.

additional Boys trust that the Choir in that department will become more efficient.⁹⁸

It is not known whether the singing of the boys became more efficient, but it is clear from a report in The Guardian in 1849 that indiscipline was very much a problem.

'I never saw anything so disgraceful as their [i.e., the choristers'] conduct. They were laughing, talking, pinching each other and pulling each other's hair during the greater portion of the divine service. The eldest boy, instead of setting a good example, seemed to be the ring-leader in all the mischief'. Another visitor to York was so shocked that he asked a verger, "Is there no one appointed to preside over the boys and see that they behave properly?" The answer was "Oh yes, sir, the organist keeps his mind upon them and thrashes them well, and what is more, the residentiary is always at them about it".⁹⁹

In 1853 the Sunday services were sung by a choir (including supernumeraries) of four altos, six tenors, six basses, and ten boys, but the usual daily service was sung by the boys and on each side one alto, one tenor, and one bass.¹⁰⁰ In 1857 Canon Harcourt in a letter to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners wrote that 'the choral music in this cathedral [i.e., at York] is sunk below the level of religious impressiveness'.¹⁰¹ During the next year the Dean and Chapter 'deliberated upon the present state of the choir', presumably finding it less than satisfactory, for Dr. Camidge was effectively dismissed,

⁹⁸YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Chapter acts, H 11/1 p. 204.

⁹⁹The Guardian (1849): 552, quoted in Philip Barrett, 'English cathedral choirs in the nineteenth century,' Journal of ecclesiastical history 25 (1974): 26.

¹⁰⁰Report. Parliamentary papers 1854 (1821-1822) xxv, 917-918.

¹⁰¹W.V. Harcourt to the secretary of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, 9 April 1857 (Ecclesiastical Commissioners' Papers, 11778), quoted in Aylmer and Cant, A history of York Minster, p. 279.

and the Dean 'instructed to make enquiries for a qualified successor'.¹⁰²

Edwin George Monk was appointed organist and master of the choristers on 6 January 1859,¹⁰³ the same year in which Duncombe was installed as Dean, and these two High Churchmen introduced the reforms necessary to bring the choral music in the Minster back to 'the level of religious impressiveness'. After only two months at York, Monk made a report to the Dean and Chapter on the state of the Minster organ with his suggestions for its improvement. He criticized the organ of 1829 thus:

Notwithstanding the constructive ability bestowed upon the work, the breadth and amplitude of the system of wind supply, wind chests, and scales of pipes, the prevalence of false and vague theories upon the nature and "disposition" of stops, led to many grave errors of design.¹⁰⁴

Following Monk's recommendations for the improvement of the Minster organ the Dean and Chapter approved its rebuilding by Messrs. Hill and Son of London, the cost of which was largely met by public subscription. This rebuilt organ had, according to Monk, an 'increased depth, richness, and beauty of tone ... [which were] manifest to any one conversant with organ effects'. Certainly the organ's specification was an enormous improvement on that of 1829, having a pedal organ for which Monk could justly claim superiority over those in many large continental organs.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰²YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Chapter acts, H 11/1 p. 450.

¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴Arthur Perceval Purey-Cust, Organs and organists of York Minster (York: John Sampson, 1899), p. 19.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 26.

It was widely recognized that the salaries of the songmen were inadequate, and throughout his period of office (1859 to 1880) Dean Duncombe supplemented their incomes from his own pocket. By 1867 the size of the choir had been increased to 'six men and seven boys, and occasionally eight, on each side'.¹⁰⁶ The duties of the singingmen were, indeed, 'very arduous and unremitting', as they claimed to Her Majesty's Commissioners for Inquiring into the Condition of Cathedral Churches in England and Wales, for they were required to sing at two weekday services daily throughout the year and on Sundays 'three services during six months of the year and two during the other six months'.¹⁰⁷ One of the songmen's recommendations to the Commissioners - that the posts of songmen should be superannuable - was implemented by the Dean and Chapter, but with only a pension of one third of full salary instead of the two thirds claimed by the songmen.¹⁰⁸

The composers of the works sung most often in Minster services in the 1860s and 1870s were Attwood, Goss, Mendelssohn, and Ouseley; the choir's repertoire also included works by various now-forgotten composers, for instance, Ebdon and Barnby, some of whose works, according to Monk, 'smelt of Mr. Gounod's footlights'.¹⁰⁹ During this

¹⁰⁶First report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Rubrics, Orders and Directions for regulating the Course and Conduct of Public Worship, &c. according to the use of the united Church of England and Ireland. Great Britain. Parliamentary papers 1867 C.3951, xx, 777.

¹⁰⁷Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners for Inquiring into the Condition of Cathedral Churches in England and Wales upon the cathedral church of York. Great Britain. Parliamentary papers 1884-1885 C.4378, xxi, 451.

¹⁰⁸YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Chapter acts, H 11/2 p. 324.

¹⁰⁹Edward J. Bellerby, 'Monk at York Minster: some personal reminiscences,' The music student 10 (1917): 132; Tillott, The city of York, pp. 354-355.

time the two main services were still morning and evening prayer, which were sung daily; the Holy Communion was not celebrated with full choral settings until 1874. According to Bellerby, one of Monk's articulated pupils in the 1870s, Monk was not a great solo performer on the organ, although he was a good accompanist, particularly of the psalms.¹¹⁰ Moreover, he was a strict disciplinarian with the boys, and their unruly behaviour, which had characterized Minster worship in the 1840s and 1850s, disappeared during his period of office. Throughout his last years at York bad eyesight troubled Monk continually, and he was granted leave of absence because of it on several occasions; it was probably this eye trouble which led to his decision to resign in 1883, a resignation which was received by the Dean and Chapter with much regret.¹¹¹

On 17 October 1883 John Naylor was appointed to the office of organist and choirmaster at a salary of three hundred pounds, a sum which was to be raised to four hundred pounds on the expiration of the pension given to Monk on his retirement.¹¹² Naylor had been born at Stanningley, near Leeds, on 8 June 1838, and after being a chorister and then assistant organist at Leeds parish church he had held posts as organist at Scarborough. Thomas Percy Pemberton described Naylor as 'a musician of catholic tastes, and a composer of no mean merit'.¹¹³ Naylor resigned his posts at the Minster in 1897 because of ill health and died in the same year while on a voyage to Australia.

¹¹⁰Bellerby, 'Monk at York Minster,' p. 131.

¹¹¹YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Chapter acts, H 11/2 p. 298.

¹¹²Ibid., p. 305.

¹¹³Grove's dictionary of music and musicians, 2nd ed., s.v. 'Naylor, John.'

Naylor was succeeded by Thomas Tertius Noble, who for the previous six years had been organist of Ely Cathedral. According to Colles, Noble's skill in the training of choirs, particularly of boys' voices, was universally acknowledged, and during his time at York the singing of the Minster choir enjoyed a very high reputation.¹¹⁴ The only composition for which Noble is at all remembered today is his 'Evening service in b minor', which was written at the suggestion of Parratt, using as a model Walmisley's 'Evening service in d minor'.¹¹⁵ Noble left York in 1912 in order to take up a post at the church of St. Thomas, Fifth Avenue, New York.

The high reputation of the singing in York Minster was further enhanced by its next organist and choirmaster, Sir Edward Bairstow, who took up his appointment in 1913. He was born at Huddersfield on 22 August 1874, receiving his schooling in Nottingham and London, where he was later a pupil of, and assistant to, Sir Frederick Bridge. Bairstow was appointed organist of Wigan parish church in 1899 on Bridge's recommendation, accepting the more important post at Leeds parish church in 1906. Before coming to York in 1913 Bairstow had already been the regular conductor of choral societies at Blackburn, Preston, and Wigan, and having established his reputation as a choral trainer he gained the prestigious positions of conductor of the Leeds Philharmonic Choir (1917) and the Bradford Festival Choral Society (1919). He became professor of music at Durham in 1929 (a non-resident post at that time), and in 1932 he was knighted. As a further recognition of his outstanding contribution to the musical

¹¹⁴Grove's dictionary of music and musicians, 4th ed. Supplement, s.v. 'Noble, Thomas Tertius.'

¹¹⁵Fellowes, English cathedral music, p. 258.

life of his time he was awarded the honorary degrees of D.Litt. from the University of Leeds (1936) and D.Mus. from the University of Oxford (1945).¹¹⁶

Most of Bairstow's compositions were written for the church, and many of his anthems and services are still regularly performed. Several commentators have detected in his music the influence of Brahms, for example, in works such as 'Blessed city, heavenly Salem', 'Though I speak with tongues of men', and the Communion service in D, but certain of Bairstow's anthems do show an individual style which can be seen in the anthems 'I sat down under his shadow' and 'Let all mortal flesh keep silence'. The second of these two anthems is thought by many to be Bairstow's finest composition.

In 1867 the choir was made up of twelve men and fourteen (occasionally sixteen) boys; by 1930 the number of choristers had increased to twenty whereas the number of songmen had declined to nine. Writing in 1916 Surtees Talbot stated that the songmen of the Minster did not have a pension scheme or a retiring age, and that the Minster choir was still losing some of its best singers to Durham Cathedral, where the songmen were paid considerably more than at

¹¹⁶Ernest Bradbury, 'Sir Edward Bairstow - a birthday tribute,' The musical times (August 1944): 233-236; Dictionary of national biography, 1941-1950, s.v. 'Bairstow, Sir Edward Cuthbert,' by Ernest Bullock.

York.¹¹⁷ The boys were all recruited locally, and according to Surtees Talbot this was rather unfortunate.

... the boys have to be recruited from a district which has the double disadvantage of an enervating climate and also distinct racial characteristics of Danish origin which never make for naturally robust voices, as in the case of the West Riding singers who come from a totally different stock.¹¹⁸

In the 1960s the Dean and Chapter established a number of choral scholarships which are available to suitably qualified male students from the College of Ripon and York St. John, and the University of York. There were four songmen, six choral scholars, and twenty boys in the mid-1970s; at the end of 1989 there were twelve songmen and eighteen boys.

The repertoire of the choir has slowly changed during this century. During Bairstow's period of office works by many Victorian composers (and their Continental contemporaries such as Gounod, Mendelssohn, and Spohr) were dropped, to be replaced by those of his contemporaries, e.g., Darke, Walford Davies, and Charles Wood. In the 1970s the repertoire included over seven hundred anthems and services but during the last decade this number has been reduced considerably in an attempt to remove some of the duller works (by Arnold and Cooke, for instance) and to raise the performing standard of the choir. While the repertoire is still bounded at the one extreme by

¹¹⁷G. Surtees Talbot, 'The musical revival in York Minster,' The music student (September 1916): 46. For at least the second half of the nineteenth century the salaries paid to the songmen at York Minster were much lower than those paid by many other cathedrals and collegiate churches, and throughout this period there was a regular exodus of York's best singers to more highly paid employment elsewhere, which was a continuing source of unfavourable comment in local newspapers, especially in the earlier part of this period. See, for instance, letters in YH 24.6.1854, YH 23.3.1867.

¹¹⁸Surtees Talbot, 'Musical revival,' p. 46.

Elizabethan composers (including Byrd and Tallis) at the other it has been extended to include works by Giles Swayne, Sir Michael Tippett and Sir William Walton; overall, the repertoire displays a notable catholicity of taste, with the best of the music from each period being represented.

The organ designed by Dr. Monk served the Minster until the beginning of the twentieth century, when a complete rebuild was undertaken by Walker & Sons to a specification drawn up by Noble in conjunction with Sir Walter Parratt. This rebuild was completed in 1903 and was followed by another revision in 1916; further improvements were made in 1931, in which the specifications of the Solo and Pedal organs were completely remodelled, and a new console and a new mechanism for the whole organ were introduced. The last major revision of the Minster organ was completed in May 1960.¹¹⁹

Francis Jackson was born in Malton on 2 October 1917 and from 1929 to 1933 was a chorister in the Minster choir. Between the years 1933 and 1940 he was organist of Malton parish church while continuing his musical studies with Sir Edward Bairstow. Jackson became organist of the Minster in 1946 following Bairstow's death and retired in 1982 after thirty-six years' service. He was an organist of international repute, being especially renowned for his performance of the nineteenth-century repertoire and of compositions by twentieth-century French composers including Dupré and Vierne. Jackson has written several pieces for organ, and a considerable amount for choir and

¹¹⁹Andrew Freeman, 'The organs of York Minster,' The organ 5 (April 1926): 193-204; Reginald Whitworth, 'The rebuilt organ in York Minster,' The organ 11 (October 1931): 65-70; Francis Jackson, 'York Minster, 1960, and Schweitzer,' The organ 40 (1960/61): 23-30.

organ, of which his 'Evening service in G' is deservedly popular.¹²⁰ Philip Moore became organist and master of the choristers in 1983 and is the present holder of both posts.

The musical force which has performed in the services of the Minster throughout the period since the Reformation has been largely unchanged with regard to numbers, but the proportion of men to boys, which until the nineteenth century was mostly two to one, has now been reversed, while the organ, which during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries was small and sweet-toned, has now been replaced by one of a class which Watkins Shaw has aptly described as 'rolling giants'.¹²¹ Throughout the last four hundred and fifty years or so the Minster choir has consistently preserved in its repertoire some of the best works from each generation of composers of English cathedral music, and it now displays a remarkable eclecticism in its choice of works from this tradition. The wider influence of the Minster musical establishment on music-making in York has been considerable and will be noted in subsequent chapters. Until the present day much of the institutional music-making in York has owed something to one or more of the lay or clerical musicians of the Minster.

¹²⁰Stanley Webb, 'Francis Jackson,' The organ 43 (1964): 150-157; Who's who 1990, s.v. 'Jackson, Francis.'

¹²¹Shaw, 'Church music in England,' p. 697.

CHAPTER III

'AN ANNOYANCE TO MUSICAL EARS':

MUSIC IN PLACES OF WORSHIP EXCLUDING YORK MINSTER,

c. 1550-1925

On 27 January 1526 a deed was signed by York civic officials and the archbishop of York as a result of which seventeen decayed parishes in the city were united with twelve other parishes therein, thus leaving a total of some twenty-three parishes, a number which remained constant until the mid-nineteenth century when new parishes were created to provide for the increase in the numbers of people living outside the city walls. In addition to the churches belonging to each of these parishes, there were by 1900 approximately fifty places of Nonconformist worship in York, a majority of which had been built during the nineteenth century, dissent from the Church of England before that time being largely on an informal basis. For a sizeable number of York people (reaching a high point in 1851 of sixty-one per cent of the city's population of 36,303) the music performed at these places of worship provided their only regular experience of formal music-making. It is the purpose of this chapter to record the history of the musical activity in York churches. A first and larger section

will deal with the music in York's parish churches, and a second and smaller one with that in its Nonconformist places of worship, both Protestant and Roman Catholic.¹

Although several substantial works have been written about English cathedral music, nothing similar had been written about English parish church music until Nicholas Temperley published his magisterial survey of the subject in 1979.² One of the four contrasting regions he chose for archival work was the cathedral city of York, but a glance at the 'Bibliography, Manuscript Sources' section beginning on page 363 of his book shows that he consulted only a few of the extant York parish records. Inevitably this has led to a somewhat patchy coverage as far as York is concerned, although it detracts very little from his findings overall.³ The present account of music in York parish churches is based largely on two primary sources (the surviving parish records in the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, and, for the nineteenth century, various reports concerning matters ecclesiastical in local newspapers) together with one secondary source (a manuscript compiled by a York

¹The religious background for the period covered in this chapter can be found in P.M. Tillott, ed., The city of York, Victoria History of the Counties of England (London: O.U.P., 1961), pp. 142-155, 200-206, 250-253, and 365-419. More detailed coverage of the nineteenth century can be found in Edward Royle, The Victorian church in York, Borthwick paper, 64 (York: St. Anthony's P., 1983); and Edward Royle, Nonconformity in nineteenth-century York, Borthwick paper, 68 (York: St. Anthony's P., 1985).

²Nicholas Temperley, The music of the English parish church, 2 vols. (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1979).

³A small period of the history of York parish church music is covered in more detail in Nicholas Temperley, Jonathan Gray and church music in York, 1770-1840, Borthwick paper, 51 (York: St. Anthony's P., 1977).

antiquarian).⁴ As P.M. Tillott noted in 1961, 'the records of the parish incumbents and officers in York are not as abundant as might be expected ... churchwardens [sic] accounts are on the whole hard to find';⁵ moreover, the chronological coverage of surviving churchwardens' accounts is very uneven, with only the churches of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, St. John, Ousebridge, and St. Michael-le-Belfrey having them for the period from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century in its entirety, and of these churches only the latter was musically active for most of the period. The following discussion will concentrate upon the musical activities of the churches listed below

All Saints, Pavement
St. Martin, Coney Street
St. Michael-le-Belfrey
St. Michael, Spurriergate
St. Saviour

because of the surviving amount of information relating to each; the musical practices of other parish churches in York will be referred to, as appropriate, in order to illustrate various historical trends.

Not until after 1559 is there evidence to suggest congregational participation in the performance of music in English parish churches; before that date, the very largest of parish churches might have employed clerks (or conducts, as they were sometimes called) to help in the performance of polyphony, but in smaller churches only the priest and parish clerk sang, the plainsong being performed alternately. Between 1525 and 1545 at St. Michael, Spurriergate, there were many payments in the churchwardens' accounts to the priest

⁴John Ward Knowles, 'Notes on the organs organists clerks and choirs in York churches since the Reformation.' (Unpublished MS. in York Public Library).

⁵Tillott, The city of York, p. 368.

and parish clerk for singing mass, some of the payments particularly specifying the 'Lady' mass and the 'Jesus' mass.⁶ From 1534 to 1545 there were very small single annual payments to the under clerk for singing, and in 1534 a similar payment to Sir John Baitman; these, however, were the sole payments for singing additional to those made to the priest and parish clerk, and from this absence of payments to a number of clerks it can be concluded that no polyphonic music was performed at St. Michael, Spurriergate, in the years between 1518 and 1545, a conclusion that is supported by a lack of payments for the copying of polyphonic music (or pricksong, as it would then have been called) in the same period. The only payments which can be interpreted as being made for the copying of music were those for a 'seynt Roche mass' in 1518, for a sequence in 1526, and for part of three mass books in 1536.⁷

Throughout the years covered by this set of pre-Reformation accounts, i.e., 1518-1543, there are numerous payments to organ blowers, which indicate the presence of an organ (or organs) in the church throughout the period, but none for their building or repair until 1536. In that year a pair of organs was installed in the choir at a cost of eight pounds, while three years later there were further payments concerning these organs and also payments concerning the organs in the rood loft. In 1542 Guillaume Treasurer was paid for extending the compass of the organs and of the regal in the rood loft, and a year later he was paid for more work on both.⁸

⁶St. Michael, Spurriergate, Churchwardens' accounts, 1518-1547. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research (hereafter cited as BIHR) PR Y/MS 4, *passim*.

⁷*Ibid.*, ff. 16v, 61r, and 125v.

⁸*Ibid.*, ff. 125r, 125v, 154v, and 187r.

Contemporary use of the organ in English parish churches would suggest that it was used at the church of St. Michael in the performance of plainsong, the player of the organ acting as soloist while the parish clerk or priest sang the response; or, more simply, the plainsong would have been accompanied by the organ at the unison. Four other churches in York are known to have had organs in the period before 1600. At All Saints, Pavement, various repairs to the organs were made between the years 1568 and 1584; at St. John, Ousebridge, the organs were sold during the accounting year ending on 18 April 1596; at St. Martin, Coney Street, repairs to the organs were made in 1557 and 1562; and at St. Michael-le-Belfrey, in an inventory of goods in the church compiled in 1593, there was 'a pair of organs wanteth pipes [and] pypes in the cubberd v score & xix [i.e., 119].⁹ Another church in York, that of St. Saviour, may well have had an organ in the 1520s, as in the wills of two of its former chaplains there are bequests towards the making of organs there.¹⁰

Throughout England many parish church organs fell into disuse during the second half of the sixteenth century, especially during the period from 1570 to 1585,¹¹ and the experience of York would seem to fit this pattern. Only the churches of St. John and St. Michael-le-

⁹All Saints, Pavement, Churchwardens' accounts, 1568-1598, BIHR PR Y/ASP F 14/2, passim; St. John, Ousebridge, Churchwardens' accounts, 1585-1668, 1689-1705, BIHR PR Y/J 17, f. 13v; St. Martin, Coney Street, Churchwardens' accounts, 1552-1586, BIHR Y/MCS 16, f. 138; St. Michael-le-Belfrey, Churchwardens' accounts, 1569-1636, BIHR PR Y/MB 33, f. 30v.

¹⁰The wills are those of Martin Awnderson, who died on 26 October 1520, and William Grave, who died on 6 February 1521, and are transcribed in Claire Cross, York clergy wills, 1520-1600; II, city clergy, Borthwick texts and calendars, 15 (York: University of York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, 1989), pp. 2 and 3.

¹¹Temperley, Music of the English parish church, 1:43-44.

Belfrey are known to have kept their organs into the 1590s, but it is most probable that by then they had not been used for some time. During the reign of Elizabeth I the Puritan influence in the church was strong, and the use of organs in churches was actively discouraged. Moreover, most parishes would simply not have had sufficient money to support the maintenance of an organ given that musical endowments made to parish churches had been appropriated by the Crown, and given the severe inflation of the 1560s and 1570s.

Two organs which may have been built in the sixteenth century, and which survived into the seventeenth, were those at Holy Trinity, King's Court, and St. Mary, Bishophill Senior, respectively. William Camidge noted that on 10 May 1656 the roof of the south aisle of Holy Trinity, King's Court, fell in, after which 'the organ loft inside the church was removed and rearranged, and some portion of the pipes were sold'. According to Knowles, an organ was removed from St. Mary, Bishophill Senior, in 1682 and forty-eight pounds of pipes sold for one pound and twelve shillings.¹² It is doubtful whether the organs in either of these churches were used to support music at their services, particularly in the first half of the century; nationally the evidence is that organs were not used at this time, because of both ecclesiastical and economic constraints.

Five years after the removal of the organ from the church of St. Mary, Bishophill Senior, an organ was installed in the church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey, and from this date, virtually until the end of the 1700s, this is the only church in York about which anything is known

¹²William Camidge, Ye old streete of Pavement, York (York: Yorkshire Gazette, 1893), p. 100; Knowles, 'Notes on the organs,' p. 119. I have not been able to identify the source of either of these comments.

either of the musical instruments used in its services or of the music performed. A sum of two pounds and three shillings was paid for the organ case, but the cost to the church of the organ, if any, is not known; the organ had originally been the chair organ of a larger instrument in Durham Cathedral, but immediately before its removal to St. Michael-le-Belfrey had been used at a Roman Catholic chapel in the King's Manor. The organ comprised seven stops, including a cornet, and was completely overhauled in 1744 by Ambrose Brownless, a local organ builder, at a cost of fifteen pounds, payment for which was 'unanimously agreed to by all of the Parishioners Assembled in behalf of themselves and the rest of this Parish'.¹³ This agreement is significant, for any parish could refuse to pay for the building and maintenance of an organ (and for the organist's salary), and this unwillingness of parishioners to tax themselves for such purposes is one of the main reasons why most English parish churches were without organs from the late sixteenth until the mid-nineteenth century. After a brief period in the early 1780s when a barrel organ was installed in the church, a new organ was built on a recently-extended gallery at the west end and opened on 22 and 23 March 1785 with performances of Messiah. The answers to questions regarding the builder of the organ, and how new the organ was, are elusive. There is no record in the churchwardens' accounts of the organ being paid for, and it must therefore have been acquired either by gift or

¹³St. Michael-le-Belfrey, Churchwardens' accounts, 1636-1752, BIHR PR Y/MB, ff. 34-35; J.T. Fowler, ed. Rites of Durham, being a brief description or brief declaration of all the ancient monuments, rites & customs belonging or being within the monastical church of Durham before the suppression, written 1593, Publications of the Surtees Society, 107 (Durham: Andrews, 1903), p. 299; Francis Drake, Eboracum; or, The history and antiquities of the city of York (London: By the Author, 1736), p. 338.

subscription. Advertisements for the opening of the organ, and a report thereof, make no mention of the name of the organ builder, but Walter, writing in 1872, said that the builder was Thomas Haxby.¹⁴

St. Michael-le-Belfrey obtained its first post-Restoration organ at a time (1687) when but twenty-one per cent of London churches had organs, and although figures for the provinces are not available, it is known that only a small minority of provincial churches had organs then. Temperley has made the point that organs were introduced into churches in the latter part of the seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth centuries (and beyond) primarily in order 'to provide a kind of musical whitewash, so that decorum could be attained for the ear as well as the eye'.¹⁵ In order to see why this 'musical whitewash' was thought necessary it is instructive to note the comments of Towerson in 1696, which although delivered at the opening of an organ in a London parish church, have a universal application.

The organ, in particular, both by the loudness, and the harmoniousness thereof doth, with a kind of grateful violence, carry the voices of men along with it, and not only prevents any such indecent discords as might otherwise arise, but makes their voices indeed and in truth to answer that melody, which is here exhorted to, and is, it may be, the

¹⁴BIHR D/C Fac. 1785/1; YC 1.3.1785, YC 29.3.1785; D. Alleyne Walter, A complete guide to the ancient churches of York (York: Pickwell, 1872), p. 9. Thomas Haxby is quite likely to have built the organ, or, at the very least, to have been deeply involved in discussions about its building. In addition to his business of musical instrument making, he was parish clerk of St. Michael-le-Belfrey from 1751 until his death in 1796. Walter wrote, 'The organ [of St. Michael-le-Belfrey] has eleven stops, viz. 7 in the great and 4 in the swell'. This may indicate that the original seven-stop single manual became a great organ to which was added a new swell organ of four stops.

¹⁵Temperley, Music of the English parish church, 1:101 and 117.

only instrument that can with any certainty procure it.¹⁶

At this point it is necessary to consider the first two hundred years or so of one of England's oldest musical traditions, that of the singing of metrical psalms, which has been an important part of this country's Protestant worship since the Reformation.¹⁷ There had been various verse translations of the psalms beginning with Coverdale's Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes of c. 1538, to some of which translations were added tunes, before The whole book of psalmes, collected into English metre, by T. Sternhold, J. Hopkins and others was published by John Day in 1562. This latter compilation contained tunes taken from French and German sources, and in the following year an edition with harmonizations of the tunes was published. Later companion tune-books to Sternhold and Hopkins' psalms were those of Thomas East (1592), Thomas Ravenscroft (1621), and John Playford (1677). When metrical psalms were introduced into the Church of England in the 1560s and 1570s, they were sung quite briskly, on account of which they came to be known as 'Geneva jigs'. However, the effect of many years unaccompanied congregational singing on the speed of performance was to slow down the tempo quite considerably, until by the end of the 1600s the speed had dropped to two or three seconds per note, each line of a verse of a metrical psalm taking between sixteen and twenty-four seconds. Add to this the practice of 'lining-out', in which the parish clerk would read out each line of the psalm before it

¹⁶G. Towerson, A sermon concerning vocal and instrumentall musick in the church, as it was delivered in the parish church of St. Andrew, Undershaft, May 31st, 1696, etc. (London, 1696), quoted in Temperley, Music of the English parish church, 1:101.

¹⁷The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians, s.v. 'Psalms, metrical, III, 1: Church of England,' by Nicholas Temperley.

was sung, for the benefit of the illiterate, and the result is what John Chetham called in 1718 'the Old way of Singing'. The resultant clamour from a congregation singing at such a slow tempo has been aptly described by Temperley as 'discordant heterophony'.¹⁸

There is no evidence concerning the performance of metrical psalms in York during the seventeenth century, but it is probable that the performing standard would have conformed to the national pattern, i.e., that 'discordant heterophony' would have been common. During the period from 1660 to 1790 many of the wealthier urban parish churches were able to introduce an organ (and sometimes a choir also) into their churches thus enabling the stifling of this 'discordant heterophony'. The acquisition of an organ by St. Michael-le-Belfrey in 1687 can be seen as part of this movement for reform, as was the publication of some psalm tunes specifically for its own use, and the eventual acquisition of a choir.

In 1688 a selection of metrical psalms from the Old Version, with accompanying tunes in three-part harmony, was published for the use of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, and St. James, Westminster, thus setting a trend which continued until the end of the 1700s. Towards the fore in this respect was the church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey, York, for which Thomas Wanless compiled in 1702 The metre psalm-tunes, in four parts, a collection of psalm tunes harmonized in settings for S.A.T.B., with the tune in the treble, an arrangement which was not common until the

¹⁸The 'Old way of Singing' is discussed in Temperley, Music of the English parish church, 1: 91-98, and in The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians, s.v. 'Psalms, Metrical, III, 1: Church of England, iv. Performing practice.' The phrase 'discordant heterophony' occurs in The new Grove dictionary, s.v. 'Psalmody (ii) I, England.'

late eighteenth century.¹⁹ Temperley has suggested that these four-part settings would have been sung by a voluntary male choir (associated with a religious society in York at that time) and the charity children of the Blue Coat School. There is an isolated payment in the churchwardens' accounts to Mr. Cooper (the parish clerk and a Minster songman) in 1723 for 'teaching the Charity boys to sing', but other than this there is no indication that the 'Charity boys' did sing regularly, although it is probable.²⁰

Nothing further is known of the music in the church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey until some sixty years later when, centred on this church and on that of St. Saviour, there began a remarkable burst of musical activity, dominating which were five protagonists - two musicians, two clergymen, and a local worthy - who between them revitalized congregational singing in York. Matthew Camidge was organist of York Minster from 1799 until two years before his death in 1844, and Philip Knpton a composer and pianist of some repute, who was also joint promoter of the annual series of concerts in York from 1822 until 1830. The two clergymen were both Evangelicals: William Richardson was perpetual curate of St. Michael-le-Belfrey from 1771 until his death in 1821, while John Graham was rector of St. Saviour (and also All Saints, North Street, and St. Mary, Bishophill Senior) until his death in 1844. Jonathan Gray was a man of many parts - York

¹⁹Thomas Wanless, The metre psalm-tunes, in four parts. Compos'd for the use of the parish-church of St. Michael's of Belfrey's in York (London: printed by J. Heptinstall, for Thomas Baxter Bookseller in Petergate in York, 1702). There are copies of this work in the British Library (Humanities and Social Sciences) and Durham Cathedral Library.

²⁰Temperley, Music of the English parish church, 1:126. The charity school to which Temperley refers, the Blue Coat School, was situated in the parish of St. Saviour, and was founded in 1705.

alderman, lawyer, active worker on behalf of many charitable causes, and keen amateur musician, playing the organ at the Sunday evening services at the church of St. Saviour for many years.²¹

In 1788 William Richardson compiled for the church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey A collection of psalms,²² containing metrical psalms selected chiefly from the versions of Merrick, Sternhold and Hopkins, Tate and Brady, and Watts, and although no music was included, a tune was suggested for each psalm. In the preface to this collection, Richardson deplored the 'neglect and contempt' into which psalmody had fallen (a criticism which probably applied to most, if not all, York churches), and he offered four rules for the instruction of congregations.

Those who possess a musical voice and ear, should learn the tunes perfectly, and then endeavour to join heartily in this part of the service, and sing aloud, for an example and instruction to the rest.

Those who have a harsh voice, or an imperfect ear, should sing low, that they may not, by a discordant noise, overpower better voices, and defeat the end of singing.

Those who are totally without a voice or ear for music, should not attempt to sing, but be content to join in heart and affection.

Lastly: The whole congregation ought to stand up during the singing, as they do in reading the Psalms; for if this posture is decent and proper

²¹Information concerning Matthew Camidge and Philip Knapton can be found in several other chapters of this thesis, viz., Chapter II, Chapter VII, and Chapter X. Biographical information about John Graham, Jonathan Gray, and William Richardson, can be found in Temperley, Jonathan Gray and church music in York. The place of music in the Evangelical concept of worship is discussed in Doreen M. Rosman, Evangelicals and culture (London: Croom Helm, 1984), pp. 134-146.

²²William Richardson, A collection of psalms, from the most approved versions, in portions of a convenient length for public worship (York: printed by Lucas Lund, 1788).

when the Psalms are only read, it is still more so when they are sung.²³

A musical companion to Richardson's Collection of psalms was compiled in 1800 by Matthew Camidge, whose intention was

... to make these Tunes more generally known among the Congregations where they are sung, that this pleasant part of public worship may be performed in a more lively manner.²⁴

He went on to refer to the speed of performance of metrical psalms in certain churches.

... when those who sing are imperfectly acquainted with the tune they must wait for each Note from the Organ or Clerk, by which means every syllable is lengthened, and the whole exercise becomes languid and tiresome.

This is a clear reference to a lingering of the tradition of the 'Old way of Singing', referred to above, and given that Camidge's work was primarily intended for a local audience, his remarks no doubt applied to most churches in York. A second edition of Camidge's Musical companion was published in 1808, its title-page stating that now, in addition to the church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey, Richardson's compilation was used in 'most of the Churches in York and its Vicinity'; a third edition was published in 1825.²⁵

²³Richardson, A collection of psalms, pp. [ii-iii].

²⁴Matthew Camidge, A musical companion to the psalms used in the church of St. Michael le Belfrey, York, being thirty tunes, composed by the most eminent authors, and properly adapted for the piano forte or organ (York: printed and sold by S. Knapton, 1800). Copy in the British Library (Humanities and Social Sciences).

²⁵There is a copy of the second edition in York Minster Library, and copies of the third edition in the British Library (Humanities and Social Sciences) and York Public Library.

A supplement to Richardson's Collection of psalms, compiled by Jonathan Gray, was published in 1817,²⁶ and as with the earlier compilation, this was also published anonymously. The perceived drawback in Richardson's Collection of psalms, as recorded by Gray in his preface, was that it was 'considered ... to be too scanty, both in the number and variety of the portions [i.e., the metrical psalms selected]', especially for churches which sang up to four metrical psalms during the Sunday, and it was in an attempt to meet this deficiency that Gray published his supplement, which consisted solely of hymns. He adduced arguments in favour of the singing of hymns in the Church of England, showing that the singing of metrical psalms had, in fact, never been authorised, although it was widely supposed that this was so.

A few months after Gray had published Hymns, selected as a supplement to A collection of psalms, the organist of the church of St. Saviour (where the Hymns had been first introduced), Philip Knapton, published a musical companion to it.²⁷ In 1821, a third and more voluminous compilation of the words of metrical psalms and hymns was published under the title Selection of psalms and hymns for public worship, which would seem to have been a conflation of the two works of Gray and Richardson respectively, with the addition of some metrical psalms or hymns (or both) in 'peculiar Metres'.²⁸ Tunes to

²⁶Jonathan Gray, Hymns, selected as a supplement to A collection of psalms, used in several churches (York: Wolstenholme, 1817). Copy in the British Library (Humanities and Social Sciences).

²⁷Philip Knapton, A collection of tunes for psalms & hymns, selected as a supplement to those now used in several churches in York and its vicinity, etc. (York: printed & sold by S. Knapton, 1817).

²⁸Selection of psalms and hymns for public worship (London: printed for T. Cadell, Strand, 1821). This information appears in the preface to Matthew Camidge, Twenty four original psalm & hymns tunes,

these psalms or hymns in 'peculiar Metres' were provided by Matthew Camidge in Twenty four original psalm & hymn tunes, to which was subjoined an index 'shewing the proper Psalm or Hymn Tune to the whole Contents of the Selection' and its page in A musical companion to the psalms, A collection of tunes for psalms and hymns, and Twenty-four original psalm & hymn tunes, these three musical works containing between them one hundred and one psalm and hymn tunes and forty-two psalm chants.

Two further musical publications followed, the first of which was compiled by Thomas Graham (organist at the church of St. Saviour from 1831 to 1834) and published in 1834. As its title indicates, it contained tunes for metrical psalms, hymns, and chants, and was intended as a supplement to the above-mentioned publications of Camidge and Knapton. The second publication was compiled by a Mr. Tomlinson (probably Thomas Haxby Tomlinson, who was successively organist at the churches of St. Saviour and St. Helen in the 1830s), and contains psalm and hymn tunes and double chants: it was probably published in the 1830s. In 1839 the two works compiled by Gray and Richardson were published under the title The York psalm & hymn book, and in the revised edition of this work, published in 1846, reference is made to the works of Graham and Tomlinson, which evidently acted as musical companions thereto.²⁹

the whole of which are peculiar metres (York: printed for the author by Knapton, White & Knapton, [1825]). I have not been able to locate a copy of the former work.

²⁹The York psalm & hymn book, or, A choice selection of psalms & hymns, for public & private worship; a new edition corrected and enlarged (London: Simpkin & Co. and Seeley & Co., 1846; York: T. Marsh, 1846). I have been able neither to locate a copy of the first edition of this work nor to establish its relationship to the Selection of psalms and hymns for public worship. The publication of the work by Thomas Graham was announced in the YG 1.2.1834, where the

In addition to witnessing the introduction of the singing of hymns in parish churches in York, the second and third decades of the nineteenth century also saw the introduction of the congregational chanting of psalms. Writing in 1834, Jonathan Gray stated that

... within the last forty years, this practice [i.e., congregational chanting] has been, in some measure, revived in the parish churches of many of our principal towns; and the congregations join in chanting the Venite Exultemus, the Te Deum, and Jubilate, the Magnificat, or the Cantate, the Nunc Dimittis, or the Deus Misereatur, with a happy and devotional effect.³⁰

Although it would seem that the practice of congregational chanting in York did not go back to 1794 or so, it was reasonably well established by the beginning of the 1820s. In 1821, Gray included in his work on parochial psalmody 'the Te Deum, pointed to be conveniently chanted in Churches', which he had previously arranged, with the help of Dr. John Camidge, for the use of the church of St. Helen, Stonegate.³¹ Other than this specific reference to St. Helen's, all the activity in congregational chanting was clearly taking place at the church of St. Saviour for which Knapton compiled a collection of chants in 1822; Graham's compilation, noted above, also included chants used in the

title was given as Sacred harmony, consisting of original psalms & hymns, chants; it had earlier been announced for publication in the YH 10.9.1831. According to J.W. Knowles, 'Notes on the organs and choirs in York churches,' p. 57, Tomlinson's Universal psalmody contains 170 psalm and hymn tunes and fifty double chants. I have not been able to locate copies of these two works by Graham and Tomlinson respectively.

³⁰Jonathan Gray, Twenty four chants: to which are prefixed, remarks on chanting; on its antiquity and authority; the defects which often attend its performance; and the remedies for those defects (London: Preston, 1834; York: Bellerby, 1834), p. 3.

³¹Jonathan Gray, Twenty four chants, to which are prefixed, remarks on chanting (London: Preston, 1834; York: Bellerby, 1834); idem, An enquiry into the historical facts relative to parochial psalmody (York, 1821).

church of St. Saviour, while the York psalm & hymn book included pointing of the Te Deum, Jubilate, Magnificat, Nunc dimittis, and Deus misereatur, 'as chanted in St. Saviour's church', its publisher thus appealing to their special authority.³²

All the references thus far to congregational chanting in York have related to the canticles and not to the psalms. The chanting of psalms in Anglican cathedrals and collegiate churches had been commonplace for centuries, but the problems inherent in so doing could not be fully overcome until the advent of pointed psalters. What has been claimed to be the first fully pointed psalter was compiled in 1831 by John Edward Dibb, a Yorkshireman probably resident at Wakefield, and this was followed shortly afterwards by another publication from Jonathan Gray, which contained twenty four chants and a brief discussion of the historical basis of chanting, with remarks on how to remove defects from its performance.³³ In the years between 1835 and 1850 many pointed psalters were published, and congregational chanting of the psalms became widespread throughout England, a practice which was encouraged by leaders of the Oxford Movement. Anglican churches within the city of York most likely followed this national trend, cathedral cities being generally to the fore, but there is no evidence which would confirm or deny it.

³²Philip Knapton, A collection of chants, used in the church of St. Saviour; selected & arranged for the organ or piano forte (York: printed & sold by S. and P. Knapton, [1822?]); The York psalm & hymn book, p. [11].

³³John Edward Dibb, Key to chanting. The psalter, or, Psalms of David, and portions of the morning and evening services of the church, appointed to be sung or chanted, with a peculiar arrangement to facilitate the practice (London: Hamilton, Adams, 1831); Gray, Twenty four chants.

As noted above, the church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey possessed an organ from 1687, and for over a century it was the only York church so to do, until in 1791 a Snetzler organ from neighbouring Hazlewood Castle was installed in the church of All Saints, Pavement.³⁴ That no other York churches had organs in the eighteenth century is undoubtedly due to the impoverished finances of their respective parishes, there being little or no money for the repair and decoration of the churches, let alone the purchasing of organs. The revival of the Church of England in the nineteenth century on several fronts - clerical, financial, and liturgical - saw in its wake the erection of organs in churches throughout England, and York was no exception. The list of keyboard instruments in York churches (Table 3.1) shows that by the end of the 1850s a further eighteen churches had acquired organs, another six churches doing so by 1883. It should be noted that in the nineteenth century, so far as is known, only the church of St. Martin, Coney Street, was rich enough to purchase an organ directly from parish funds, other churches having to solicit subscriptions and contributions to an organ fund in a way that has now become time-honoured.³⁵ Whereas the position of an organ during the first half of the nineteenth century was likely to have been in a gallery at the west end of the church, its position during the second half of the century was most likely to have been in, or adjacent to, the chancel at the east end, in accordance with the current liturgical

³⁴George Lawton, Collectio rerum ecclesiasticarum de diocesi Eboracensi, etc. (London, 1842), p. 8; Knowles, 'Notes on the organs in York churches,' p. 118.

³⁵St. Martin, Coney Street, Churchwardens' accounts, June 1837, BIHR Y/MCS 20. In some churches barrel organs, harmoniums, and seraphines were used until there was available sufficient money to purchase an organ.

thinking which demanded that the clergy, organ, and singers should be in reasonably close proximity, and that the gaze of the congregation should be focused on the east end of the church and not on the west gallery when any singing was taking place. York's experience follows this national trend.³⁶

There is no evidence to suggest that York churches at any time had instrumentalists such as those immortalized by Thomas Hardy in Under the greenwood tree and documented by Macdermott,³⁷ but for a very short period in the 1830s a small instrumental ensemble played from time to time at the evening services held at the church of St. Martin, Coney Street. On 1 January 1832

After the sermon, Handel's grand Hallelujah chorus was sung in masterly style, accompanied by an effective instrumental band, led by Mr. William Hardman. The vocal department was sustained by the Minster choir with the friendly co-operation of a few amateurs.³⁸

while in November 1835, the following announcement appeared in the Yorkshire Gazette.

The arrangements are now completed for opening this church on Sabbath evenings during the ensuing winter; and tomorrow the service will commence at half-past six o'clock ... In addition to the usual vocal choir, which assist in the singing at this church, an instrumental band, under the

³⁶The Tractarian view upon the siting of organs in churches can be found in Appendix 4 of Bernarr Rainbow, The choral revival in the Anglican church, 1839-1872 (London: Jenkins, 1969). Churches in York known to have moved their organs from west to east during the course of the nineteenth century include those of All Saints, Pavement, St. Helen, St. Martin-cum-Gregory, St. Michael-le-Belfrey, St. Olave, St. Sampson, St. Saviour, and St. Thomas.

³⁷Kenneth Holland Macdermott, The old church gallery minstrels: an account of the church bands and singers in England from about 1660 to 1860 (London: S.P.C.K., 1948).

³⁸YH 7.1.1832.

superintendance [sic] of Mr. William Hardman, have kindly tendered their gratuitous services.³⁹

The only other extant reference to a non-keyboard instrument in a York parish church is to be found in the churchwardens' accounts of St. Martin-cum-Gregory for 1821, where there is recorded on 5 November of that year a payment of 5s 4d 'for Base strings for Simpson & singers', which probably refers to strings for a cello (or, less likely, a double bass) which would have been used to provide a musical support for the singers.⁴⁰

The organists at the church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey during the period from 1687 to 1843 were, with three exceptions, the organists at York Minster, which is not surprising, given that until the end of the eighteenth century they were the only professional keyboard players in York.⁴¹ Other than at St. Michael-le-Belfrey, there is only one instance of a Minster organist playing regularly at a York parish church, viz., when Dr. Monk briefly held the post of organist at the church of All Saints, Pavement, between the years 1865 and 1867.⁴² The

³⁹YG 28.11.1835. Knowles in 'Notes on the organs and choirs in York churches,' pp. 105-112, states that the band consisted of two violins, a cello, and a double bass, and that the four musicians sat within the altar rails, but, as always, does not give the source of his information. William Hardman was the proprietor of a music shop in Coney Street and the leader of the band of the York Choral Society.

⁴⁰St. Martin-cum-Gregory, Churchwardens' accounts, 1798-1868, BIHR Y/MG 21. William Simpson was one of two parish clerks at the church at that time.

⁴¹Payments to the organists of the church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey are recorded in the churchwardens' accounts (BIHR Y/MB 34-38). The three organists who were not also organists at York Minster were a Mr. Bardon (probably Daniel Bardon, a songman in the Minster choir), Thomas Benson (a songman in the Minster choir from 1704 until his death in 1742), and a Mr. Pick (Charles Pick, according to Knowles, 'Notes on the organs in York churches,' a son of the city wait of the same name).

⁴²All Saints, Pavement, Churchwardens' accounts, 1846-1904, BIHR Y/ASP 37.

need for organists increased as the number of churches possessing an organ grew during the nineteenth century, and initially this need was met by various professional musicians resident in York, e.g., Philip Knapton was organist at the church of St. Saviour in the 1810s, Dr. Camidge was organist at the church of St. Michael, Spurriergate, from 1824 to 1840, while Charles Hargitt was organist at the church of St. Helen in the early part of the 1820s, being succeeded by Thomas Tomlinson in 1826.⁴³ By the mid-century, however, the number of organists required was such that most of the posts were filled by amateur players. It remains to mention the notable contribution made by the Yorkshire School for the Blind (situated at the King's Manor, York) in supplying from among its pupils and ex-pupils organists for York churches, e.g., W.H. Strickland was organist at the churches of both St. Martin-cum-Gregory and St. Michael-le-Belfrey in the 1840s, Jacob Hird was organist at the church of St. Sampson for over forty years commencing in 1840, William Turner was organist at the church of St. John in the 1860s, and a Mr. Haw was organist of Holy Trinity, Micklegate in the 1870s.⁴⁴

After the Reformation, each parish church in England had three salaried officials, namely, and in order of importance, the vicar, the parish clerk, and the sexton. The qualifications required of the parish clerk were set out in the Church of England's Canon 91 of 1604.

... the said Clerk shall be ... of honest conversation, and sufficient for his reading,

⁴³BIHR PR Y/SAV 15, YH 23.5.1829; BIHR PR Y/MS 27; YC 23.8.1819, BIHR PR Y/HEL 34.

⁴⁴Knowles, 'Notes on the organs and choirs in York churches,' pp. 64-70, 169-174; YH 22.4.1843, YH 17.8.1861, and YH 9.2.1925.

writing, and also for his competent skill in singing, if it may be.⁴⁵

Among the duties of the parish clerk were the leading of the responses during the service, the saying in a loud voice of an Amen at the end of the sermon and at the end of every prayer, and the leading of the singing of the metrical psalms. John Playford, writing in 1671, said of parish clerks in London that there were but few who were musically able, 'it having been a Custom during the late Wars [i.e., the English Civil War], and since, to Chuse men into such places, more for their Poverty than Skill and Ability'. This state of affairs continued into the eighteenth century, when it was still rare for a musically well-qualified candidate to be appointed as parish clerk to a London church.⁴⁶

It would seem that things were a little better in York, for it was not uncommon for songmen in the Minster choir to supplement their incomes by becoming parish clerks in York churches, and a list of those known so to have done is given below.⁴⁷

⁴⁵Material concerning the parish clerk and his musical role in the life of the church can be found in the following works. Church of England, Constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, 1604: Latin and English, with notes by J.V. Bullard (London: Faith Press, 1934), p. 94; Peter Hampson Ditchfield, The parish clerk (London: Methuen, 1913); John Wickham Legg, ed. The clerk's book of 1549, Publications of the Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. 25 (London, 1903), pp. xix-xxi; Percy Alfred Scholes, The Oxford companion to music, 10th ed. (London: O.U.P., 1970), pp. 759-760; Temperley, Music of the English parish church, vol. 1, passim.

⁴⁶John Playford, Psalms and hymns in solemn musick (London: Godbid, 1671), preface; Temperley, Music of the English parish church, 1:120.

⁴⁷This list has been compiled from Parish clerks - nominations, 1642-1887, BIHR Nom.PC, and Knowles, Notes on the organs and choirs in York churches, and collated with other information from York churchwardens' accounts (BIHR) and various Minster accounts (YML).

<u>Name</u>	<u>Church</u>	<u>Date of office, where known</u>
Barker, David	Holy Trinity, Goodramgate	1821-
Barker, John	Holy Trinity, Goodramgate	-1836
Barker, Jonas	Holy Trinity, Goodramgate	1841-
Barker, Jonas	St. Martin-cum-Gregory	1841-
Bennington, Edward	Holy Trinity, Goodramgate	1798-1808
Buckley, Thomas	St. Martin, Coney Street	1821-1851
Cooper, John	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	1721-1730
Ellis, Thomas	St. Maurice	1840s
Ellway, Thomas	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	1731-1751
Fisher, John	Holy Trinity, Goodramgate	1731-
Haxby, Thomas	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	1751-1796
Ingham, John	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	1810-
Lambert, James	St. Mary, Bishophill Junior	1832-
Leach, Joseph	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	-1721
Lee, Joseph	St. Crux	?1833-
Lee, Thomas	St. Crux	-1833?
Palmer, John	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	-1810
Theakston, John	St. Olave	1750-1797
Unthank, John	St. Michael, Spurriergate	1804-1821

However, the songmen in the Minster choir numbered but six and could never provide all the parish clerks required in the city at any one time (a total of twenty-three until the mid-1800s) even though some songmen held the post of parish clerk at two churches simultaneously; and, no doubt therefore, York had its share of parish clerks who lacked the requisite 'Skill and Ability' in music. At a time when the influence of the parish clerk on the musical part of the service of the church was waning, he still had power to make or mar the singing, as William Camidge noted when writing of the church of St. Crux in the 1840s.

The parish clerk sat in a small pew below the reading desk, which desk ran into the pulpit ... There was but one service a week (on Sunday afternoon). He only had singing once during the service, which singing he led in a monotonous tone, whilst the small congregation sang with him, but rendered the singing very badly.⁴⁸

⁴⁸Camidge, Ye old streete of Pavemente (York), p. 11.

Almost all of the parish clerk's former duties were removed by an Act of Parliament in 1844 and given to the curate,⁴⁹ and at about the same time the clerk's leading of the congregation in the singing of the metrical psalms (and latterly hymns also) was gradually devolving upon the organ and choir. It was noted above that boys of the Blue Coat School at York sang at the church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey in the eighteenth century, but other than this there is no record of any other singers in parish churches in York after the Reformation until the last decade of the 1700s, when there was a 'Society of Singers' at the church of St. Olave, to whom annual payments were made in the churchwardens' accounts between the years 1793 and 1797, and who presumably sang in the singing loft which was situated at the west end of the church.⁵⁰ No further payments were made to this 'Society of Singers' after 1797.

During the first four decades of the nineteenth century various payments appear in their respective churchwardens' accounts to 'singers' at the churches of St. Michael, Spurriergate (1804-1816), St. Martin-cum-Gregory (1812-1821), All Saints, North Street (1818), St. Mary, Castlegate (1824-1826), and St. Lawrence (1836), the numbers of these 'singers' being as low as two, and probably never more than six or so.⁵¹ Payments were often made for the specific occasions of Christmas and Easter, indicating that special provision was made for these festivals.

⁴⁹An Act for better regulating the Offices of Lecturers and Parish Clerks, 1844, 7 & 8 Victoria, ch. 59.

⁵⁰BIHR PR Y/OL 18.

⁵¹BIHR PR Y/MS 27, PR Y/MG 21, PR Y/AS 12, PR Y/MC 113, PR Y/L 24.

A list of the earliest references I have found to choirs in York parish churches is given in Table 3.2, from which it can be seen that most were probably formed (or, at least, designated as such in popular usage) in the period between 1850 and 1880. The writer of an anonymous letter in the York Herald in 1863 complained that the singing of choirs both in churches and chapels in York had latterly deteriorated,⁵² and, while at something of a loss to explain why this had happened, suggested that a choir dinner or trip, or the division of a quarterly or half-yearly collection between the members of the choir would go far (through these small tokens of the churches' appreciation) in helping to remedy the deterioration of the singing. In an attempt to ameliorate the choral singing in York parish churches, the York Church Choral Union (YCCU) was formed in 1865, its objects being

... the promotion and improvement of church music and congregational singing in York and the neighbouring rural deaneries, by assisting in providing musical instruction for such choirs as may enrol themselves in the association ... It is not the object to interfere with the services in any church, but rather to assist their more devout celebration.⁵³

A choirmaster for the YCCU was sought by advertisement, and choir festivals held after his appointment.⁵⁴ How long the YCCU was in existence is not known, but by 1873 the York Diocesan Choral Association (YDCA) had been formed, whose object - 'to promote and improve church music and congregational singing' - was identical with

⁵²YH 21.1.1863, anonymous letter signed 'Musicus'.

⁵³YH 25.2.1865.

⁵⁴YH 8.4.1865, YH 29.4.1865, YH 7.10.1865, YH 25.12.1865. The first diocesan choral festival had taken place at Lichfield Cathedral in 1856.

that of the YCCU. Probably the YCCU was simply replaced by the YDCA, the latter including the city of York and neighbouring rural deaneries within the wider area of the diocese of York. It would seem that there was a real need for an improvement in the singing of church choirs in York, according to the writer on matters musical in the York Herald in 1870. When discussing the York Choral Union, he wrote:

It is a melancholy fact that, with the exception of the Minster choir, many of the other church and chapel choirs in the city are regarded at present as an annoyance to musical ears and those possessed of musical education. Of material for the formation of good choirs there is abundance, but the want of trainers causes the dearth, for there are few of our choirs in the hands of competent men.⁵⁵

The names of very few of these choir trainers are known; among them are some York Minster songmen who could probably be listed with those regarded as 'competent men', including Charlesworth (choirmaster at All Saints, North Street, between 1865 and 1885), Dawson (both organist and choirmaster at St. Maurice in the 1880s), Humphry (choirmaster at Holy Trinity, King's Court, in the 1860s), and McCall (choirmaster at St. Mary, Castlegate, in the 1880s).⁵⁶

Some of the hymnals and psalters in use in York parish churches in the first half of the nineteenth century were discussed above; in the second half of the century, such hymnals as the following were known to be in use: Anglican hymn book, Church hymnal, Hymns S.P.C.K., Mercers psalter and hymn book, and the New mission hymn book. In addition, Hymns ancient and modern was in use at St. Mary, Castlegate, in 1878, and no doubt at other York churches before the end of the

⁵⁵YH 7.5.1870.

⁵⁶BIHR PR Y/ASN 12; Knowles, 'Notes on the organs and choirs in York churches,' pp. 31-35, 87-92, and 99-104.

century. Certainly, by the 1910s it was used by many York churches, as a glimpse at Table 3.3 will show.⁵⁷ Its usual companion was either The cathedral psalter or, less frequently, the New cathedral psalter.⁵⁸ Information concerning the anthems and services that were sung in York churches is scanty. In the 1850s services by Boyce and Jackson were sung at the church of All Saints, Pavement, and later in the nineteenth century, at other York churches, anthems such as Barnby's 'O Lord, how manifold', Goss' 'O taste and see', Ouseley's 'It came even to pass', and Spohr's 'Holy, holy, holy'. In the 1910s three churches were singing a communion service by Stainer, and one the service by Merbecke.⁵⁹

In dealing with the music of the Nonconformist churches it will be convenient to follow the five sections into which Scholes divided the subject, viz., Baptist churches and music, Congregational churches and music, Methodism and music, Presbyterian church music, and Roman Catholic church music in Britain.⁶⁰ The history of this music in York effectively begins at 1800 or so, there being little or no formal dissent from the Anglican church before that date, and while the extant archival record for each category is very patchy (and on

⁵⁷Knowles, 'Notes on the organs and choirs in York churches,' passim. The success of Hymns ancient and modern was widespread throughout the country; its influence and appeal is discussed in Temperley, Music of the English parish church, 1:298-302.

⁵⁸The cathedral psalter, containing the Psalms of David, together with the canticles ... set to appropriate chants (London, 1878) became extremely popular nationally, and was adopted by most English parish churches.

⁵⁹BIHR Y/ASP 37; YH 8.8.1874, YH 23.9.1876, YH 15.6.1878, YH 22.6.1878.

⁶⁰Scholes, Oxford companion to music, pp. 82-84, 244-247, 630-634, 824-827, 885-887. There are no writings on the music of the Nonconformist churches in England comparable to Temperley's on that of the English parish church.

occasion negligible), when taken with various printed sources it is sufficient to enable an outline to be sketched. The general pattern of musical provision in Protestant Nonconformist churches in York during the nineteenth century followed that of the Church of England, in that both choirs and organs came to be seen as essential adjuncts to worship as the century progressed.

The only Baptist chapel in York was founded in 1862, and there was an organ in its Priory Street building from the day of its opening.⁶¹ The chapel is noteworthy as being the place in which Dwight L. Moody, the evangelist, and Ira D. Sankey, the evangelistic singer, composer of gospel hymns, and hymnbook compiler, began in 1873 their series of revival meetings in England; and it would seem that the popularity of their music continued when they had gone, for a newspaper item of 1879, when commenting on services at the Baptist chapel, noted that 'the congregational melodies sung ... are popular and lively - embracing many of Moody and Sankey's.'⁶² In the 1910s the chapel choir comprised eight sopranos, six altos, three tenors; and five basses; hymns were sung from the New Baptist hymnal and an anthem performed every Sunday.⁶³

⁶¹YH 20.6.1868.

⁶²The visit of Sankey and Moody to York is noted in H.A. Jones, Priory Street, Baptist Church, York, 1862-1962 (York, 1962?), p. 10. Information about Sankey can be found in The new Grove dictionary of American music, s.v. 'Sankey, Ira David.' Sankey and Moody were the joint compilers of Sacred song and solos (London, 1873), which was extremely popular, going through many editions during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

⁶³John Ward Knowles, 'Notes on the organs organists & quires in York chapels and other places in this city'. 1924. (Unpublished manuscript in York Public Library), p. 3.

There have been two Congregational chapels in York - Lendal (founded in 1815) and Salem (founded in 1839). This latter chapel had a choir from at least 1862, and an organ from 1868, an internal committee having decided that the singing there, which had been the cause of certain dissatisfaction, would be best improved by the introduction of such an instrument.⁶⁴ The New Congregational Hymn Book was used there from 1865, while it is curious to note that at a Harvest thanksgiving service in October 1872 (itself an infrequent occurrence at Dissenting places of worship) the Benedicite was chanted to Gregorian tones.⁶⁵ Although Lendal chapel had an harmonium from 1857, it was not until 1875, some sixty years after its foundation, that an organ was installed; in the 1850s there were 'singers' at Lendal chapel to whom annual payments of ten pounds were made, but there is no indication of the number of singers or distribution between male and female voices. Anthems were occasionally sung during the services at Lendal at the beginning of the twentieth century, by which time the Congregational mission hymn book and the Fellowship hymn book were in use.⁶⁶

The Wesleyan Methodists were the most prominent of all the Dissenting churches in York, both in numbers of members and places of worship. In the first half of the nineteenth century Methodist chapels were built at New Street in 1805, at the corner of Skeldergate and Albion Street in 1816, and a third was built in 1839 to

⁶⁴Salem chapel minute book, 1819-1858. YCA Acc. 23:29; YH 26.4.1862; YG 13.1.1868. The organ, costing approximately £350, was built by Conacher, of Huddersfield.

⁶⁵Salem chapel minute book, 1819-1858; YH 26.10.1872.

⁶⁶Lendal chapel minute book, 1850-1885. YCA Acc. 23:5; YH 28.8.1875; Knowles, 'Notes on the organs organists & quires in York chapels,' p. 18.

commemorate the birth of Methodism a century earlier. This latter chapel, the Wesleyan Centenary in St. Saviourgate, opened in 1840, has been aptly called 'the cathedral of Methodism' in York,⁶⁷ and its musical provision was on a scale to match its pre-eminent position among Protestant Nonconformist places of worship. But before examining the music-making at Centenary chapel there follows a brief account of that in the other Methodist chapels in York, insofar as surviving sources allow.

There were annual payments to a singing master and an unknown number of singers at Albion Street chapel from 1818 to 1856 (that is, from two years after its foundation to the year of its demolition). Various payments in the chapel's accounts for 'fiddle strings' would suggest that a stringed instrument (or instruments) had probably been used to accompany the singing before an organ was eventually acquired in 1840; most likely, this stringed instrument would have been a bass viol or cello, as a Methodist Conference decision of 1805 had ordered that

... no instruments of music should be introduced into the singers' seats, except a bass viol should the principal singer require it.⁶⁸

There is no record of any musical instrument in New Street chapel until 1840, when an organ was erected; this instrument was enlarged in 1860 before being replaced some sixteen years later by an organ built by Forster and Andrews of Hull.⁶⁹ There was a group of singers in New

⁶⁷Royle, Nonconformity in nineteenth-century York, p. 9.

⁶⁸Albion Street chapel account book, 1816-1856, BIHR MR Y/ALB 2, passim; YH 9.12.1838. The Methodist Conference decision is quoted in James T. Lightwood, Stories of Methodist music (London: Epworth P., 1928), p. 28.

⁶⁹YH 4.7.1840, YH 1.7.1876.

Street chapel in 1832, when an article in a local newspaper referred to the 'Wesleyan Methodist Singers, in Newstreet'; from at least 1860 onwards the singers there were referred to as a choir.⁷⁰ In the 1870s and 1880s this choir sang music ranging from songs from Sankey's selection (mentioned above, and in the singing of which the congregation would have joined) to anthems such as 'O, taste and see' (Goss) and 'O Lord, how manifold' (Barnby); the Wesleyan hymn book was used from 1880 onwards.⁷¹

Centenary chapel was opened in 1840, and an organ appropriate to the size of the building was erected a year later by Mr. Brown, of York.⁷² To ensure that a competent organist was obtained for the chapel, the Trustees advertised the post widely, and Benjamin Shaw, a local music teacher and sometimes conductor of the York Choral Society, was appointed, holding office from 1841 to 1861. During the rest of the century, the organists were also local men, mostly amateur musicians, of whom may be mentioned Thomas Robinson (organist 1874-1875 and subsequently deputy organist at York Minster) and Matthew Rymer (organist 1894-1924 and an excellent choir trainer).⁷³

⁷⁰YH 11.2.1832, YH 26.5.1860.

⁷¹YH 6.5.1875, YH 1.7.1876, YH 18.2.1882. A similarity with anthems sung in Anglican parish churches in York can be noted; the repertoire of anthems performed by choirs of Protestant Nonconformist and Anglican parish churches was much the same.

⁷²YH 3.7.1841; Centenary Wesleyan Chapel, York. Dedication & opening of re-constructed organ ... 1929; souvenir programme (York: Rusholmes Printers, 1929). Throughout the nineteenth century the organ at Centenary chapel was second in size in York only to the screen organ in York Minster. Repairs to the Centenary organ were undertaken in 1898 and 1913, while in 1929 the instrument was extensively reconstructed by Summers & Barnes, of York.

⁷³Centenary Wesleyan Chapel, York. Dedication of organ.

In common with Lendal and Albion Street chapels it is most likely that throughout the 1840s Centenary had a small group of singers which led the congregational singing. Such a group, numbering five in 1846, was paid one pound for the last quarter of that year; by the late 1850s the singers at Centenary chapel were being referred to as a choir.⁷⁴ In February 1861 a so-called York Wesleyan Tonic Sol-Fa Singing Class was formed, led by Mr. Shorter, the master of St. George's day school, and though this Singing Class could by November of that year perform a programme of eighteen items (including various hymns and Handel's 'Hallelujah' chorus), its influence was not entirely beneficial according to the writer of an anonymous letter published in the York Herald in 1861, who blamed on the tonic sol-fa system bad singing by the Centenary chapel choir. Whatever the cause of the bad singing in the 1860s, standards would seem to have risen by the end of the next decade when the Centenary chapel choir is reported to have performed hymns, anthems and choruses 'in a most excellent style'.⁷⁵ During the period from 1894 to 1924, when Matthew Rymer was organist and choirmaster, the singing of the choir reached a high point, and by 1901 it could be considered one of the best amateur groups in Yorkshire, having recently finished second to Saltaire in a county choral challenge competition at York. At this time the choir was regularly singing anthems at the chapel services, and also, from time to time, cantatas and oratorios; the choir's library of anthems in the 1910s was extensive, embracing some 140 separate items, with

⁷⁴Elizabeth Brunskill, The story of Centenary chapel (York, 1940), p. 6. The accounts which Miss Brunskill cited are no longer extant; YH 17.4.1858.

⁷⁵YH 30.11.1861, YH 17.1.1863, YH 26.1.1878.

works by Mendelssohn predominating, followed by those of Sullivan, Barnby, and Gounod.⁷⁶

There have been two Presbyterian churches in York, one of which was founded in St. Saviourgate in 1693. This was the first Protestant Nonconformist place of worship in York to have an organ, possessing one by at least 1831, when it was positioned in a small singing gallery or loft over the entrance door. Mirroring the practice of the Anglican church with regard to the positioning of organs in churches, the organ in St. Saviourgate chapel was moved in 1860 from the gallery into what could be called the chancel, a little way behind the pulpit and reading desk.⁷⁷ The other Presbyterian church in York was founded in Priory Street in 1879, and in 1893 the singing there was led by a choir and American organ.⁷⁸

After the Reformation, Roman Catholics are not known to have worshipped in a public or semi-public place in York until 1687, when a Father Lawson was granted a thirty-year lease of the King's Manor for use as a seminary. An organ was acquired from Durham in that year, but probably on account of the anti-papal sentiment which ultimately led to the outrages committed against the Roman Catholics in York on 29 November 1688 it was disposed of, finding itself a home in the church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey.⁷⁹ Towards the end of the 1700s a series of Acts of Parliament removed various restrictions

⁷⁶YG 6.4.1901; BIHR MRY/CEN 12.

⁷⁷Thomas Allen, A new and complete history of the county of York, 6 vols. (London: Hinton, 1831), 2:250; YH 15.7.1837, YH 22.12.1860.

⁷⁸William Camidge, Ye old streete of Pavemente, p. 143.

⁷⁹Tillott, The city of York, p. 530; Charles Brunton Knight, A history of the city of York from the foundation of the Roman fortress of Eboracum A.D. 71 to the close of the reign of Queen Victoria A.D. 1901 (York: Herald Printing Works, 1944), p. 481.

under which Roman Catholics lived, and one result of the greater freedom which they enjoyed in York was the erection in 1802 of a chapel, dedicated to St. Wilfrid, on the site of the present church of that name. Although the chapel was built with an organ loft, there is no record of an organ until 1818, when Hargrove noted 'a very sweet and full-toned organ', which was played by John Robinson, a local music dealer and music teacher.⁸⁰ In 1821, Davies (from London) built an organ in a recess on the north side of the chapel and eighteen years later some additional stops were introduced by a local organ builder, John Brown. When the chapel was demolished to make way for the erection of a larger building, the organ was transferred to St. George's Roman Catholic church in Walmgate.⁸¹

There was a choir in the chapel from at least 1816, when an item in a local newspaper referred to 'the Gentlemen Choristers from the Catholic Chapel at York', but there are no clues to its size and composition or of the standard of its singing. Throughout the period from 1816 to 1865 the choir of St. Wilfrid's was augmented by other singers from the city for special occasions, e.g., choristers from York Minster sang in 1816, while members of the York Choral Society sang on several occasions in the 1860s.⁸² At these times the musical settings of the mass were most often sung with orchestral

⁸⁰William Hargrove, History and description of the city of York, 3 vols. (York: Alexander, 1813), 2, part 2: 474. In the 1820s, during Robinson's time as organist, the young Clara Novello sang in the choir of St. Wilfrid's; her experiences there are recalled in Clara Novello's reminiscences, compiled by her daughter, Contessa Valeria Gigliucci (London: Arnold, 1910), pp. 36-40.

⁸¹John Todd and George Todd, A description of York, containing some account of its antiquities, public buildings, &c. particularly the cathedral, 12th ed. (York: Todd, 1830), pp. 108-109; YC 9.5.1821; YH 7.9.1839, YH 26.10.1839; YH 21.6.1862.

⁸²YC 15.1.1816; YH 21.4.1861, YH 3.5.1862.

accompaniment, works by Haydn and Mozart being particularly popular. From 1816 to 1859 this music was made up of selections, as, for instance, on the Feast of Epiphany, 1839, when the musical selection was as follows - Kyrie and Gloria from Mozart's Grand mass no. 12 (K. Anh. 232), Credo from Haydn's Mass no. 1 (Hob. XXII, 10), the Sanctus from Mozart's Mass no. 5 (K. 275), and the Agnus Dei from Haydn's Mass no. 8 (Hob. XXII, 7); it was not until 1860 that a complete work is known to have been performed at St. Wilfrid's.⁸³ Some musical works received their first performances in York at the church of St. Wilfrid before being repeated in front of a wider audience at concerts of the York Choral Society: such examples are the Kyrie and Gloria from Hummel's Mass no. 2 and Gounod's Messe solennelle.⁸⁴ Other than at special services, as described above, nothing is known of the music performed at the weekly Sunday services at St. Wilfrid's.

In the early 1860s, because of a lack of seating accommodation, the old chapel was demolished and a new church erected in its place and opened in 1864, which had at first a temporary organ built by Forster and Andrews of Hull, until a permanent and more substantial instrument was acquired in 1867 from the same organ builders.⁸⁵ The organist at St. Wilfrid's from 1842 until the mid-1860s was George Hopkinson, a local musician, who was also conductor of the York Choral

⁸³YH 12.1.1839, YH 21.4.1860. This pattern of moving from the performance of selections to that of a whole work mirrors the experience of the York Choral Society during the same period.

⁸⁴YH 30.11.1839, YH 10.6.1865, YH 3.2.1866.

⁸⁵YH 4.6.1864, YH 20.7.1867. The comments of an anonymous writer in YH 20.7.1867, concerning the specification of this organ caused a controversy which was reflected in letters published in the same newspaper on 24 and 31 August 1867, and which in turn drew from the original writer a spirited defence of his criticisms in YH 7.9.1867.

Society from 1851 until 1867.⁸⁶ Mr. Sidney Sykes was appointed organist in 1869, to be succeeded in 1875 by Robert Werner Oberhoffer, a native of Trier, who had been engaged by the Bishop of Beverley to conduct one of two choirs set up at Roman Catholic churches in Yorkshire with the purpose of helping to change the character of the music sung, and the manner of its performance, in Catholic churches.⁸⁷ It would seem that Gregorian chant was introduced to the church of St. Wilfrid, and a reference in Oberhoffer's obituary to changes he effected and difficulties he overcame at St. Wilfrid's probably refers to this. Oberhoffer remained organist and choirmaster of St. Wilfrid's for the rest of his life, during which time he raised the standard of the choir's singing to a high level, which in 1912 won for them the challenge shield at the Yorkshire Choral Competition. At his death in 1916 the choir had a repertoire of twenty-eight masses, thirty motets, and twenty benedictional services.⁸⁸

To cater for the needs of the large Irish community resident on and around Walmgate, a Roman Catholic church (dedicated to St. George) was built in 1850 in George Street. It had a small organ which was purchased from John Lawson, of Whitby, for whom it had originally been

⁸⁶YH 1.1.1842, YH. 2.2.1865; John Ward Knowles, 'A list of York musicians from early times to present day ... together with a list of organ builders,' 3 vols. (Unpublished manuscript in York Public Library), 1:183.

⁸⁷YG 14.8.1869; YH 23.10.1875. The Bishop of Beverley's initiative was in accord with the tenets of the so-called Cecilian Movement, which sought within the Roman Catholic church to promote Gregorian chant, vernacular hymnody, and composition in the style of Palestrina. This initiative can be seen as a parallel to the formation of the YCCU and the YDCA in the Anglican church, discussed above.

⁸⁸An obituary of Oberhoffer appeared in YG 29.7.1916. While in York he taught the organ, pianoforte, and violin. A list of most of his published music (mainly works for piano) can be found in the Catalogue of printed music in the British Library, 43:119-120.

built by Postill, the York organ builder; in 1862 this instrument was replaced by one transferred from the church of St. Wilfrid, which was now improved by the addition of a pedal organ.⁸⁹ There is no evidence of the music performed at St. George's, other than that at major festivals (as was the case at St. Wilfrid's, discussed above); for example, mass on Christmas Day, 1859, was celebrated with a performance of Mozart's Grand mass no. 1 (K. 317) with orchestral accompaniments, while on the same day in 1863, mass was celebrated with a performance of Haydn's Mass no. 1 (Hob. XXII, 10), again with orchestral accompaniments.⁹⁰ For most of the nineteenth century the only other place of Roman Catholic worship in York was the chapel situated in the convent of St. Mary, Blossom Street, which had been founded in 1683. In the years before 1795, a spinet had been used in the chapel, then to be replaced by an organ, and this instrument, or perhaps a later one, was restored by Forster and Andrews in 1874. The only thing known of the musical part of the services is that in 1830 the 'afternoon service on Sundays and holidays was chaunted by the Ladies of the Establishment, accompanied by an organ'.⁹¹

The underlying thread in the history of music-making in the Anglican parish church from the Restoration to the end of the 1800s was a desire upon the part of the church authorities to introduce

⁸⁹Tillott, The city of York, p. 419; YH 7.9.1850, YH 21.1.1862.

⁹⁰YH 24.12.1859, YH 2.1.1864. From time to time, musical performances involving choir and orchestra were given at St. George's in connection with various charitable causes associated with the church. See, for instance, reports of such performances in YG 14.4.1855; YH 12.11.1859, YH 14.10.1871.

⁹¹Tillott, The city of York, p. 419; James Coleridge, St. Mary's Convent Micklegate Bar York, 1686-1887, Quarterly series, 61 (London: Burns & Oates, 1887), p. 188; YH 20.6.1874; Todd, A description of York, p. 109.

decorum into its services, and the experience of churches in York is typical. Beginning with the church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey (which remained alone in this respect for over a century), organs were introduced into York parish churches in order that a decisive lead could be given to the congregational singing, and in the nineteenth century choirs were formed initially for this purpose also. (A secular equivalent of the formation of church and chapel choirs in York in the nineteenth century was that of the formation of various choral societies.) The experience of the Anglican church was broadly matched by that of the Nonconformist churches, the best of whose choirs by the beginning of the twentieth century would seem to have excelled those of any Anglican church in York (excepting, of course, that of the Minster), Centenary chapel and St. Wilfrid's Roman Catholic Church, in particular, having strong choirs with wide repertoires.

But more important than the musical prowess of church or chapel choir to congregations in York, as throughout the country, has been the influence of hymnody, especially in the Protestant churches. The great treasury of hymns and metrical psalms, containing words and music from all periods of the church's history, has been and still is a source from which successive congregations have found musical and spiritual nourishment; as Temperley has remarked, hymn singing has led to the creation of a strong emotional bond between those within the church, and even between those without.⁹²

⁹²Temperley, Music of the English parish church, 1:348.

TABLE 3.1 Musical instruments in York parish churches, 1687-c. 1925

Key to source of reference

Allen	<u>A new and complete history of the County of York, 6 vols. (London: Hinton, 1828-1831), vol. 2.</u>
BIHR PR	Borthwick Institute of Historical Research. Parish records
Camidge	William Camidge, <u>Ye old streete of Pavemente (York) (York: Yorkshire Gazette, [1893]).</u>
Drake	Francis Drake, <u>Eboracum; or, The history and antiquities of the city of York (York: By the Author, 1736).</u>
Knowles	John Ward Knowles, 'Notes on the organs organists clerks and choirs in York churches since the Reformation.' 1924. Unpublished manuscript in York Public Library.
VCH	P.M. Tillott, ed., <u>The city of York, Victoria History of the Counties of England (London: O.U.P., 1961).</u>
Walter	D. Alleyne Walter, <u>A complete guide to the churches of York (York: Pickwell, 1872).</u>

<u>Parish</u>	<u>Instrument(s)</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Maker</u>	<u>Source of reference</u>
All Saints, North Street	harmonium		1851		BIHR PR Y/ASN 12
	organ		1856	Whitehead	YH 19.1.1856
	organ		1867	Forster & Andrews	YH 18.5.1867
All Saints, Pavement	organ	semicircular gallery under west tower	1791	Snetzler	Allen; Walter
	organ	nave	1848		YH 4.11.1848
	organ, rebuild	end of s. aisle of chancel	1855	Bell	YG 20.10.1855
Holy Trinity, Goodramgate	harmonium		1867		BIHR PR Y/HTG 14
	organ		1875	Postill?	BIHR PR Y/HTG 14
Holy Trinity, King's Court	organ		1833	Ward	Knowles
	harmonium		1861		Knowles. A collection for 'harmonium and choir' was noted in YH 29.8.1863.
	organ		1864	Forster & Andrews	YH 5.1.1865
Holy Trinity, Nicklegate	organ		1851	Forster & Andrews	YH 25.1.1851

St. Barnabas	organ		1905	Hopkins	VCH, p. 391. Church not built until 1902-1904.
St. Clement	organ		1877	Willis	YH 3.2.1877. Church not built until 1874.
St. Crux	organ		1836		YG 5.3.1836
	organ	w. end of church	1862	Postill	YH 14.6.1862; Camidge
St. Cuthbert	harmonium		1865		Knowles
	organ		1883	Denman	Knowles
St. Denys	organ	small gallery, the w. side	1857	Postill	YH 25.4.1857
	organ		1915	Hughes	BIHR PR Y/DEN 74
St. Helen	organ	small gallery, at the w. end	1819	Ward	YG 21.2.1819; Walter
	organ, rebuild		1838	Ward	YG 18.8.1838
	organ	n. side of chancel	1865	Postill	YH 18.8.1858, YH 10.6.1865
	organ repairs		1923	Harrison & Harrison	Knowles
St. John, Ousebridge	barrel organ		c1840		Knowles
	harmonium		c1845		Knowles
	seraphine		1854		BIHR PR Y/J 19
	organ		1855	Ward	YG 23. 6.1855
	organ	w. end of nave	1866	Postill	YH 13.10.1866; Walter
	organ		1884	Denman	YH 26. 7.1884
St. Lawrence	organ		1860	Postill	YH 29.8.1860
	organ		1883	Postill	YH 26.5.1883 (New church)
	organ		1906	Conacher	Knowles; (organ purchased from St. Olave, York)
St. Margaret	organ		1855	Ward	YH 23.6.1855
	organ	moved to n. aisle, e. end	1886		Knowles
	organ		1903		Knowles
St. Martin, Coney Street	band, led by W. Hardman	within the altar rails	1831-1837		YG and YH, passim; Knowles
	organ	raised platform	1837	Ward	YH 27.5.1837; BIHR PR Y/MCS 19. Cost of the organ met by the church-wardens.
	organ		1873	Brindley & Foster	YH 11.1.1873
St. Martin- cum-Gregory	cello or double bass		1821		BIHR PR Y/MG 21
	organ	gallery in w. tower	1836	Ward	YG 16.3.1836, YG 23.4.1836
	organ	n. aisle of chancel	1875	Denman	YH 22.5.1875
	organ	n.-e. corner	1891	Forster & Andrews	BIHR PR Y/MG 63

St. Mary, Bishophill Jr	organ		1851	Bell	YH 30.8.1851
	organ, rebuild		1863	a clerical amateur (Rev. Buncombe?)	YH 2.11.1861, YH 14.11.1863; Knowles
St. Mary, Bishophill Sr	organ		1846?	Ward	YH 16.5.1846, YH 26.9.1846
	organ		1870	Forster & Andrews	YH 20.8.1870
	organ		1920		Knowles
St. Mary, Castlegate	organ		c1850		Knowles
	organ		1873	Denman	YH 15.2.1873
St. Maurice	harmonium		1850		Knowles
	new harmonium		1869		BIHR PR Y/MAUR 17
	organ, rebuild		1878	Postill	YH 2.2.1878; Knowles
	organ		1881	Willis	Knowles
St. Michael- le-Belfrey	organ	gallery at w. end	1687		BIHR PR Y/MB 34; Drake
	organ	gallery at w. end	1785	Haxby	Walter; YC 29.3.1785
	organ	n.-e. corner	1885	Denman	YG 7. 3.1885
St. Michael, Spurriergate	organ		1816		BIHR PR Y/MS 27
	organ	small gallery at w. end	1823	Ward	YG 8.2.1823, Allen
	organ		1890	Denman	YH 23. 8.1890
St. Olave	organ	one side of gallery at w. end	1856	Conacher	YH 13.12.1856
	organ	n. side of chancel	1881	Conacher	YH 2.11.1881
	organ		1907	Walker	Knowles. The organ, cost- ing £1600, was given as a memorial to Helga Wilson, who had died at the age of 19.
St. Paul	organ		1853	Ward	YH 19.3.1853
	organ	moved to the two easternmost bays	1903		Knowles
St. Sampson	organ	n.-w. corner	1839	Postill	YH 10.8.1839; Knowles
	organ, repair	near pulpit	1862	Hopkins	YH 6.12.1862
	organ		1865	Telford and Telford	YH 13.5.1865
St. Saviour	organ	gallery at w. end	1808		BIHR Y/SAV 15
	organ	gallery	1824	Ward	YH 10.8.1824
	organ	gallery, s.-e. end	1850		Knowles
	organ	ground floor	1867		YH 9.11.1867
	organ		1914	Harrison	Knowles
St. Thomas	harmonium		1855	Bell	BIHR PR Y/THO 13
	organ	gallery	1862	Postill	YH 9.3.1861, YH 11.1.1862
	organ	chancel	1899		Knowles

TABLE 3.2 Earliest references to choirs in York parish churches

<u>Date</u>	<u>Church</u>	<u>Source of reference</u> ¹	<u>Size of choir</u>
1835	St. Martin, Coney Street	YG 28.11.1835	
1838	St. Margaret	Knowles 113-118	small band of volunteers
1840s	St. John	Knowles 75-78	
1845	St. Saviour	YH 7. 6.1845	4 women and 1 boy; 1 alto, 1 tenor, 1 bass
1850s	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	Knowles 127	
1854	St. Thomas	BIHR Y/THO 13	
1857	St. Denys	YH 25. 4.1857	
1859	St. Michael, Spurriergate	BIHR Y/MS 27	
1860	All Saints, Pavement	YH 4. 2.1860	
1860	St. Mary, Bishophill Senior	YH 4. 2.1860	
1863	Holy Trinity, King's Court	YH 29. 8.1863	
1863	St. Crux	YH 21.11.1863	
1863	St. Lawrence	YH 21. 2.1863	
1864	St. Helen	Knowles 56-60	
1865	St. Sampson	YH 20. 5.1865	
1866	All Saints, North Street	BIHR Y/ASN 12	
1871	Holy Trinity, Micklegate	BIHR Y/HTM 20	
1871	St. Mary, Castlegate	YH 23. 9.1871	
1872	St. Mary, Bishophill Junior	Knowles 127	
1872	St. Cuthbert	BIHR Y/CU 26	
1875	St. Martin-cum-Gregory	YH 22. 5.1875	
1878	St. Olave	Knowles 147-152	(Female) 2 S; (Male) 2A, 2T, 2B
1880	St. Clement	YH 17. 4.1880	
1882	St. Maurice	Knowles 99-104	

¹In this table, Knowles refers to John Ward Knowles, 'Notes on the organs organists clerks and choirs in York churches since the Reformation.' 1924. Unpublished manuscript in York Public Library.

TABLE 3.3

Music used in York parish churches in the 1910s and 1920s

<u>Church</u>	<u>Hymnal</u>	<u>Psalter</u>	<u>Responses</u>	<u>Communion</u>	<u>Other</u>
All Saints, North Street					Solesmes plain-song. Litany: Sarum processional
All Saints, Pavement		NCP; St. Paul's		Herbecke	Litany: Barnby
Holy Trinity, Micklegate	Hymns a. & m.	Anglican p. Anglican c.		Stainer	Litany: Tallis
St. Clement	Hymns a. & m.	Cathedral	Tallis		
St. Cuthbert	Anglican h. Church hymns Congregational Hymnal comp.	Cathedral			
St. Lawrence	Hymns a. & m.	Anglican p.		Stainer	
St. Margaret	Hymns a. & m.	Cathedral			
St. Martin-cum- Gregory	Hymns a. & m. Church hymns		Tallis		
St. Mary, Bishophill St		Cathedral			
St. Maurice	Hymns a. & m.	Cathedral			
St. Olave	Hymns a. & m.	NCP			Litany: Barnby; Litany: Tallis
St. Paul	Hymnal comp.	Cathedral			
St. Sampson	Hymns a. & m.	Anglican p. Cathedral chants			
St. Saviour	Hymns a. & m.	Cathedral			
St. Thomas ¹	Hymns a. & m.	Cathedral	Tallis		Litany: T.T. Noble

¹The canticles were sung to a setting by Barnby.

KEY

Abbreviation	Expanded form, with bibliographical details for those items which it has been possible clearly to identify.
Anglican c.	<u>The Anglican chant book ...</u> ed. by E.G. Monk (Oxford, 1850). Several later editions.
Anglican h.	<u>The Anglican hymn book;</u> ed. by R.C. Singleton and E.G. Monk (London, 1868).
Anglican p.	<u>Anglican psalter chants</u> [?]
Cathedral	<u>The cathedral psalter, containing the Psalms of David, together with the canticles ... set to appropriate chants</u> (London, 1878).
Church hymns	<u>Church hymns with tunes;</u> ed. by A. Sullivan (London: S.P.C.K., 1874).
Congregational	<u>Congregational church hymnal;</u> ed. by G.S.Barrett (London, 1887).
Hymnal comp.	<u>Hymnal companion to the Book of Common Prayer, with accompanying tunes;</u> [ed. by E.H. Bickersteth] (London, 1870).
Hymns a. & m.	<u>Hymns ancient and modern ... with accompanying tunes;</u> comp. ... under the musical editorship of William Henry Monk [and assisted by Sir Frederick A. Gore Ouseley] (London: Novello, 1861). Several later editions.
NCP	<u>The new cathedral psalter ...</u> pointed for chanting by C.G. Lang, C.H. Lloyd, etc. (London: Novello, 1910).
St. Paul's	<u>St. Paul's cathedral chant book</u> (London: Novello, 1878; Boston: Ditson, 1878).

This table has been compiled from information contained in John Ward Knowles, 'Notes on the organs organists clerks and choirs in York churches since the Reformation.' 1924. Unpublished manuscript in York Public Library.

CHAPTER IV

'A CIVILE COMPANY & CONSORT OF MUSICK':

THE YORK WAITS, c. 1422-1836

The word 'wait' is of Middle English origin, being partly derived from the Old Northern French 'waitier' (giving the modern French words 'guette' and 'guète', meaning watchman or watch-tower, and watch or look-out, respectively), and is cognate with the modern English words 'wake' and 'watch'. The Oxford English dictionary gives several definitions of the word 'wait': that which most concerns us here is II. 8 a.

[Used in the plural, i.e., waits]. A small body of wind instrumentalists maintained by a city or town at the public charge. They played for the daily diversion of the councillors, on ceremonial and festive occasions, and as a town or city band they entertained the citizens, perambulating the streets, often by night or in the early morning.

Many towns and cities throughout the British Isles at one time had waits, about whom several brief studies have been written,¹ although

¹Joseph Cox Bridge, 'Town waits and their tunes,' Proceedings of the Musical Association 54 (1927/28): 63-92; Lyndesay G. Langwill, 'The waits: a short historical study,' Hinrichsen's musical year book 7 (1952): 170-183; The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians, s.v. 'Wait,' by Richard Rastall; Walter L. Woodfill, Musicians in English society from Elizabeth to Charles I, Princeton studies in music history, 9 (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1953), Chapter IV, Waits.

the writing of a detailed history of the waits and their place in British musical life will depend upon the publication of more studies of the waits of individual towns.² The waits were not a purely British phenomenon, however, and civic authorities throughout Europe employed professional musicians on a similar basis over roughly the same period, i.e., 1400-1800. In countries speaking Germanic languages, these professional musicians were known as 'Stadtpeiferer'.³

The account of the York waits which follows is largely based on three sets of York civic documents, namely the House Books, which were the minute books of the corporation, and the Chamberlains' Account Rolls and the Chamberlains' Account Books, which recorded the city's expenditure: all three sets of documents are now housed in the York City Archives. For the period before 1642, I have for the most part relied on the transcriptions edited by Johnston and Rogerson,⁴ in the first volume of which there is a description of the civic records for the period before 1642.

The earliest surviving account roll of the York civic authority is for the year 1396, and this contains a payment to a group which may have been the York waits: Et ministrallis in festo de Corpore Christi

²Accounts of the waits of various cities that have been written include William Henry Grattan Flood, 'Dublin "city music" from 1456 to 1786,' Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft 11 (1909-10): 33-42; Carole Ann Janssen, The waytes of Norwich in medieval and Renaissance civic pageantry (D.Phil. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1978); Woodfill, Musicians in English society, Chapter II, The waits of London.

³Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, s.v. 'Stadtpeifer,' by Heinrich W. Schwab; The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians, s.v. 'Stadtpeifer,' by Heinrich W. Schwab.

⁴Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson, eds. York, 2 vols. Records of early English drama (Manchester: Manchester U.P., 1979).

xiiij s. iiiiij. d.⁵ The date of the first specific reference to the waits occurs in 1422 in a marginal note in an account roll: Liberata yemali de lez Waytes ciuitatis Summa xxviij s x d.⁶ Several writers have erroneously followed Cooper⁷ in stating that the earliest mention of the city waits occurs in 1369, although the payment he referred to (an entry in the St. Leonard's Hospital Accounts) does not specifically refer to the waits or city minstrels: Et ministrallis in festo Sancti leonardi iij. s. iiiiij. d.⁸ Throughout the fifteenth century, most of the references to the waits in the city records are to the 'city minstrels', and the term 'wait' does not come into regular use until the 1530s.

The number of waits remained at three from 1433 to 1566, when the three waits were dismissed for an unspecified misdemeanour. At a meeting of the corporation on 19 November 1566 it was

Ordeyned and aggreed by the sayd presens that ffrom nowe fforth for the wourship & decentnesse of this ancient Citie there shalbe contynewally ffoure waytes.⁹

By 1593 the number of waits had risen to five, one of whom is referred to as a 'boy'; that this 'boy' was not an ordinary apprentice is evident from the fact that the city council gave him a full livery allowance. In 1612 a livery allowance was made for six waits, a similar payment occurring in 1627, and it is probable that the number of waits remained at six until the early 1640s.

⁵Ibid., 1:9.

⁶Ibid., 1:54.

⁷Thomas Parsons Cooper, The Christmas waits and minstrels of bygone York (York: Storey, 1908), p. 7.

⁸Johnston and Rogerson, York, 1:2.

⁹Ibid., 1:349.

By October 1645 there was only one wait, John Girdler, and his boy;¹⁰ from 7 July 1644 York had been guarded by a Parliamentary garrison, and the times were obviously not propitious for the maintenance of a full complement of waits. The corporation evidently thought that matters had improved sufficiently by 21 September 1647, however, when they agreed to restore the waits.

And now upon the petition of John Girdler one of the waites of the Cittie it is ordered that he provide a Civile Company & Consort of Musick and officiate as formerly.¹¹

But this improvement was short-lived, and on 6 October 1652 the waits were discharged 'in regard of the extreame poverty of this Citty'.¹²

In 1657 it was 'ordered that the waites of the Citty doe officiate as formerly',¹³ and three years later an order was made that the number of waits be made up to six as formerly,¹⁴ although it is not clear from the House Books whether the number did subsequently reach six. In 1681 there were five waits, and this number remained until immediately before their disbanding, which followed the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835.¹⁵

Before the passing of this Act, the First Report of the Commissioners on the Municipal Corporations of England and Wales had been published in which it was reported that there were three waits in York. The report stated further:

¹⁰YCA, York Corporation, House Books, vol. 36, f. 159r.

¹¹Ibid., f. 210r.

¹²YCA, York Corporation, House Books, vol. 37, f. 36v.

¹³Ibid., f. 102r.

¹⁴Ibid., f. 143r.

¹⁵An Act to provide for the Regulation of Municipal Corporations in England and Wales, 1835, 5 & 6 William 4, c. 76.

The duties of the Minstrels or Waits are nearly nominal. They have an annual salary of 4 l. each, and a livery coat and hat once in six years. There were until lately five minstrels.¹⁶

Under the terms of section LXV of the Municipal Corporations Act each corporation had the power to abolish various offices, and York did away with that of city waits on 11 April 1836.¹⁷

The duties for which the York waits were paid by the corporation were not specified regularly in the Chamberlains' Accounts or the House Books until the middle of the fifteenth century, when their duties included 'attending and being with the mayor for the honour of the city according to custom' on the following feasts: Easter, Corpus Christi, the nativity of St. John the Baptist, Christmas, and the translation of St. William.¹⁸ The last recorded payment for attendance on the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist (i.e., midsummer's eve) was in 1525, although there were subsequent payments for 'Mydsomer evyn' from 1535 to 1554; the last recorded payment for Corpus Christi was also in 1554;¹⁹ the other three feasts were specified regularly in the accounts until the beginning of the 1640s.

The waits were also required to sound the watch, a duty which was probably concerned less with the guarding and protecting of life and property than with the proclamation of the hour and the kind of

¹⁶Parliament, Parliamentary Papers (Commons) 1835, vol.xxv, 1745. Municipal Corporations. (England and Wales) Appendix to the First Report of the Commissioners. Part III. Northern and North Midland circuits.

¹⁷YCA, York Corporation, House Books, second series, vol. 1, p. 77.

¹⁸Johnston and Rogerson, York, 2:783.

¹⁹The Corpus Christi procession was last held in the old way in 1547, the year of the passing of the Act of Dissolution. The procession was again held in 1555, 1556, and 1557 (no records survive for 1558), but it did not take place after the death of Queen Mary.

weather, such as is found in the first line and chorus of that most popular of waits' tunes: 'Past three o'clock, and a cold and frosty morning'. The keeping of the watch was first specified in 1570:

... the Common waites of this Citie ... shall fromehenseforth vse and kepe there Mornyng Watche with there Instrumentes accustomyd every day in the weyke excepte onely Sondays in the mornyng and the tyme of the Crystenmas.²⁰

A similar order was given in 1647, and when the waits were dismissed in 1652 they were 'hencefourth discharged of walkeinge the night watch'.²¹ As late as 1770 the waits were still required to perambulate the city in the early hours of the morning, as the following ordinance indicates:

You shall be obedient to the Lord Mayor or his Deputy for the time being and shall attend and play on such Musical Instruments as you are best Masters of in all Service of the Corporation when required by him or his Deputy. You shall attend the Sheriffs of this City in their Public Cavalcade to Read the proclamation on or about Martinmas as also each Sheriff on the Day he makes an Entertainment for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen for which service you shall receive from each Sheriff one Guinea but if the Sheriffs or either of them require your further attendance for the Entertainment of their Friends after the aforesaid Days then you shall be paid as such service may deserve. You shall call the city from the first Monday after Martinmas to the end of February that is every Monday Wednesday and Fryday in the Morning (Fast Days and Christmas week excepted).²²

Another duty of the waits was to provide music on the arrival of distinguished visitors into the city. The first recorded instance of this was in 1586, when the waits played at Walmgate Bar on the arrival

²⁰Johnston and Rogerson, York, 1:362.

²¹YCA, York Corporation, House Books, vol. 36, f. 213v, and vol. 37, f. 36v.

²²Idem, vol. 44, p. 259. This ordinance is quoted in full as it is the only complete statement of the waits' duties to survive.

of the Lord President.²³ In 1603, on the visit of King James I to the city, the waits were ordered to play at Micklegate Bar before quickly crossing the river to play at Bootham Bar.²⁴ The waits played at other royal visits in 1617, 1633, 1640, 1641, 1642, and 1643.²⁵ This practice continued in the eighteenth century, and they took part in welcoming to the city King George II in 1727 and the Prince of Wales (later King George IV) in 1789.

The waits also had duties in connection with meat and fish. In 1600 the waits petitioned the city council concerning the quaintly named 'beef breakfasts' which were held by the aldermen.

And wheras the wates haue put in a petition requiring in regard that two or thre of the aldermen do make ther befe breakfast in some one mornyng all at one tyme so as they cannot convenientlie serue theme all That either they wold make ther breakfastes severall dayes or ells that they the said waites may be discharged of that service, It is therfore nowe agreed by all the presentes that the said waites shalbe discharged frome that seruice & not to attend nor play at any of the said breakfastes onless they be sent for & being sent for by diuerse thaldermen to be preferred.²⁶

Every seven years the Lord Mayor of York, attended by the aldermen and sheriffs, went down the river Ouse as far as the mouth of the Wharfe in order to maintain their rights of fishing over this stretch of water. On these trips they were accompanied by the waits, who in 1786 received a special payment of 10s. 6d. each for their efforts; the

²³YCA, York Corporation, House Books, vol. 29, f. 124v.

²⁴Johnston and Rogerson, York, 1:507.

²⁵Ibid., 1:550, 585, 601, 609, 611, 614; YCA, York Corporation, House Books, vol. 36, f. 84r.

²⁶Johnston and Rogerson, York, 1:492-493.

city waits last took part in the observance of this septennial custom in 1818.²⁷

From the beginning of the nineteenth century there is evidence to suggest that the waits ceased to play the leading musical role in civic life that once was theirs. In various civic processions in 1802, 1811, 1814, 1820, and 1821, music was provided not only by the waits but also by a military band, and at an entertainment for the civic dignitaries on 1 July 1830 it was a military band, and not the waits, which provided the music.

[At the collation] the Military Band was stationed in the Orchestra and enlivened the Company by playing several national and appropriate airs.²⁸

In 1835 the Commissioners on the Municipal Corporations of England and Wales reported that 'the duties of the Minstrels or Waits [were] nearly nominal'.²⁹ Having outlived their musical usefulness, the waits were disbanded.

In return for the performance of their various duties, as specified above, the York waits each received from the civic authority a fixed annual payment, a livery allowance, and a badge and collar of office. From 1448 until 1554 the waits collectively were given an annual payment of 11s. 8d. by the corporation. With attendance at Corpus Christi and the nativity of St. John the Baptist (or midsummer's eve) no longer required, this payment was reduced to 8s. 4d., at which level it remained from 1559 to 1643. In the second half

²⁷YCA, York Corporation, Chamberlains' Books, vol. 67, 16 August 1786; YC 10.8.1818.

²⁸YCA, York Corporation, House Books, vol. 50, p. 167. Significantly, the band was led by one of the waits, Daniel Hardman.

²⁹Parliament, Parliamentary Papers (Commons), 1835, xxv, 1745. Municipal Corporations. App. to 1st Rept. of Commissioners. Pt. III.

of the 1650s the payment rose to 8s. 8d., for a reason not apparent from the House Books, and remained so until towards the end of the century.

Besides this fixed annual payment the waits also received contributions direct from the citizens of York, as specified in an ordinance of 1484.

... the said mynstrals from now forth shall haue and perceyve yerely ... of euery alderman of the said Citie xx d and of euery of the xxiiij of the Ccomon counsell viij d and also of euery Chaumbrelayn & of euery such as hath been chaumbrelayn vj d and ... of euery Brige Mastre and of such as haue be in the same office iij d Item of every citizin that hath sued his discharge from bering of eny office within the said Citie iij d and also every Comonere that is of Substance within the same ij d at lest And ouere that of euery othere comonere except the verray pore commoners which be not of power nor abilitie therto j d.³⁰

These dues were to be collected by the constable of each of the city wards, and in 1526 the total amounted to 45s. 4d. The ordinance of 1484 was confirmed in 1566 and again in 1595, and in 1597 various citizens, about whom the waits had complained for non-payment of these wages, were 'called before my Lord maiour & commyt vntill they shall pay the same'.³¹ As late as 1657, the ordinance of 1484 was repeated in substance, but it would seem that the waits did not receive these payments in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.³²

In the 1680s and 1690s the Chamberlains' Account Books ceased to differentiate between what had hitherto been separate payments for livery and salary, so that an entry in 1680:

³⁰Johnston and Rogerson, York, 1:135.

³¹Ibid., 1:475.

³²YCA, York Corporation, House Books, vol. 37, f. 102r.

To the Cityes Waites for their yeares Clothinge with Coates	£6 0 0
To them for their yeares Sallary	0 8 8 ³³

was replaced in 1699 by:

To the City Waites thier years Sallary	6 14 8 ³⁴
---	----------------------

which may be taken to imply a salary increase. This would mean that the augmentation of the waits' salary to £10 in 1705 does not represent such a large increase as otherwise would have been the case. In 1719 the council 'Ordered that the Waites shall annually receive five pound for their Sallary',³⁵ and although no specific reason was given for this reduction, it was probably because they had incurred the council's disapproval over surreptitiously collecting money, for when the salary was raised to its former level of £10 in 1725 it was 'upon Condition that they do not offer or put about the plate to the Comons on my Lord Mayor's day or on any other publick meetings (except on the Sherriffs Feast)'.³⁶ The annual salary of the waits was raised to £20 (i.e., £4 each) in 1781, at which level it remained until the waits were disbanded.

The waits were given housing by the corporation in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and also pensions (though these were given indirectly). Robert Sheyne, 'being in so grete age and soo decrepid that he no may forther attend toccupacion of waite', was dismissed from office in 1486, and his successor, Robert Comgilton, was

³³YCA, York Corporation, Chamberlains' Books, vol. 27 (year 1680), f. 25v.

³⁴YCA, York Corporation, Chamberlains' Books, vol. 29 (year 1699), f. 25r.

³⁵YCA, York Corporation, House Books, vol. 42, f. 1.

³⁶Ibid, f. 71v.

instructed to pay him a pension of 13s. 4d. a year.³⁷ A further example occurred in 1596 when a wait who was dismissed from office was given an entitlement to an annual pension of 26s. 8d. from the other waits, because he was a 'pore old man'.³⁸ On his dismissal from office Robert Sheyne was also given a 'house of the Commons with charge of Reparacion without eny other forme paying for the same', and an order in the House Books in 1526 stated that each of the waits was to have a 'Tenement of the coien rent to dwelle In'.³⁹ It would appear that the practice of giving accommodation and indirect pensions was discontinued in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

On the abolition of their office, the corporation's last act to the two surviving waits was to award them a life pension, which it was compelled to do under the terms of the Municipal Corporations Act. On their own submission,⁴⁰ the two waits had earned the following amounts in each of the five years before 1835 by virtue of their office:

Salary	£4	0	0
Clothes	£1	0	0
Gratuities & subscriptions	£6	0	0

The corporation took the view that the waits were entitled to compensation only on the amount received from the city, a view contested by the two waits, who appealed to the Lords of the Treasury. The Lords agreed with the city council, but did raise the amount of the life annuity to be given to each man from £2.10.0 (the amount

³⁷Johnston and Rogerson, York, 1:143.

³⁸Ibid., 1:470.

³⁹Ibid., 1:143, 1:239.

⁴⁰YCA, York Corporation, unsorted bundle K 38.

first offered by the corporation) to £2.13.4,⁴¹ although this still fell considerably short of the waits' claim to a life annuity of £8.

In addition to the direct and indirect payments received by the waits from the corporation, the waits were also given a livery allowance, the first surviving mention of which occurs in 1433.⁴² Until the end of the 1460s the waits received liveries for both winter and summer, but after that time only one livery per year was customary until the beginning of the 1700s. It seems that throughout the fifteenth century the colours of the two liveries were blue (or light blue), and red. In the sixteenth century the colour of the livery is specified only in the 1590s, the three instances (in 1594, 1595, and 1597) all mentioning the colour red: later references to colour in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries all indicate scarlet. Although the names of cloths used in the making of the waits' liveries were frequently recorded in the civic accounts, (e.g., musterdevillers in 1562, stamett in 1606 and 1612, etc.), there is no indication of the appearance of the livery other than references from 1593 onwards to coats.⁴³ In 1748, the waits' coats were made of scarlet cloth and scarlet shalloon (a light twilled woollen cloth used for coat-linings), probably having silver plaited buttons, as specified later in 1770.⁴⁴

⁴¹YCA, York Corporation, House Books, second series, 1835-1837, p. 231.

⁴²Johnston and Rogerson, York, 2:737.

⁴³Ibid., 1: passim.

⁴⁴YCA, York Corporation, Chamberlains' Books, vol. 37 (year 1748/9), fol. 13v; idem, vol. 51 entry under Expenses necessary, 12 July-17 August.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the waits received a livery allowance every six years, as specified in an order in the House Books in 1742:

Ordered that the waits shall have new Coats and Hatts as usual this being the sixth year since they had them and that they shall have new Coats and Hatts every six years for the future as has been usual.⁴⁵

In 1786 the waits asked the corporation to allow them hats and coats every three instead of every six years, but this was refused, although it was ordered that

... in future they shall only wear the Liveries now allowed when they attend as waits to the Corporation only and not at the Concerts or Assemblies.⁴⁶

Before the eighteenth century the only reference to a hat as part of the waits' livery occurred in 1539, when the City Chamberlains' Rolls recorded a payment 'for an old Reyd hoode Iaggyd for one of the Eldest wayttes to weyre'.⁴⁷ Curiously, almost two hundred years later, Drake mentions an almost identical piece of headgear when describing the Sheriffs' Riding.

... One of these waites [was] wearing on his head a red pinked or tattered ragged cap, a badge of so great antiquity, the rise or original of it cannot be found out.⁴⁸

In the eighteenth century the waits' hats are regularly referred to in the Chamberlains' Account Books but there is no indication of their

⁴⁵YCA, York Corporation, House Books, vol. 43, p. 73.

⁴⁶Idem, vol. 45, p. 247.

⁴⁷Johnston and Rogerson, York, 1:267.

⁴⁸Francis Drake, Eboracum; or, The history and antiquities of the City of York (London: By the Author, 1736), p. 197.

appearance, except that in 1770 the hats are known to have had silver lace, plaited buttons, and chain loops.⁴⁹

The waits wore the city arms on the sleeves of their livery coats from 1525, at least, when Thomas Dakyn was paid 8s. 4d. 'for making & brodering of the waytes slefes with sylke & golde with the armes of this City'.⁵⁰ There were similar payments in 1536, 1547, and 1561. In addition to wearing the city's arms, the waits also wore silver livery collars when fulfilling their civic duties, the earliest occasion on which they are known to have been worn occurring in 1505 when Roger Smalwod was suitably compensated by the Corporation, as he had 'of his awn cost for the wurship of this Citie ... maid hym a coler to his gret charge'.⁵¹ Three collars worn by the waits have survived, and are succinctly described by Jewitt:

... Each [collar] is composed of a series of small lions passant-gardant, and has for a pendant (1) a large shield of the city arms from which hangs (2) the original pendant, a smaller shield of the same arms, below which is suspended (3) a small lion like those composing the collar. On the backs of the shields are engraved the initials of various holders.

Two of these collars are alike, and contain thirty-four and thirty-five lions respectively; the small pendant shields attached to them have gilt lions, and had formerly enamelled or coloured crosses. The third collar is slightly different in pattern, and contains only thirty-two lions; it is also of later date, and the small shield was made so recently as 1822.⁵²

⁴⁹YCA, York Corporation, Chamberlains' Books, vol. 51, entry under Expenses necessary, 12 July-17 August 1770.

⁵⁰YCA, York Corporation, Chamberlains' Books, vol. 2, quoted in Frederick Llewellyn Jewitt, The corporation plate and insignia of office of the cities and towns of England and Wales; ed. by W.H. St. John Hope, 2 vols. (London: Bemrose, 1895), 2:464.

⁵¹Johnston and Rogerson, York, 1:200.

⁵²Jewitt, Corporation plate, 2:462-463.

Photographs of these three surviving collars can be seen in a recent publication.⁵³

Besides their civic duties the waits were involved in several other forms of music-making. A civic ordinance of 1526,⁵⁴ mentions in connection with the waits' remuneration that they were to 'tayne yer ... aduantages of the Mynster & oder places of releyon ... in this City', with the implication of some sort of financial reward. As Le Huray suggests, however, there is no reason to suppose that either wind or stringed instruments were used widely in church services until about 1575.⁵⁵ As it is, there are no surviving Minster archives mentioning wind instruments in the Minster until 1590 when 'thos that played vpon Sagbuttes & Cornittes the xvijth of. Novembr' were paid 10s., a similar payment occurring in 1591.⁵⁶ While it is most likely that the players of these instruments were the York city waits, they are first recorded by name in the Minster accounts in 1600 when they were paid 13s. 4d. 'for their Musicke att service' on the occasion of a visit by the Earl of Mar.⁵⁷ They received 40s. 'for playinge in the quiere' of the Minster in 1611; 33s. 4d. 'for playinge in the quire 5 services' in 1623; 13s. 4d. 'for playinge in the quire 2 seuerall tymes' in 1624; and £4 for playing at twelve services during April

⁵³Charles Kightly and R. Semelyn, Lords of the city: the Lord Mayors of York and their Mansion House (York: York City Council, 1980), p. 30.

⁵⁴Johnston and Rogerson, York, 1:239.

⁵⁵Peter Le Huray, Music and the Reformation in England, 1549-1660 (London: Jenkins, 1967), pp. 125-126.

⁵⁶Johnston and Rogerson, York, 1:443 and 447.

⁵⁷Ibid., 1:495.

1639, when the king was visiting York.⁵⁸ Although no instruments were specified, it is most likely that sackbuts and cornetts were used, as in the 1590s.

The York waits were invited to play in the Minster after the Restoration, probably on a more regular basis. In May 1663 it was ordered in Chapter that two sackbuts and two cornetts be provided for the service of the choir, 'Mr. Girdler [the chief wait] and his company to have £5 for one half year and forty shillings to provide themselves with instruments for the purpose'.⁵⁹ Wind instruments were still used in the Minster during the next decade, though probably only on the major festivals of Christmas, Epiphany, Easter Sunday, Whitsunday, and Trinity Sunday; and on Sundays during the Lent and Summer Assizes. Payments were made to the waits for performing on these occasions from 1671 to 1678 inclusive, but thereafter the only recorded payments are in the years 1683, 1702, and 1713.⁶⁰

The waits of York were also called upon to provide music for secular gatherings, and they played for the Bakers' Guild in 1550, 1551, 1552, and 1590, and for the Merchant Taylors' Company in 1643 and 1645.⁶¹ It is reasonable to assume that the above dates were not the only occasions on which the waits played for the Bakers and Merchant Taylors, and further, that the waits would also have played

⁵⁸Ibid., 1:538, 568, and 571; YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Fabric rolls, E3/64.

⁵⁹YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Draft Chapter Acts, f. 19v., cited in Gerald Edward Aylmer and Reginald Cant, eds. A history of York Minster (Oxford: Clarendon P., 1977), p. 237.

⁶⁰YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, St. Peter's account, E2/22 passim; St. Peter's account, unsorted vouchers, E2 PV.

⁶¹Johnston and Rogerson, York, 1:295, 302, 306, and 472; BIHR, Merchant Taylors' Court minute books, vol. 1, ff. 7r and 12v.

for other guilds in York. In common with other waits, the York waits travelled quite far afield, especially in the sixteenth century and possibly before. The 'wayte players of Yorke' were paid 2s. in 1540 by order of the Lords Talbot and Rose for playing at Belvoir Castle, and between 1568 and 1590 they were paid by Nottingham corporation for playing on four separate occasions.⁶² These lucrative trips for the waits ended in 1597 with the promulgation of An acte for punyshment of rogues vagabondes and sturdy beggars,⁶³ under section II of which

... all ... Minstrelles wandring abroade ... shalbe taken adjudged and deemed Rogues Vagabondes and Sturdy Beggars and shall susteyne Such Payne and Punyshment as by this Acte is in that behalfe appointed.

In the next year, 1598, the York waits petitioned the corporation, complaining that as they were now

... prohibited to trauille abrode with there instramentes into the countrie as hertofore ... without some better allowance or waiges then heretofore they haue hade they cannot Live and mainteine themeselves and there families.⁶⁴

Although the corporation undertook to examine ways of compensating the waits for their losses occasioned by the the act of 1597, there are no records of what forms, if any, this compensation took. The York waits were thus prevented from making extended trips, but they could still play by invitation at noble households, and they played at the Yorkshire residences of the Earl of Cumberland, at Londesborough Castle in 1612, 1634, 1636, and 1640, and at Skipton Castle in 1636.

⁶²The manuscripts of his grace the Duke of Rutland preserved at Belvoir Castle, Historical Manuscripts Commission, series 24, 4 vols. (London: H.M.S.O., 1905), 4:302; Woodfill, Musicians in English society, pp. 287, 289, and 290.

⁶³39 Elizabeth. 1, ch. 4.

⁶⁴Johnston and Rogerson, York, 1:480.

The payment of £5 in 1636 'to the waits of York for their attendance at masque' is particularly intriguing.⁶⁵

The York waits performed frequently in the Assembly Rooms in the eighteenth century, taking an active part in the concert life of York. The Assembly Rooms had been completed in time for the August race-week in 1732, and the waits performed then and in subsequent years, playing in the Grand Assembly and at Morning Concerts as specified in a minute of 1733.⁶⁶ Between October and March an annual series of concerts was held in the Assembly Rooms, and the waits were among the 'set of choice hands and voices ... procured to divert the company'.⁶⁷ From the mid-1700s onwards the waits are no longer specifically listed among the musicians employed for race-week, but there is evidence from the corporation House Books that as late as 1786 the waits were still playing at concerts and assemblies.⁶⁸ In between 1782 and 1784, inclusive, the York waits, who at that time numbered six players, performed in a small band of from eight to eleven musicians at the Theatre Royal.⁶⁹ As the only group of professional instrumentalists in the city, there is a very strong probability that the waits fulfilled this role both before and after the dates noted above.

Not until the middle of the sixteenth century is it known what instruments were played by the York waits, and it is most likely that

⁶⁵Woodfill, Musicians in English society, pp. 258-260, quoting from the Bolton manuscripts of the Duke of Devonshire, now preserved at Chatsworth House.

⁶⁶YCA, Assembly Rooms, Directors' minute books, 1730-1758, p. 83.

⁶⁷Drake, Eboracum, p. 240.

⁶⁸YCA, York Corporation, House Books, vol. 45, p. 247.

⁶⁹Theatre Royal, York. [Statement of income and expenditure, 1781 to 1784]. (Unpublished MS. in York Public Library).

they made their music before this time with two shawms and slide trumpet (later sackbut), the forces which constituted the standard loud band of the time. In 1561 a bass shawm was bought for the city, and this was followed five years later by the purchase of 'a noyse of iij Shalmes ... whiche hath at solempne tymes ben vused by the waytes'.⁷⁰ A typical combination of the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century shawm band was as follows:

treble 1	treble shawm
treble 2	cornett
alto	tenor shawm
quintus	tenor trombone
bass	bass shawm

The waits would have had sufficient numbers to enable them to adopt this combination (with the addition of apprentices), the resulting sound of which has been most evocatively described.

Indeed of all musical sound that from day to day smote the ears of a sixteenth-century town resident, the deafening skirl of the shawm band in palace courtyard or market square must have been the most familiar.⁷¹

In 1602 one of the waits was lent £4 by the York corporation with which to buy a double curtal, and in the next year a sackbut was purchased by the corporation for the use of the waits at a cost of £8.⁷² Cornetts are mentioned several times in the corporation House Books in the 1630s, after which time there is no further reference to

⁷⁰Johnston and Rogerson, York, 1:333 and 349.

⁷¹Anthony Baines, Woodwind instruments and their history (London: Faber, 1962), p. 268.

⁷²Johnston and Rogerson, York, 1:499 and 506.

instruments used by the waits. As noted above, the waits played sackbuts and cornetts in the Minster after the Restoration.

There is very little surviving evidence concerning the names of the instruments which the York waits played in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In other towns and cities waits were adopting oboes and bassoons by 1700, and horns a little later, and there is no reason to suppose that the York waits would have been exceptional.⁷³ A corporation ordinance of 1774 instructed the five newly appointed waits 'to play on such Musical Instruments as [they were] ... best masters of';⁷⁴ as the York waits had duties which involved leading processions of various kinds, it can be assumed that whatever other instruments they could play (probably strings), they would always have been capable of performing as a wind ensemble.

If little is known about the instruments played by the York waits, even less is known about either their ensemble playing or their individual levels of skill, and only broad generalizations can be made. In the 1400s the waits of the major English cities were among the finest minstrels in the country, and York's civic pre-eminence would surely have ensured that its waits were numbered among them. In the sixteenth century there are several references in the corporation's House Books to the waits' skill. A newly appointed wait was described in 1505 as 'right connyng', (i.e., very skilful), and in 1567 the newly appointed waits were to continue in office upon their 'good behaviour conyng & dilligens'.⁷⁵ In 1584 one of the reasons for

⁷³The waits played on oboes and bassoons in a civic procession on 26 October 1739. YCA, York Corporation, House Books, vol. 43, p. 12.

⁷⁴YCA, York Corporation, House Books, vol. 44, p. 259.

⁷⁵Johnston and Rogerson, York, 1: 200 and 351.

the dismissal of two waits was that they could not 'so connynglie play on their instrumentes as they ought to do'.⁷⁶ Twelve years later a petition was made by four waits against another of their company, one of the complaints being

... that at diuerse tymes he hath so disordred him self in the exercise of his place in the playing before the magistrates of this Citty and others as that he hath maid the rest of them by his playing forth of tvne & tyme to be asshamed of them selues and they to be therby thought of the hearers to haue no such skill as is requisite for ther places to ther great discredit as they alledge.⁷⁷

In 1668 the corporation appointed four waits on being 'satisfyed of their greate skill in musick'.⁷⁸

These entries in the House Books, however, do not collectively say more than one might expect, namely, that each wait was expected to have the skill necessary for the fulfillment of his duties. The York waits' relative standing as musicians can only be judged on the basis of invitations extended to them in the seventeenth century by the Earl of Cumberland, in the eighteenth by the Assembly Rooms and the Theatre Royal, and in both centuries by York Minster. It is certain that invitations to play would not have been extended to second-rate musicians.

Information about the music played by the York waits is meagre. It is likely that their repertoire before 1600 consisted of music that was probably unwritten and to a large extent extemporized. An entry in the House Books of 1561 ordered one of the waits to 'haue respit to Learne and applie hymself in the instrumentes & songes belongyng the

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 409.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 469.

⁷⁸YCA, York Corporation, House Books, vol. 38, f. 45r.

sayd Waytes',⁷⁹ which suggests that the York waits did not restrict themselves solely to instrumental music, paralleling Woodfill's description of the London waits.⁸⁰

The only mentions in the civic archives of music played by the waits both refer to a 'huntsup'. According to the minstrels' ordinances of 1578 'no brother of the said art ... [was to] play anie huntsvps at anie tyme except the waites of thes Cittie', and in 1596 the waits' prerogative of playing the 'hunt ys vp' was repeated.⁸¹ Ward has written a fascinating article in which he identifies several different entities having in common this name, among which are a ground, a type of song, and a few pieces of instrumental music.⁸² The 'huntsup' referred to in the York House Books is probably that defined by Ward as an

...early morning serenade, played under the window or at the door of a public or private house, the intent of the musicians being to awaken and entertain someone within with music.

It should be noted, however, that the York ordinance of 1578 indicates that the 'huntsup' could be played at any time. There is no evidence that the York 'huntsup' (instrumental piece) involved the 'hunt's up' (ground, or type of song), but this remains a possibility.

In the early seventeenth century the waits played at services in York Minster when most probably cornetts would have been used to support the upper voices of the choir, and sackbuts the lower. In order to perform in the services of the Minster in this way the waits

⁷⁹Johnston and Rogerson, York, 1:333.

⁸⁰Woodfill, Musicians in English society, pp. 35-36.

⁸¹Johnston and Rogerson, York, 1:388 and 470.

⁸²John Milton Ward, 'The hunt's up,' Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association 106 (1980): 1-25.

would certainly by this time have been able to read music, however far their extempore tradition extended into the seventeenth century. In 1636 the York waits played for the Earl of Cumberland at a masque, and this would have involved playing pieces such as those contained in Adson's Courtly masquing ayres (1621).

In the eighteenth century the York waits were regular performers at the concerts given in the Assembly Rooms from 1732 onwards, but almost certainly as part of a larger ensemble; the concert repertoire performed there is discussed in Chapter VI. In addition, the York waits in the mid-eighteenth century were acquainted with contemporary compositions through personal ownership. For instance, William Tireman (wait from 1703 to 1761) was a subscriber to Avison's Six concertos in seven parts, op. 2; 'Messrs. Tireman, Pick and Co.' (i.e., the York waits) were subscribers to Hebden's Six concertos, op. 2; and Richard Mason (wait from 1748 to 1752) had in his possession at the time of his death in 1752 'Corelli's solos' (probably the sonatas, op. 5) and 'Handel's water Musick' (probably the edition published by Walsh in 1740).⁸³

It remains to mention two pieces of music that have been connected with the York waits. The first is an undated broadside entitled York waits which was probably published early in the eighteenth century.⁸⁴ Bridge, and later Langwill, included this among

⁸³The information concerning the subscriptions is derived from copies of the two works concerned located in the British Library (Humanities and Social Sciences), London. Mason's music is listed in an inventory appended to his will, BIHR Orig. Wills, D/C 1752.

⁸⁴There are copies of this broadside in Chetham's Library, Manchester, and in the British Library (Humanities and Social Sciences), London. A reduced facsimile reprint of it may be found in James Merryweather, York music: the story of a city's music from 1304 to 1876 (York: Ebor P., 1988), p. 33.

tunes thought to have been in the repertoire of the York waits, although there is no evidence which would substantiate this claim.⁸⁵ The words of the broadside are droll and in one place slightly indecent, the harmonic progressions are often less than smooth, and the words and music sit very uneasily together. The second piece of music, the 'Duke of York's march', was attributed by Thomas Simpson Camidge to his great grandfather, John Camidge, senior, in a letter to a York newspaper.⁸⁶ T.S. Camidge's account is as follows: John Camidge composed this march on the occasion of the visit to York by the Prince of Wales in 1789; the Prince later wrote to the Lord Mayor saying how he couldn't get the tune out of his head; on being informed of this John Camidge sent a copy of the march to the Prince of Wales, who gave it to his brother, the Duke of York (hence the name of the march, and its later association with the Grenadier Guards). The story is so delightful that not being able to verify it is disappointing. There are no extant letters from the Prince of Wales to the Lord Mayor of York in the royal archives at Windsor, and contemporary editions of 'The Duke of York's march' now in the British Library (the earliest of which has been assigned a date of 1785) are either anonymous or name Christoph Friedrich Eley, a drum Major in the Coldstream Guards in the 1780s, as the composer.

The York waits served the city for a period of approximately five hundred years during which time they were of great importance to the music-making in the city. Their civic duties involved playing in processions, at banquets, at the arrival of eminent visitors to the

⁸⁵Bridge, 'Town waits,' p. 74; Langwill, 'The waits,' p. 179.

⁸⁶YG 5.2.1876. The music of 'The Duke of York's march' can be found in Cooper, Christmas waits, pp. 28-29.

city, and keeping the watch. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the skills of the waits were almost certainly confined to performing on wind instruments, but by the eighteenth century they had combined these skills with those necessary to perform on stringed instruments. The music performed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was probably to a very large extent extemporized but by the beginning of the seventeenth century, when they were performing in the Minster, they would almost certainly have been able to play from written music. From this time until 1836, especially from 1700 or so, the former emphasis would have been reversed, as performance from printed and manuscript music would have become necessary in the course of their musical activities at the Assembly Rooms and the Theatre Royal. It would seem that by the nineteenth century a small band, such as that represented by five players, could not make the volume or variety of sound which the city fathers came to expect from the larger forces of orchestra or military band, which they seemed increasingly to prefer for civic functions. For this reason, the number of the city waits was allowed to dwindle to two before the office was abolished in 1836.

CHAPTER V

'THE PROMOTION OF BENEVOLENCE AND THE ADVANCEMENT OF MUSICAL SCIENCE': MUSIC FESTIVALS IN YORK, 1791-1835

The great musical festivals held in York in the 1820s and 1830s form part of an English tradition which evolved from the merging of two strands of musical activity. These were firstly the regular and irregular musical meetings held in order to raise money for charitable purposes, and secondly the annual celebrations held in honour of St. Cecilia. In the middle of the eighteenth century the introduction of oratorios transformed the size and scope of these meetings and many of them were lengthened to two days, with the addition of evening performances. From the 1760s numerous musical festivals were arranged as speculative ventures by professional musicians and others, and the first musical festivals in York, in 1769 and 1770, were of this nature.

Wilkinson recorded the occasion of what can be called the first musical festival in York thus:

In Passion Week, in 1769, Oratorios were undertaken at the York Theatre [i.e., the Theatre Royal], and were particularly well attended: Good profits gave proof, and Mr. Baker, and three adventurers with him shared to much advantage. Mr.

Norris, and Mr. and Mrs. Pinto (Miss Brent) were engaged.¹

Mr. Baker was the proprietor of the theatre: Wilkinson does not name the other three 'adventurers'. Messiah was performed on the evenings of Tuesday 22 March and Thursday 24 March and Judas Maccabaeus on the evening of Wednesday 23 March, an advertisement stating that the performances would be given by a 'band of upwards of 100 performers', which consisted of the 'best performers, both vocal and instrumental that [could] ... be procured in the kingdom'; the band was led by Mr. Pinto.² The constitution of neither the vocal nor the instrumental departments is known, save that singers from Hey Chapel (Hey is in south-east Lancashire) took part in the choruses,³ in which they were probably joined by members of the Minster choir.

The Passion Week in 1770 also saw oratorio performances in York at the Theatre Royal, when Samson, Israel in Babylon, and Messiah were performed on consecutive evenings beginning Monday 9 April.⁴ The vocal soloists were Signor Tenducci of London, Mrs. Hudson of York, and Mr. Norris and Mr. Matthews of Oxford. Nothing at all, however, is known of the other performers, and while an advertisement in the York Courant said there would be a 'numerous band of music' and 'that no care or expense ... [would] be spared to render the above

¹Tate Wilkinson, The wandering patentee; or, A history of the Yorkshire theatres, from 1770 to the present time: interspersed with anecdotes respecting most of the performers in the three kingdoms, from 1765 to 1795, 4 vols. (York: printed by Wilson, Spence, and Mawman, 1795), 1:63.

²YC 17.1.1769.

³YC 13.6.1769.

⁴Israel in Babylon was a pastiche compiled from various operas and oratorios, the compilation being attributed by Burney to Edward Toms. William C. Smith, Handel: a descriptive catalogue of the early editions, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970), p. 108.

performances as compleat as possible', Wilkinson claimed that the performances were 'on a narrower scale than those of the former year, 1769', and that 'the financial gains of the first year were lost by the second experiment', the performances in 1770 making a loss of forty pounds.⁵

Oratorios and pastorals were also performed in the series of subscription concerts held in the York Assembly Rooms between 1769 and 1771, e.g., Boyce's Solomon was performed in 1769 and 1771, Handel's Acis and Galatea and Alexander's feast in 1770 and 1771, and Nares' The royal pastoral in 1771. However, these performances lacked one of the essential features of the eighteenth-century musical festival, namely, the use of musical forces larger than those available locally. The next musical festival in York was held in St. Michael-le-Belfrey on 22-23 March 1785, on the occasion of the opening of the organ. Judas Maccabaeus and Messiah were performed

... by a select band, collected in York, Durham, Hey Chapel, and other places. First violin, Mr. Shaw. The principal vocal parts by Mrs. Hudson, Mrs. Shepley, Mr. Evance and Mr. Meredith. Organ, Mr. Camidge.⁶

Although nothing concerning the instrumental force can be inferred from this statement, there is an implication that the chorus consisted of male voices (A.T.B.) from the cathedral choirs of Durham and York (perhaps also including some of the boys) and a group of female trebles from Hey Chapel.⁷

⁵YC 6.3.1770; Wilkinson, The wandering patentee, 1:71.

⁶YC 1.3.1785.

⁷The constitution of the festival chorus before 1795 is discussed in Brian W. Pritchard, 'The musical festival and the choral society in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: a social history' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1968), p. 98 et seq.

An advertisement in the York Courant of 24 May 1791 announced that the 'York Musical Festival, under the patronage and direction of several of the nobility and gentry' of the county of York, would take place in the week beginning Monday 15 August. The festival was promoted by Matthew Camidge, the son of the Minster organist, in conjunction with Messrs. Ashley,⁸ and while the York Courant afterwards claimed that they were 'recompensed beyond their most sanguine expectations', a much later account asserted that when all the fees had been paid not much remained as profit.⁹

The festival lasted four days, and involved two evening concerts in the Assembly Rooms, on Monday 15 August and Thursday 18 August, and three concerts of sacred music in the Minster on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, 16-18 August. The programmes on August 16 and 18 comprised selections from the sacred works of Handel, while that on August 19 comprised one work, Handel's Messiah;¹⁰ the programmes of the evening concerts are not known, but would have almost certainly followed the usual pattern of a mixture of instrumental and vocal music, the vocal music comprising solo items. The performances in the Minster took place in the choir, the staging being described by 'those gentlemen who have seen Westminster Abbey and other musical performances, as the most complete of any erected for the purpose in

⁸Brian W. Pritchard, 'The provincial festivals of the Ashley family,' Galpin Society Journal 22 (1969): 58-77.

⁹YC 23.8.1791; YG 2.10.1823.

¹⁰Musical festival. The first grand selection: as performed in the cathedral of York, Tuesday, August 16, 1791 (York: Wilson, Spence and Mawman, 1791); The Messiah; a sacred oratorio; as performed in the cathedral of York, Wednesday, August 17, 1791. Set to music by Mr. Handel (York: Wilson, Spence and Mawman, 1791); Musical festival. The second grand selection: as performed in the cathedral of York, Thursday, August 18, 1791 (York: Wilson, Spence and Mawman, 1791). Copies of these word-books are in York Public Library.

the kingdom'.¹¹ On August 17 the performance of Messiah was attended by eighteen hundred people; while eight hundred attended the evening concert in the Assembly Rooms on August 18. The price of the tickets (for all the performances one and a half guineas, seats for single performances in the Minster eight shillings in the choir and five shillings in the side galleries, single performances in the Assembly Rooms five shillings) meant, of course, that most York residents would be excluded, a fact explicitly recognized by the local newspapers. The York Herald expected that the Festival would attract 'a most brilliant appearance of the first characters in this county', an expectation that was realised according to a subsequent report in the same newspaper, which claimed that the Festival was attended by a 'more brilliant assemblage of the principal families in this county than we ever before witnessed here'.¹² Beginning with this festival in York, one can see in its reporting in the local press the partisanship which characterized much of the writing on festivals both in York and elsewhere in the nineteenth century. The York Courant stated that the Minster was 'better adapted to produce a sublime effect than any other place in the kingdom', and it was generally agreed that the performances were 'the most complete of the kind ever experienced out of London'.¹³

The number of performers in the 1791 festival is known only from an item appearing in the Yorkshire Gazette some thirty years later, when it was stated that there was a band of one hundred.¹⁴ Pritchard

¹¹YC 28.6.1791, YC 16.8.1791.

¹²YH 9.7.1791, YH 27.8.1791.

¹³YCh 19.8.1791; YC 23.8.1791.

¹⁴YG 2.10.1823.

says that the chorus comprised 'the Minster choir, supplemented by singers from the surrounding area, but also including the Lancashire chorus-singers', but does not give the source of his information.¹⁵ The composition of the instrumental force is not known, although the names of the principal performers are listed in advertisements and reports in the local press; the advertisements also mentioned in the instrumental ensemble the double drums (i.e., the kettledrums), trombones, and bass trumpets, presumably because of their comparative rarity in provincial performances. There were six vocal soloists, Mrs. Crouch, Mrs. Hudson (of York), Madame Mara, and Messrs. Harrison, Kelly and Meredith, of whom Crouch, Harrison, Kelly, and Mara (all from London) were the principal singers, as the number of solo items allotted to each makes clear. Most of the interest centred on Madame Mara, the famous German soprano, who had been singing in England since 1784 in concerts, operas, and oratorios, and was then (in 1791) at the height of her powers.

Advertisements indicated that the festival was to be conducted by 'Mess. Ashley and Camidge, jun', whereas the three word-books for performances in the Minster clearly state on each of their title-pages 'conductor, Mr. Camidge, junior'. As the term conductor had a different meaning in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries from that in use today, a contemporary definition will be useful here. Busby defined the term conductor thus:

A term applied to the person who arranges, orders, and directs the necessary preparations for a concert; and also superintends and conducts the performance.¹⁶

¹⁵Pritchard, 'The provincial festivals,' 64.

¹⁶Thomas Busby, A complete dictionary of music, etc. (London: Phillips, 1786), s.v. 'Conductor.'

Eighteenth-century performance practice implies that the concerts in the Minster would have been superintended by Camidge from a keyboard instrument (almost certainly an organ), who would have been particularly responsible for the choral parts of the programme, helping the singers with cues, playing their parts if they hesitated or failed to come in, possibly beating time occasionally either with roll of paper or parchment.¹⁷ The orchestra would have been directed by its leader, John Ashley. Neither the instrumental force nor the music performed in the concerts given in the Assembly Rooms on the evenings of Monday 15 and Thursday 18 August is mentioned in contemporary reports or advertisements.

During the 1790s festivals of long-standing ceased at Ashby-de-la-Zouche, Manchester, and Salisbury, mainly because of the economic and social effects occasioned by the French Revolution, and even the Three Choirs Festival barely managed to survive.¹⁸ It is not surprising, therefore, that no further musical festivals were held in York during the last decade of the eighteenth century. Two-day musical festivals under the direction of Charles Hague, professor of music in the University of Cambridge, were held at neighbouring Tadcaster and Knaresborough in September 1802. Three weeks after the announcement of the Tadcaster musical festival, Matthew Camidge

¹⁷Adam Carse, The orchestra in the XVIIIth century (Cambridge: Heffer, 1940), Chapter 4, pp. 88-109, which discusses this matter in detail. The timing in July 1791 of substantial work to the Minster organ, for which Thomas Haxby was paid twenty-five guineas, would suggest that it was this instrument from which Camidge directed the performances in the Minster. The work undertaken is recorded in a bill now in YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Unsorted vouchers, E2 PV 1.

¹⁸Watkins Shaw, The Three Choirs Festival: the official history of the meetings of the three choirs of Gloucester, Hereford, and Worcester, c. 1713-1953 (Worcester: Baylis, 1954), pp. 28-29.

declared his intention of having one at York in 1803 'on a scale to ensure approbation'.¹⁹ Any hopes he had of again using the Minster were dashed when George Markham was installed Dean of York Minster on 24 April 1802; until his death in 1822 Markham steadfastly refused permission for musical festivals to be held in York Minster on account of his fears of possible damage to the Minster fabric.

As in 1791, this musical festival was promoted in conjunction with members of the Ashley family, and morning concerts were to be given in St. Michael-le-Belfrey on 21-23 September, 1803, with two evening concerts in the Assembly Rooms on Tuesday 20 and Friday 23 September. However, an advertisement in the York Courant on 22 August 1803 announced that

... because of the general sentiment prevalent among the patrons of the intended music meeting ... Messrs. Camidge and Ashley feel it their duty ... to defer the meeting to a time, it is to be hoped not distant, when an amusement of this nature will be more congenial to the public mind.

The next musical festival in York took place on 3 and 4 December 1816 and was promoted by John Camidge and Philip Knapton under the patronage of the Archbishop of York. Morning concerts were given in the church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey on 3 December, when Messiah was performed, and on 4 December when the first act of The Creation was followed by a miscellaneous selection from Handel's oratorios. Although advertisements listed the principal vocal and instrumental performers for the morning performances, they provide no detail of the instrumental band or the chorus. On the evening of 3 December, 'a grand miscellaneous concert' was held in the Assembly Rooms, during

¹⁹YC 20.9.1802.

which Mrs. Salmon and Miss Darby delighted the audience with their performance of songs and arias.²⁰

With the accession of Dean Cockburn in 1822 the way to holding musical festivals in York Minster was cleared, and on 16 November the Yorkshire Gazette reported his consent to the holding of such a festival in 1823. The proceeds of this Yorkshire Grand Musical Festival were to be devoted to the benefit of the York County Hospital, and the infirmaries at Hull, Leeds, and Sheffield. Preliminary arrangements having been made with the Archbishop of York and Mr. Greateorex, the first meeting of the committee of management took place in the Black Swan, Coney Street, on 22 May 1823, and within the space of four months it had completed all the arrangements prior to the commencement of the four-day festival on 23 September. The speed with which the festival was organised prompted the Quarterly musical magazine and review to comment that nowhere else in the kingdom could this have been done within such a short space of time.²¹

The committee for the 1823 festival was never dissolved, meeting subsequently to finalize the accounts and to discuss plans for the building of the new concert room, thus bridging the gap between the festivals in 1823 and 1825. Although there had been some call for a musical festival in 1824 it was wisely felt by the committee that an intervening gap of one year was too short, and 1825 was decided upon, probably to fill up a triennial festival succession with Norwich and Birmingham. In June 1827 the Archbishop of York wrote to the Trustees of the four charities benefiting from the Yorkshire Musical Festivals, asking their opinions on the viability of a festival in 1828, and

²⁰YC 25.11.1816, YC 9.12.1816.

²¹Quarterly musical magazine and review 7 (1825): 413.

offering his support. Although a festival subsequently took place in this latter year, several members of the 1823 and 1825 committees of management declined to serve again on account of the Dean amending and altering the programmes for the morning performances in the Minster as he saw fit.

On 10 September 1831 the York Herald stated that a fourth Yorkshire Musical Festival was currently being discussed, which would take place in the Minster in 1832, but on 18 February 1832, the same newspaper reported a rumour that the festival had been abandoned on account of 'the danger of introducing the cholera into the city by the influx of strangers from all parts'. A week later the Yorkshire Gazette scotched this rumour by saying that it was reliably informed that a decision on holding the festival would not be made until April. It was asserted, moreover, that 'those who attend musical festivals are not the class by which that disease [i.e., cholera] is propagated'.²² For whatever reasons the next festival did not take place until 1835.

The morning performances in the four Yorkshire Musical Festivals were given in York Minster, and on each occasion the choir, orchestra, and soloists occupied specially constructed staging situated under the crossing, the back of the staging being formed by a screen representing an organ casework. The considerable drawbacks in performing from this position in the Minster were widely commented upon, and the Harmonicon and the London magazine suggested moving the performers to the west end of the nave, while the York Courant

²²YG 25.2.1832. The class of people which did attend the Yorkshire Musical Festivals will be discussed further below.

suggested the placing of a temporary ceiling under the lantern tower.²³ However, although this was discussed by the committee of management on several occasions, the position of the performers was unchanged save that in 1825, and thereafter, some of the vocal performers were placed westward of the pillars separating tower and nave. But this was not without its drawbacks, which were rehearsed by the correspondent of The Times after a performance in the Minster in the 1835 festival.

... the instrumental performers are ... [thus] thrown so far back, and away from the vocalists, that the difficulty of both parties being made to go well together is almost insurmountable, and at times impossible.²⁴

According to Thomas Greateorex, the conductor of the performances in the Minster in 1823, 1825, and 1828, the Minster was

... so preposterously large that no band that can be procured in England can be found to fill it - there is only one worse place for music and that is out of doors.²⁵

The evening concerts in the 1823 Festival were given in the Assembly Rooms; as it was calculated that the ground floor would only afford accommodation for one thousand people, a gallery was erected to provide seating space for a further four hundred or so. Nevertheless, the erection of a gallery served only to deaden and impair the sound, to detract from the beauty of the room, and to give rise during the performances to an unbearable heat. In 1824 some property adjacent to the Assembly Rooms was purchased for the purpose of erecting a new

²³Harmonicon (1825): 185; London magazine (1825): 267; YC 1.2.1825.

²⁴The Times 11.9.1835.

²⁵G.E. Aubrey, 'The Manchester Music Festival of 1828,' unpublished MS. c. 1828, quoted in Pritchard, 'Musical festival and choral society in England,' p. 399.

music room, at a cost of £2,570.²⁶ It was decided that the proceeds from the 1825 Yorkshire Music Festival would be used to defray the cost of building the new rooms, any surplus to be divided among the four benefiting charities. The new concert room measured 92 feet by 60 feet, in comparison with the 110 feet by 40 feet of the large Assembly Room, with an orchestral platform capable of accommodating over 140 performers, and a seating capacity of two thousand. The orchestral platform did not prove altogether satisfactory, however, and before the 1828 Festival it was brought forward and lowered.

The conductor of the first three Yorkshire Musical Festivals was Thomas Greateorex, who also conducted provincial festivals at Birmingham and Derby, while the assistant conductors were all local musicians, John Camidge, Matthew Camidge, and Philip Knapton, all of York, and John White of Leeds. Following Greateorex's death in 1831, William Knyvett, who had sung as a soloist in the three previous festivals, conducted the 1835 Festival, with the two Camidges acting as assistant conductors (both Philip Knapton and John White having died in the meantime). At the Yorkshire Musical Festival of 1823, as regards the performances in York Minster, the duties of the assistant conductors and conductor were as follows. (Similar schemes were adopted in 1825 and 1828.) John Camidge presided at the organ and engaged most of the provincial instrumentalists, the committee of management dealing directly with the principal instrumental performers and the vocal soloists; Matthew Camidge prepared parts for the

²⁶John Crosse, An account of the grand musical festival held in September 1823, in the cathedral church of York, etc. (York: Wolstenholme, 1825), Appendix, pp. xxii-xxiii; P.M. Tillott, The city of York, The Victoria History of the Counties of England (London: O.U.P., 1961), pp. 532-533. A plan of the new concert room can be found on a flyer bound in a volume now in the Hailstone Collection in York Minster Library, with a spine-title York musical festival 1825.

trombones and other wind instruments for scores in which they were not originally specified; John White engaged the great body of the chorus singers, superintended them, and played principal second violin; Philip Knapton took charge of the arrangement of the books and manuscript copies of the music (John Hedgley preparing the music). Thomas Greateorex, as conductor, presided at the pianoforte,²⁷ and the presence of a time-beater in an engraving and two lithographs of the York Festivals in the 1820s²⁸ could indicate another of his functions, while the ultimate responsibility for the performance was solely his. For instance, in 1828, the Quarterly musical magazine and review laid at the feet of the 'nominal conductor', Thomas Greateorex, 'a deficiency in the general arrangements and in the decision necessary to the command of such a large band'.²⁹ It was noted above that the performances in the Minster in the 1791 Festival were the joint responsibility of the so-called conductor and the leader of the orchestra, a practice which persisted well into the nineteenth century.³⁰ In the York festivals of the 1820s there is the added complication of a third person, namely, John Camidge, who led the

²⁷Crosse, An account of the grand musical festival, p. 168.

²⁸Ibid., engraved frontispiece; lithographed frontispiece to a composite volume of printed items and press cuttings, with spine-title 'Yorkshire Musical Festival 1825', now in the Hallstone Collection of York Minster Library; lithograph in An account of the third Yorkshire Musical Festival, held on the 23rd, 24th, 25th, and 26th of September, 1828, in York Minster, etc. (York: printed at the Gazette Office, [1828]), copy in York Public Library.

²⁹Quarterly musical magazine and review 10 (1828): 158.

³⁰There is a very interesting discussion of the respective roles of the keyboard director and the leader of the orchestra in England in the 1820s and 1830s (with the eventual emergence of the conductor as we know him today in the second half of the century) in Adam Carse, The orchestra from Beethoven to Berlioz: a history of the orchestra in the first half of the 19th century, and of the development of orchestral baton-conducting (Cambridge: Heffer, 1948), pp. 317-340.

choruses from the organ, which led in 1825 to favourable comment in the Harmonicon.

... his management of the pedals was really surprising, and nothing short of the most constant and severe practice could have enabled him to manage them in the chorusses as he did, to the production of very sublime effects, preserving at the same time, the steadiest correspondence with the voices, and leading off the points of the chorusses with admirable precision.³¹

The size of the choruses employed in the four Yorkshire Musical Festivals (and in other major festivals) can be compared through an examination of Table 5.1. Following the 1784 Handel festival in Westminster Abbey the size of the instrumental and vocal force was a major consideration with all succeeding festivals, and it can be seen that York had the largest choruses of all the provincial festivals. The 1823 Festival chorus at York included a semi-chorus of eight sopranos, six altos, eight tenors and eight basses, but its exact function is not known;³² it is unclear if the three later festivals used a semi-chorus, although it is most likely.

In each of the festivals the soprano part was sung by women plus an average number of sixteen boys, while the alto part was sung solely by male voices; this latter feature was common until well into the second half of the nineteenth century. According to Crosse, the duty and interest of a Yorkshire Festival was 'to bring forward the effective strength of chorus singers ... which lay scattered over

³¹Harmonicon (1825): 185. At each of the Festivals the organ on the choir screen was used, being played from a keyboard some sixty feet forward of, and twenty feet down from, its position on the east side of the crossing; the length of the trackers, 120 feet or so, required the player to exert considerable pressure in order to depress the keys. Crosse, An account of the grand musical festival, p. 155.

³²A description of the Grand Musical Festival, held in the City of York, September ... 1823 ... comp. by the editor of the York Courant (York: H. Cobb, 1823), p. 29.

Yorkshire, Lancashire, and other northern counties',³³ and this the managers assiduously did on each occasion. York provided the largest number of singers at each of the Festivals, not because of the presence of a flourishing choral society there, but because of the inclusion of the entire Minster choir in each Festival chorus. The background of the singers (other than those from York) is not known, but for a patronizing remark concerning the 1825 chorus.

The [singers] ... are mostly operative manufacturers and other persons in an humble station of life, but when collected in the Minster-yard this morning, before [being] admitted to the Cathedral, exhibited a well-clad and respectable exterior.³⁴

Choral societies as we know them today are essentially a creation of the nineteenth century, and the early ones owed their foundation in many cases to a desire for an increased efficiency within the festival chorus, such choral societies being at first subservient to the particular festival for which they were formed. As there was no choral society in York in the 1820s, the committee of management of the 1825 Festival resolved on 4 October 1824 'that 10 guineas be applied in such a manner as Messrs. Camidges and P. Knaption think best for the encouragement of a choral society in York'.³⁵ But there is no evidence to suggest that a choral society was founded at this time, and the first known choral society in York, the York Choral Society, was not established until 1833. Although the York Choral Society might have been expected to supply many of the singers at the 1835 Festival, the only reference to the Society in the Festival's minutes

³³Crosse, An account of the grand musical festival, p. 142.

³⁴The Times 12.9.1825.

³⁵YML, Archives of the York Musical Festivals. Box 2, unsorted bundles, COLL 1926.

is unfavourable, to say the least. On 25 June 1835 it was resolved by the committee of management

... that the Choral Society be informed that the Committee has not objected to the engagement of any singer on account of his being a member of the Choral Society.³⁶

In the first three Yorkshire Musical Festivals the chorus generally sang well, and received much favourable comment from contemporary music journals. The whole of the choral music performed in the Minster in 1823 received but one rehearsal and this led to certain deficiencies in the singing, particularly in Haydn's The seasons.³⁷ The preparations for the next two Festivals were made more gradually than in 1823, and this allowed Mr. White, one of the assistant conductors, to rehearse various groups of singers at Halifax, Huddersfield, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, Wakefield, and York, in the choruses generally sung at festivals, and the rehearsal time in the Minster was trebled.³⁸

The results were impressive. The Harmonicon declared that

... the most prominent feature of this wonderful festival choir was that ... they are sure to be conversant with choral music of every description, and ... sing with a feeling and precision which [one] must look in vain for in the metropolis, or any part of the west or south of England.³⁹

In the performance of Messiah on 15 September 1825, the Quarterly musical magazine and review noted the 'grandeur and precision of the

³⁶Ibid. .

³⁷Quarterly musical magazine and review 5 (1823): 524.

³⁸An account of the second Yorkshire Musical Festival ... September, 1825, etc. (York: Wolstenholme, [1825]), p. 5; An account of the third Yorkshire Musical Festival ... September, 1828, etc. (York: Gazette Office, [1828]), p. 18.

³⁹Harmonicon (1825): 185.

vocal parts', while at the next festival the same journal commented that

... the choral effects are wonderful, and the double chorusses particularly are worth a journey from the most remote part of the island.⁴⁰

The standard of choral singing, however, seriously declined at the next Festival in 1835, and the correspondent of The Times noted several deficiencies. T.H. Marshall, one of the members of the committee of management of the Festival, wrote to the editor of this newspaper

... for the sake of future festivals, to assert ... publicly, that this [i.e., the deficiencies in the choral singing] was entirely owing to the inattention of the conductors in the selection of the chorus singers, and the total neglect of rehearsals.⁴¹

He went on to claim that at least fifty of the chorus were 'entirely inefficient - wanting either voice or knowledge of music', that the music had not been distributed until a few weeks before the Festival began, and that as there were no rehearsals at the various regional centres in Yorkshire (such as those Mr. White had led for the two previous Festivals), it was entirely at the singers' discretion whether they looked at the music before the Festival began.

The numbers of players in the orchestras used in the four great musical festivals held in York in the 1820s and 1830s can be seen in Table 5.1. To balance the large choruses employed, the orchestras had to be of a corresponding size, and York employed forces larger than those of any other provincial festival. In 1823, 'the vastitude of the place [i.e., York Minster] absorbing such an immense body of

⁴⁰Quarterly musical magazine and review 7 (1825): 437; Quarterly musical magazine and review 10 (1828): 156.

⁴¹The Times 30 September 1835.

sound, seemed to reduce the power even of so numerous an orchestra',⁴² and there were calls for the placing of a screen under the tower in the Minster, or the re-siting of the band (mentioned above).

These calls were ignored, but the instrumental and vocal force was increased by a third or so for the three subsequent festivals. This, it was hoped, would 'increase the volume of sound to the extent required for the most perfect effects'.⁴³ The same kinds of instruments were used in the performances in the Minster at each of the festivals, save that in 1835 the bass horns were discontinued in favour of three ophicleides (one contrabass and two bass), which had probably been first used in this country at the music festivals at Birmingham and Westminster Abbey in 1834.

According to Reginald Morley-Pegge, the 1835 Festival witnessed the only known instance of the use in a major festival orchestra of the Hibernicon, a contrabass wind instrument of the bass-horn class, and he cites a contemporary report that appeared in the Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung:

... another contrabass trumpet called 'Hibernicon' ... like a Goliath, towered heavenwards above the rest of the ophicleides: it was supported on a folding tripod and played by a seated performer. Such is the power of this Hibernicon that the trumpets at the walls of Jericho, nay the last trump itself would be as a child's play to it.⁴⁴

In view of the novelty of the Hibernicon, it is strange that there are no corroboratory accounts: neither The Times nor the Musical magazine

⁴²Quarterly musical magazine and review 7 (1825): 265.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians, s.v. 'Hibernicon', by Reginald Morley-Pegge. The translation is his.

mentions it, and it is not included in the list of instruments performing in the Minster concerts.⁴⁵

The principals in the orchestras were drawn from leading London performers who played in orchestras such as those of the King's Theatre, the Philharmonic, and the Concert of Ancient Music; the orchestras in the evening performances consisted almost entirely of London players. In 1828, the Harmonicon could comment that for the first evening concert on 23 September 'the band at the concert room was ... more select than at the Cathedral - consisting of twelve London violins on each side',⁴⁶ while at the next Festival The Times commented on a performance of Beethoven's Eroica symphony on 8 September thus.

It is needless to say that it was well executed, as it had the advantage of being executed by nearly the whole of the same artistes by whom it has been so often performed at the Philharmonic Society's concerts in London.⁴⁷

The orchestras in the Minster performances consisted of the London principals, mentioned above, and rank and file players recruited mainly from the north of England. At each Festival, York provided over one tenth of the instrumental performers, this number including the York waits, and performers from the Theatre Royal and the barracks.

Outstanding among the instrumental performers in the York Festivals were the four string players Franz Cramer, Domenico Dragonetti, Robert Lindley, and Nicolas Mori. At each of the

⁴⁵The fourth Yorkshire Musical Festival held on the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th days of September 1835, in York Minster, etc. (York: Wikeley & Sotheran, [1835]).

⁴⁶Harmonicon (1828): 245.

⁴⁷The Times 12 September 1835.

festivals, the programmes named Cramer as leader of the orchestra in the morning performances in the Minster, and Mori as leader of the orchestra in the evening performances in the Assembly Rooms and Festival Concert Rooms. Dragonetti, a virtuoso double bass player and composer, and Lindley, a cellist, were renowned throughout Europe for their performances over a period of more than half a century, and no major music meetings were considered complete without them.

The main attractions of the festivals were undoubtedly the vocal soloists, as it was from these 'distinguished soloists ... that the auditor of taste expected to receive his gratification'.⁴⁸ Enormous fees were paid to these 'distinguished soloists', especially to the women, and were the source of much comment. In 1828 the Harmonicon inveighed against the 'enormous evil' of these payments, commenting upon the inadequate pay of the instrumentalists.⁴⁹ Catalani, Grisi, and Malibran were the three leading sopranos at the Festivals, at least on the evidence of the fees paid.

Angelica Catalani (1780-1849), the Italian soprano, sang in the Festivals of 1823 and 1828. She came in 1823 with a tremendous reputation, which she did nothing to enhance by singing 'Comfort ye, my people' and 'Every valley' from Messiah in D major, and 'I know that my redeemer liveth', from the same work, in E flat, which prompted the Quarterly musical magazine and review to say that

... the concessions made to Madame Catalani in the way of choice of songs and of transposition [were] at the expense of musical propriety and to the breach of professional delicacy.⁵⁰

⁴⁸A description of the Grand Musical Festival ... 1823, p. 1.

⁴⁹Harmonicon (1828): 248.

⁵⁰Quarterly musical magazine and review 5 (1823): 522.

Yet Catalani was never as well placed in large ecclesiastical buildings as in the concert room, and the same journal noted that she shone in the evening concerts in the Assembly Rooms.

Maria Malibran (née Garcia) made her London debut at the King's Theatre on 7 June 1825 in The barber of Seville, and largely on the strength of this success was engaged in that year as leading vocalist at York in place of Catalani. However, she did not prove a success either, and the Quarterly musical magazine and review commented that 'she failed entirely and fatally in the morning performances, and nothing that she did in the evening was of a nature to give her precedence'.⁵¹ In 1835 Giulia Grisi (1811-1869) was the leading soprano, and she fully justified her reputation, her performance of 'Rejoice greatly' from Messiah being given with

... great effect, and her perfect articulation of the rapid divisions with which the song abounds, sent forth with the full power of her magnificent voice, produced a murmur of approbation throughout the crowded audience.⁵²

A perusal of the various lists of soloists reveals that at the Festival in 1823 there were five soprano soloists, in 1825 seven, in 1828 six, and in 1835 seven, all of whom had to be given a share in each programme. What seems particularly striking today is that in the performances of Messiah each of them would have had a recitative or aria to sing, the various items being distributed by the committee of management according to some notional ranking of the singers' ability and status. An idea of how this system worked can be gained from a forthright letter which Mary Sabilla Novello wrote to William Knyvett, the conductor of the 1835 Festival, on behalf of her daughter, Clara.

⁵¹Quarterly musical magazine and review 7 (1825): 442.

⁵²Musical magazine 10 (1835): 151.

You are well aware my dear Sir, that it is always customary to give the last song in the Messiah, to the youngest in the profession, or the lowest in rank, Clara therefore begs to decline singing it, on the present occasion, as she does not consider herself such, where Miss Kemble is engaged - & this I trust you will state to the Committee, as they may not be aware of the etiquette ... Clara thinks it hard as there are so many songs in the Messiah, which rank higher she should not have had one allotted to her.⁵³

The alto solos were sung by men at each of the Yorkshire Musical Festivals, William Knyvett being one of the two alto soloists at each of the first three Festivals, before graduating in 1835 to the position of conductor. John Braham (1774-1856) was undoubtedly the most important of the tenor soloists, singing in the Festivals of 1825, 1828, and 1835. According to Ronald Crichton, 'his voice was a magnificent, durable instrument, with a range of A to e", the scale so even that the change to falsetto was said to be imperceptible'.⁵⁴ He did not sing well at York in 1825, and the London magazine was uncharitable enough to say that 'he ought to have retired from the profession long ago'.⁵⁵ The next ten years, however, saw his performances grow rather than diminish in stature, and the undiminished brilliance of his voice and 'his most perfect taste and judgement' impressed the Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe at the 1834 festival in Westminster Abbey, while at York in 1835 Braham's singing was widely praised, especially in the aria 'Thou shalt dash them' in the Messiah, which the Musical magazine stated he sang 'with a power and

⁵³YML, Archives of the York Musical Festivals. Box 2, unsorted bundles, COLL 1926.

⁵⁴The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians, s.v. 'Braham, John.'

⁵⁵London magazine (1825): 265.

precision which is yet unrivalled'.⁵⁶ Another notable tenor soloist was Thomas Vaughan (1782-1843), whose singing was 'always conspicuous for most correct intonation, singularly agreeable tone, simple grace, uniform polish, and sublimity'.⁵⁷ Among the basses who sang were Giuseppe de Begnis, Thomas Bellamy, Luigi Lablache, who was the most famous bass of his generation throughout Europe, and Henry Phillips.

The programmes of music given in the morning performances in the Minster at each of the four Festivals consisted almost entirely of vocal music. Handel's Messiah was the only work performed in its entirety, its popularity ensuring that it was included at each Festival. Mozart's accompaniments were used at each performance of Messiah but perhaps only selectively in the first and third Festivals as in 1825 they were used only in 'O thou that tellest' and 'O death, where is thy sting'. In 1835, further accompaniments for the 'immense brass band' were added by Mr. Kearne, who had done the same for festivals at Birmingham and Westminster Abbey in the preceding year.⁵⁸

In 1825 two of the three parts of the concert on the third day were given over to selections from Handel's Judas Maccabaeus and Haydn's Creation, and part two of the fourth day to selections from Handel's Israel in Egypt. Other than these exceptions and that of Messiah, mentioned above, the morning concerts comprised performances of 'grand selections', which consisted of solo vocal items (selected from those submitted by the soloists for consideration by the respective committees of management), choruses, and infrequently,

⁵⁶Musical magazine 10 (1835): 151.

⁵⁷[John S. Sainsbury], A dictionary of musicians from the earliest ages to the present time, etc. 2 vols. (London: Sainsbury, 1824), s.v. 'Vaughan, Thomas.'

⁵⁸Musical magazine 10 (1835): 151.

instrumental items. Although this practice was widespread, it was not without its critics, whose views were summed up by Crosse.

Ever since the first Commemoration of Handel [in 1784] the practice of performing selections had gradually been encroaching upon that of entire oratorios, a subject of great regret to the admirers of the old school, who lamented the loss of dramatic unity, whilst the craving appetite for novelty of another class was gratified thereby.⁵⁹

Music by Handel dominated the concerts of 'grand selections', the programmes being mainly made up with works of composers such as Beethoven, Graun, Haydn, and Mozart.

To the twentieth-century observer, the inordinate length of the concerts seems remarkable. The concert in the Minster on the last day of the 1823 Festival lasted from midday to 5.15 p.m., which meant that many of the audience had a sitting of over seven hours, while on the last day of the 1825 Festival the concert lasted from midday to 6.00 p.m.⁶⁰ Nor was this inordinate length exclusive to the Minster concerts: the first evening concerts in both the 1825 and 1828 Festivals lasted from 8.00 p.m. until after midnight.

The programmes of the evening concerts followed the same pattern as those given in the annual subscription concerts in the York Assembly Rooms, and elsewhere throughout England, i.e., they contained both instrumental and vocal music, with the latter being predominant. In 1835 The Times wrote that

... the selection for the evening's performances is pretty nearly of the same complexion as that of any London benefit concert; with the usual quantum of polacca, rondo, 'British Oak', 'The Sea'. &c. &c., compensated nevertheless by three of Beethoven's symphonies [nos. 3, 5, and

⁵⁹Crosse, An account of the grand musical festival, p. 157.

⁶⁰Quarterly musical magazine and review 5 (1823): 525; London magazine (1825): 268.

6] in the course of the three evening's concerts,
and one of Mozart's.⁶¹

Each concert had at least one symphony (sometimes two), by Beethoven, Haydn, or Mozart, and perhaps an overture by Mendelssohn, Rossini, or Weber, or a concerto. The rest of the programmes were filled up with vocal items consisting of solo arias, duets, terzettos, and glees, which were sung by the soloists. It would be wrong to think that attempts were made to balance the somewhat frivolous nature of certain of the vocal items with the more serious symphonic works of the Viennese school, as audiences accepted their combination without any sense of incongruity.

The music for the 1823 Festival was supplied by John Hedgley of London, a minute of the committee of management requiring that the music be made available by 10 September (leaving but fourteen days for distribution and practice prior to the commencement of the Festival). Before the next Festival, Philip Knapton, a York musician and music publisher, drew up A scheme for printing a complete edition of the music usually performed at musical festivals throughout the kingdom - in parts - for the use of the vocal and instrumental band.⁶² The advantages of using printed music would have been many:

... cheapness, a saving of hire, the substitution of excellent and clear printed copies for manuscripts - the prevention of transporting parts from place to place, and the power thus bestowed of facilitating the practice of Choral Societies.⁶³

⁶¹The Times 10.9.1835.

⁶²A copy of this proposal can be found in a volume with a spine-title York Musical Festival 1825, which is a part of the Hailstone Collection in York Minster Library. The list of music which it was proposed to print gives a good idea of the music included in contemporary music festivals.

⁶³Quarterly musical magazine and review 8 (1826): 518.

Accordingly, copies of A scheme for printing were sent to the committees of management of various major musical festivals in the hope of their active co-operation in the project. However, the replies were generally unfavourable, and only the vocal parts of five choruses were printed, the remainder of the music being supplied by Hedgley.⁶⁴ Music for the two subsequent festivals was supplied almost entirely by Hedgley, and there is no further mention of the parts printed for the festival of 1825.

According to the Quarterly musical magazine and review, York was superior to other provincial musical festivals on three counts, namely, 'the vastitude of the band, the magnificence of the structure, and the assembled majesty of the whole multitudinous congregation in the Minster'.⁶⁵ The 'multitudinous congregation' on each occasion consisted of 'the exalted, the noble and the wealthy',⁶⁶ the royal seal of approval being conferred on the last Yorkshire Musical Festival in 1835 with the attendance of Princess Victoria and her mother, the Duchess of Kent. Contemporary accounts made much of the spectacle which the concerts in the Minster provided, and an account in the London magazine describing a concert on Tuesday 13 September 1825 is typical.

As soon as the Cathedral was filled ... the appearance of so many elegantly dressed women, the magnificent orchestra, the tasteful decorations of the galleries, and above all the divine building itself, with the sun shedding its light through the windows of stained glass, presented a coup d'oeil which defies description, but may easily be

⁶⁴YML, Archives of the York Musical Festivals. Minute of the Committee of Management, 17 January 1825. Box 1, COLL 1926.

⁶⁵Quarterly musical magazine and review (1828): 149.

⁶⁶YG 19.9.1835.

imagined by anyone who has witnessed the splendour of a coronation.⁶⁷

In its last report from York during the 1825 Festival, The Times stated that all the music and gaiety it had described in its reports tended 'to the promotion of benevolence and the advancement of musical science in the country',⁶⁸ and a few remarks will now be directed to the benevolent aspect of the Festivals. Profits from the first three Festivals were divided between the York County Hospital and the infirmaries of Hull, Leeds, and Sheffield, most of the profit from the second and third Festivals in 1825 and 1828 being used to pay for the building of the Festival Concert Rooms, property which was then vested in the trustees of the four charities for their use for ever.

In 1835 half of the profits went to the Minster restoration fund, and the other half to the four benefiting charities mentioned above; the addition of the Minster to the number of beneficiaries divided public opinion as to its appropriateness, and it is possible that this strong division of opinion was one of the reasons for the discontinuing of the Festivals. Other reasons for this cessation, to a greater or lesser extent, were the social unrest throughout England in the 1830s, the decline of York as a social centre, the poor choral singing of the 1835 Festival, and its lack of financial success.⁶⁹ For whatever reason, there were no further Yorkshire Musical Festivals in York after 1835. The York Musical Festival held on three days in

⁶⁷London magazine (1825): 259. See also the frontispiece and the plate facing p. 179 in Crosse, An account of the grand musical festival.

⁶⁸The Times 19.9.1825.

⁶⁹YG 19.9.1835.

November 1856⁷⁰ was purely a local affair, and the next musical festival of national importance (which is discussed in Chapter IX) did not occur until 1910.

⁷⁰YH 25.10.1856.

TABLE 5.1 Instrumental and vocal forces of various festival orchestras, including those at York

This table has been compiled from information contained in the following works: Adam Carse, The orchestra in the XVIIIth century (Cambridge: Heffer, 1940); Adam Carse, The orchestra from Beethoven to Berlioz: a history of the orchestra in the first half of the 19th century, and of the development of orchestral baton-conducting (Cambridge: Heffer, 1948); John Crosse, An account of the grand musical festival held in September 1823, in the cathedral church of York ... to which is prefixed a sketch of the rise and progress of musical festivals in Great Britain, etc. (York: Wolstenholme, 1825). Information about the orchestras at York has been compiled from a variety of word-books published in connection with the four festivals whose dates are listed.

Abbreviations		Bh																				
		Oph																				
		Se																				
		ARs																				
		FCRs																				
Symbol		*	Number not known																			
			F1	Ob	Cl	Fg	Se	Bh	Cor	Tr	Trb	Oph	Timp	Vlrs	Vla	Vlc	Cb	S	A	T	B	
											A	T	B									
											I	II										
Birmingham	1820 ¹	4	4	4	4	2	-		4	4	{ 4 }	-	*	{ 28 }	12	6	4	40	30	30	34	
	1834 ²	4	4	4	4	1	-		8	6	{ 8 }	2	*	{ 50 }	24	16	10	{	182	}		
Brighton	1828	3	2	3	2	1	-		4	2	{ 3 }	-	*	{ 10 }	9	4	4	{	c.100	}		
Leicester	1827 ³	3	3	5	4	-	-		4	3	{ 3 }	-	*	{ 53 }	14	7	7	53	32	47	56	
Liverpool	1823	2	4	2	4	2	-		3	4	{ 5 }	-	*	14	12	8	6	20	16	18	20	
Norwich	1827	4	6	4	4	2	-		6	6	{ 5 }	-	*	{ 41 }	18	11	10	71	39	54	55	
	1830	5	4	6	6	2	-		6	6	{ 7 }	-	*	{ 41 }	16	11	10	70	38	61	65	
	1833	6	4	6	6	2	-		6	4	{ 8 }	-	2	{ 41 }	17	10	10	81	45	62	63	
Three Choirs	1811	1	2	1	2	-	-		2	2	{ 1 }	-	*	{ 16 }	6	6	4	Not known				
	1823	2	2	2	2	-	-		2	2	{ 2 }	-	*	{ 16 }	4	4	4	21	17	17	19	
York Minster	1823	6	8	6	8	4	2		8	6	2	3	3	2	{ 66 }	20	20	64	55	75	79	
	1825	6	12	6	12	4	4		14	6	2	3	4	2	{ 98 }	32	24	90	70	90	100	
	1828	6	12	6	12	4	4		14	6	4	3	5	2	{ 98 }	32	24	90	70	90	100	
	1835 ⁴	6	12	6	12	4	-		12	8	{ 12 }	3		2	{ 96 }	30	24	90	70	90	100	
Westminster Abbey	1784 ⁵	26	6	-	26	-	-		12	12	{ 6 }	-		4	{ 95 }	26	21	53	45	80	79	
	1791 ⁶	{ 40 }	-	40	-	-			12	15	{ 9 }	-		4	{ 250 }	50	50	101	97	144	157	
	1834	10	12	8	12	2	-		10	8	{ 8 }	2		3	{ 80 }	32	18	145	74	70	103	
York, ARs	1823	{ A band of seventy, 'being as many as the orchestra could accommodate.' ⁷ }																				
York, FCRs	1825	2	2	2	2	-	-		3	2	{ 3 }	-		1	{ 40 }	16	12	8				
York, FCRs	1828	2	2	2	2	-	-		4	2	{ 3 }	-		1	{ 32 }	12	8	8				
York, FCRs	1835	2	4	2	4	-	-		4	2	{ 3 }	-		1	20	20	14	12	12			

1. The instrumental force also included a harp.
2. The chorus included a semi-chorus of thirty-four.
3. The instrumental force also included a flageolet.
4. The instrumental force also included a Hibernicon.
5. The instrumental force also included a double bassoon.
6. The instrumental force also included a double bassoon.
7. Crosse, An account of the grand musical festival, pp. 158-159.

CHAPTER VI

'CHOICE HANDS AND VOICES': PUBLIC CONCERTS

IN YORK BEFORE 1775

The public concert is a phenomenon of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and in England, at least, it can be seen as part of a wider process involving the commercialization of other leisure activities (for example, the theatre, dancing, and horse-racing).¹ This chapter will seek to describe the public concerts held in York from the beginning of the eighteenth century until 1775 and will treat of the places in which they were performed, their promoters, and their financial stability. The following three sections comprise a discussion of the role of the leading performers in the concerts, the vocal and instrumental forces used, and the music performed. Much of this chapter is based on information derived from advertisements which appeared in the York Courant, but it must be said that, without any corroboration, the implicit assumption made here

¹John Harold Plumb, The commercialization of leisure in eighteenth-century England, Stenton Lecture 1972 (Reading: University of Reading, 1973); Peter Borsay, The English urban renaissance: culture and society in the provincial town, 1660-1770 (Oxford: Clarendon P., 1989).

that concerts actually went ahead on every occasion as advertised should necessarily be treated with a little caution.

There is general agreement that the first public concerts with paid admission took place in the years immediately after the Restoration in London. Between 1672 and 1678 such concerts took place there at the house of John Banister, and before the end of the century further public concerts were promoted by Thomas Britton, the so-called 'small-coal man', by John Hickford, and at London's York Buildings, which had been built in 1680 or so for a group of professional musicians.² Public concerts proliferated in London during the first decades of the eighteenth century, and then quickly spread to the provinces.³ The 1720s and 1730s, in particular, saw the establishment of series of public subscription concerts throughout England. In many cases there were no rooms suitable for holding concerts, and this was one of the reasons for the building of assembly rooms in various towns and cities.

Given York's pre-eminent position at the beginning of the eighteenth century as the most prestigious social centre in the north of England it was perhaps inevitable that the city would be among the first to hold public concerts. The following advertisement appeared in the Daily Courant on 1 August 1709.

York, August the 8th. During the sizes will be perform'd a Consort of Musick, by Mr Holcomb, Mr Corbet, &c. Who will perform the same in Nottingham

²Robert Elkin, The old concert rooms of London (London: Arnold, 1955), pp. 13-15.

³Michael Tilmouth, 'The beginnings of provincial concert life in England,' in Music in eighteenth-century England: essays in memory of Charles Cudworth, ed. Christopher Hogwood and Richard Lockett (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1983), pp. 1-17; Stanley Sadie, 'Concert life in eighteenth century England,' Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association 85 (1958/59): 17-30.

... after the Races are over, viz. All the choicest Songs out of all the new Operas, in Italian and English, with their proper Sinfoney's as they are play'd in the Queen's Theatre.⁴

This, the first public concert known to have taken place in York, was almost certainly not an isolated occurrence, and public concerts were probably held there during the Lent and Summer Assizes and during the August race-week throughout the next twenty years, the success of these concerts leading to the establishment of a regular series of annual concerts.⁵

In his history of York, Drake wrote the following:

... Two or three years ago a musick assembly was began in York, and is contin[u]ed every Friday night, in the same room, where a set of choice hands and voices are procured to divert the company each winter.⁶

The context in which this passage is written suggests a date of 1729 or 1730 for the beginning of the 'musick assembly' and its winter series of concerts. Concerts in the 1710s and 1720s were probably held in the hall at the King's Manor, which had been converted into 'an assembly room for people attending the York races', and subsequently in Lord Irwin's house in the Minster Yard, where the Monday Assembly was held prior to the building of the Assembly Rooms;⁷ concerts during the August race-meeting of 1731 were held in 'three

⁴Michael Tilmouth, 'A calendar of references to music in newspapers published in London and the provinces, 1660-1719,' Royal Musical Association chronicle 1 (1961): 73.

⁵There are payments in Sir D'Arcy Dawes' account book (YML MS. Add. 65/1) in August 1727 for tickets for concerts given by Dubourg and Granom respectively. These were almost certainly race-week concerts at York.

⁶Francis Drake, Eboracum; or, The history and antiquities of the city of York (York: By the Author, 1736), p. 240.

⁷Robert Davies, The history of the King's Mannour House at York (York: Daily Herald Office, 1883), pp. 16-17; Drake, Eboracum, p. 240.

large rooms in Ogleforth ... when and where Criticks in Musick were then pleased to say, It was the only proper Place at present in York for a Consort of Musick'.⁸

In March 1730 a broadsheet entitled Proposals for raising the sum of four thousand pounds for building Assembly Rooms within the City of York was published,⁹ and the purposes for which the Rooms were to be used were outlined in proposal IV, namely, 'the Monday Assembly, Friday Consort ... [and] the Balls during the Races'. As entries in the Assembly Rooms Directors' Minute book and advertisements in the York Courant over a long period of time show, the Friday concerts and the race-week concerts in the Assembly Rooms were run by the 'Musick Assembly', which was one of the initial subscribers to the building of the Rooms, paying the sum of twenty-five pounds.

The Assembly Rooms were first used during the race-week of August 1732, in preparation for which the directors ordered on 4 August 'that a Gallery be built for the Musick betwixt the Middle Columns in the Great Room next the Recess, and that the same be bore up by iron cramps'. It would seem that this was a temporary structure, for on 30 July of the next year the directors ordered 'two stages for the Musick in the Race Week' to be built to designs made by Lord Burlington. On 20 December 1733 it was ordered that a 'Gallery for the waites in the Common Assembly Room be built'.¹⁰ The Common Assembly Room had at its far end an organ, which was sold in 1860, and is now in the church of St. Mary and All Saints, Sculthorpe, Norfolk. This six-stop chamber

⁸YC 12.10.1731.

⁹The Proposals were printed at York by Thomas Gent. There is a copy in York Public Library.

¹⁰YCA, Assembly Rooms, Directors' minute book, 1730-1758, pp. 61, 83, 94.

organ was built by Snetzler in 1756, but it is not known when this instrument was introduced into the Assembly Rooms, nor by what it was preceded, as organ concertos were performed there from 1746.¹¹

It seems that once the Assembly Rooms were built, virtually all the public concerts given in York during the next fifty years or so were held there, although from time to time other venues were recorded in the York Courant. In 1733 a benefit concert was given at 'Mr Haughton's Great Room in the Minster Yard', while the 'Great Room at the George in Coney-Street' was the venue on 22 January 1741 for 'an Entertainment of Musick, on the Treble-Harp, by Mr. Parry'.¹² Nineteen months or so later the York Courant reported that the 'Musick Club at the George will be open'd Tomorrow [i.e., Wednesday 29 September 1742], and continue during the Winter Season'. The York Courant stated in 1749 that the 'Musick Assembly which formerly used to be held at the George in Coney Street will be reviv'd this Winter', and it was subsequently reported that 'at the opening of the Musick Assembly ... there appeared as great a Number of Gentlemen as ever was known; and, as it is begun on the usual footing, there is no Doubt of its meeting with great Encouragement'.¹³ The 'Musick Club' and the 'Musick Assembly' held at the George Inn were probably identical. On

¹¹Rudolf Wittkower, The history of the York Assembly Rooms (York: York Corporation, 1951), pp. 12 and 21; Michael I. Wilson The English chamber organ: history and development, 1680-1850 (Oxford: Cassirer, 1968), p. 111; Cecil Clutton and Austin Niland, The British organ (London: Batsford, 1963), p. 226. The organ concerto as part of the Assembly Rooms concerts will be discussed in greater detail below.

¹²YC 27.2.1733, YC 20.1.1741.

¹³YC 28.9.1742, YC 21.11.1749, YC 5.12.1749. There had been a music club at the George Inn in the second half of the 1720s when Sir D'Arcy Dawes was a regular attender (his attendance there is recorded in YML MS. Add. 65/1), but it is not known if the club flourished in the 1730s.

23 August 1763 a benefit concert was given at the White Dog in Stonegate, and on 16 July 1766 a benefit concert for three local performers was given at 'the Green without Bootham-Bar'.¹⁴ The only other secular place in which public concerts are known to have been held was the Theatre Royal, in which performances of oratorios by Handel were given in 1769 and 1770.

As mentioned above, the Musick Assembly was one of the initial subscribers to the Assembly Rooms, and, after they were built, was responsible for the public concerts given there. The 'Musical Assembly at York' was a subscriber to the publication of Festing's Twelve sonata's op. 2, published in 1732, while the 'Musical Society in York' subscribed to his Twelve concertos op. 3 and Eight concertos op. 5, published in 1734 and 1739 respectively, and also to the publication of Hebden's Six concertos (1745). The relationship of the Musick Assembly (or Musical Assembly) to the Music Society is not clear, although a clue is provided by two entries in the York Courant,¹⁵ which state that the instrumental parts in concerts advertised on those days were to be played 'by all the hands belonging to the Music Society'. Thus the Musick Assembly possibly referred to the subscribers and the Music Society to the performers.

During the period between 1730 and 1775 the existence of the Musick Assembly was threatened on several occasions, probably because of York's very gradual decline as a social centre throughout this period (and hence a fall in the number of potential subscribers) and because an expanding market for their skills enabled the leading musical performers at the concerts to demand better pay. The first

¹⁴YC 23.8.1763, YC 8.7.1766.

¹⁵YC 17.2.1741, YC 30.3.1742.

hint of trouble occurred in 1742 when a steward of the Musick Assembly, the Reverend Mr. Allett, was asked whether he would pay to the proprietors of the Assembly Rooms the rent due at Lady Day, 'and whether he will deliver up the Instruments and Books belonging to the Musick Assembly, in order to be safely deposited for the use of any future concert'.¹⁶ It would seem that the series of winter concerts which normally began in October of each year was suspended in the autumn of 1742, but that following a meeting of the subscribers to both the Assembly Rooms and the Musick Assembly on 9 November 1742 the concerts were resumed on 14 January 1743, after which the York Courant could report:

On Friday began the Concert at the Assembly Rooms in Blake-Street, when there was the greatest Number of Tickets taken out that has been known for many Years.¹⁷

However, this enthusiasm was short-lived, for a meeting of the President and Directors of the Musick Assembly was called for Saturday 16 March 1745 'to consider whether the Concert can be continued next season'. There is evidence to suggest that the concerts were continued, but attendances were obviously low, for on 18 April 1749 another meeting of the directors was called 'to examine the Accounts of the Preceding Season, and to determine what is to be done in relation to the concert next winter'.¹⁸ The concerts did carry on in the winter, and the York Courant reported that on 11 October 1749

¹⁶YCA, Assembly Rooms, Directors' minute book, 1730-1758, p. 195. Minute dated 23 April 1742.

¹⁷YC 9.11.1742, YC 18.1.1743.

¹⁸YC 12.3.1745, YC 18.4.1749.

... the Concert for this winter was opened at the Assembly Rooms, with a more numerous and genteel Appearance than for some years past.¹⁹

A financial deficit then led the directors of the Music Assembly to insert the following advertisement in the York Courant nine weeks later.

The expense of the lait [sic] Quarter's Concert having exceeded the Subscription near Forty Pounds; the Price of the Tickets for the ensuing Quarter, to those who were not Subscribers to the last, is fixed at Seven Shillings and Sixpence; and to those who were, at Five Shillings [the cost since 1730]; Non-Subscribers to pay for each single Night, 2s. 6d.²⁰

The Musick Assembly subsequently enjoyed a period of stability for the next twenty years, the only rise in the subscription prices being an increase in the price of a ticket for the whole season in 1760 from ten shillings to ten shillings and sixpence. In October 1771 tickets for the whole season were raised from this latter price to fifteen shillings each, 'the expenses of the concert being, by reason of advance of salaries to some of the performers, greater than the old subscription could afford'. Two years later, the expenses of the concerts were once more greater than the amount raised by subscription, and it was thought necessary to increase the subscription price for the whole season still further to one guinea.²¹

Many of the nobility and the gentry spent their winter seasons in York and the provision of both dramatic representations and music was timed to coincide with this. The series of concerts promoted by the Musick Assembly began in October of each year and consisted of twenty

¹⁹YC 17.10.1749.

²⁰YC 19.12.1749.

²¹YC 14.10.1760, YC 8.10.1771, YC 19.10.1773.

concerts which were given weekly on Friday evenings, ten before Christmas and ten afterwards, the season usually finishing by the middle of April. Benefit concerts for the leading performers in the subscription series were given on Fridays during the first quarter of the calendar year; the number of such concerts was usually three. Advertisements for concerts during the summer assize week in York are occasionally to be found in the York Courant, while the concerts during the August race-week were invariably advertised, a typical advertisement being that placed on 19 August 1760.

At the Assembly-Room in Blake-Street, York. This Day, being the 19th Instant, and every Morning during the Race-Week, will be a CONCERT. Tickets at 2s. 6d. The Concerts will begin exactly at Twelve o'Clock.

The concerts given in the Assembly Rooms at York during the August race-weeks attracted, in the mid-1700s at least, performers of the highest quality.

On thirteen occasions between 1751 and 1774 Felice Giardini (who was described by Burney as the greatest performer in Europe) played the first violin in the August race-week concerts. The first violin was played by Thomas Pinto in 1756, and by Giovanni Battista Noferi, the Italian violinist and composer, in 1763 and 1764. In the early 1750s three famous Italian sopranos sang in the race-week concerts, namely, Rosa Curioni in 1755, Giulia Frasi in 1752 and 1754, and Caterina Galli in 1751 and 1752. All three sang in Handel's performances of his oratorios, Frasi being Handel's prima donna from 1749 until his death in 1759. Other performers appearing at the Assembly Rooms in the August race-week, as indicated by advertisements in the York Courant, were Beneke, Justinelli, Onofrio, Riccarelli, Savoy, and Schmeling.

Advertisements carried in the York Courant for benefit concerts provide the names of the leading musicians who performed in the annual series of winter concerts given in the Assembly Rooms; as the number of musicians is large, only the more important are discussed below. In the 1730s and the first half of the 1740s there was a predominance of Italians among the leading performers in York, which mirrors the pattern nationally, foreign musicians being attracted by the opportunities for professional executants. Thereafter the leading performers were largely English, which perhaps reflects the decreasing popularity of Italian opera in England and a greater self-sufficiency on the part of native performers.

The first violinist known to have played in the winter concerts in the Assembly Rooms was a Signor Cattani, who was given permission by the directors on 20 December 1733 to have a benefit concert there, and who is last known to have played in York on 10 February 1749.²² Between 1739 and 1742, a Signor Piantanida performed on the violin at the Assembly Rooms on several occasions; this was probably Giovanni Piantanida, the Italian violinist, and composer, who is known to have worked in London during the same years, where he gave numerous concerts.²³ The first violin in the winter concerts between 1749 and

²²YCA, Assembly rooms, Directors' minute book, 1730-1758, p. 93; YC 7.2.1749.

²³The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians, s.v. 'Piantanida, Giovanni,' by Guido Salvetti.

1775 was played by a Mr. Coyle,²⁴ his position being taken in October 1775 by a 'Mr. Shaw, jun. from Bath'.²⁵

John Hebden, the cellist, bassoonist, and composer of Six concertos in seven parts (1745), was active in York between 1733 and 1742, after which he went to London. The first surviving musical reference to him is in an advertisement for a benefit concert given on his behalf at 'Mr. Haughton's Great Room in the Minster-Yard' on 6 March 1733. Three years later he was granted permission to hold a benefit concert in the Assembly Rooms, the directors being able to record that he had 'serv'd the concert in a very obligeing and diligent manner'. Hebden subsequently played in the Assembly Rooms between 1739 and 1742.²⁶ Other cellists at the winter concerts include a Mr. Dixon, who played in 1749, 1750, and 1756, and a Mr. Shaw, who was possibly the Joseph Shaw appointed a York wait in 1754. Mr. Shaw played at a concert 'at the Green without Bootham-Bar' on 16 July 1766, and in the summer concerts at the Assembly Rooms from 1767 to 1769.²⁷ In the concert on 16 July 1766 at which Mr. Shaw had played, a Mr. Thackeray was one of two horn players who performed a horn concerto; Thackeray subsequently played in concerts at the Assembly Rooms between 1767 and 1773, but advertisements do not state on what

²⁴Possibly this Mr. Coyle was Miles Coyle. See A biographical dictionary of actors, actresses, musicians, dancers, managers & other stage personnel in London, 1660-1800, s.v. 'Coyle, Miles.'

²⁵YC 17.10.1775; The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians, s.v. 'Shaw, Thomas,' by Roger Fiske.

²⁶YC 27.2.1733; YCA, Assembly Rooms; Directors' minute book, 1730-1758, p. 133; A biographical dictionary of actors, actresses, musicians, s.v. 'Hebden, John.'

²⁷YC 8.7.1766, YC 4.8.1767, YC 12.7.1768, YC 4.7.1769.

instrument or instruments.²⁸ This Mr. Thackeray was almost certainly the Thomas Thackray, of York, who composed Six lessons for the guitar (1765), Six lessons for the guitar op. 2 (1770), and Twelve divertimenti for two guitars (1772).

No keyboard players are specifically mentioned in advertisements in the York Courant until 1740, when an advertisement listed a concert programme which included a 'concerto for the harpsichord, [to be played] by Mr. Nares'. James Nares, the organist of York Minster between 1735 and 1756, performed at the Assembly Rooms on several occasions, playing the organ in organ concertos, and singing in duets with Thomas Haxby, and with John Camidge.²⁹ When Nares moved to the Chapel Royal in 1756, his successor at the Minster, John Camidge, became soloist in the organ concertos given in the winter concerts in the Assembly Rooms. Camidge may also have played the violin there, as he is known to have played first violin elsewhere, e.g., in two concerts advertised in the York Courant.³⁰ In many other English towns and cities the role of the organist of the cathedral (or leading church) assumed greater importance in secular music-making than in York, where it was not until towards the end of the century that the cathedral organist achieved a prominence in concerts similar to that of the leading violinist and vocal performers.

Although the winter concerts in the Assembly Rooms contained vocal as well as instrumental music, less is known of the vocal than of the instrumental performers. On 30 October 1739 the York Courant reported that on

²⁸Ibid.; YC 10.4.1770, YC 12.3.1771, YC 10.3.1772, YC 4.5.1769.

²⁹YC 15.1.1740, YC 13.1.1750, YC 19.2.1751, YC 15.2.1754.

³⁰YC 8.7.1766, YC 13.6.1769.

... Friday Evening [i.e., 26 October] the Musick Assembly was open'd at the Long Room, when the Italian ladies lately arrived perform'd with universal Applause to a crowded Audience.

These Italian ladies were the two Signore Posterla (or Pusterla), who were to perform in the winter series of concerts for the next three seasons. In the concerts given during the 1763-1764 winter season, a Miss Schmeling sang, and also played the violin and guitar; in the three winter seasons between 1765 and 1768 the main vocal part in the concerts was taken by a Miss Moore, who was succeeded in the following seasons by a Mrs. Hudson, the two names possibly referring to the same person. Mrs. Hudson was one of the principal soloists in oratorio performances at Tadcaster parish church on 6-7 July 1769, at Beverley Minster on the opening of the new Snetzler organ on 20-22 September 1769, at Trinity Church, Leeds, 12-13 October 1769, and in the Theatre Royal, York, on 9-11 April 1770. By the end of 1771 she had achieved a wider fame as a notice in the York Courant shows.

Mrs. Hudson begs leave to return her best wishes to the Directors and Subscribers to the York concert, for their candid consents to her singing in Mr. Arnold's oratorios in London, during the next Lent season, in order to make her Summer Engagements.³¹

A Mr. Moutier sang in the winter concerts in the 1745-1746 season, while in the 1750s James Nares and Thomas Haxby sang, the only other recorded male vocal soloist before 1775 being a Mr. Tymms, who sang in the winter seasons between 1760 and 1762.³² In the 1750s boy vocal soloists sang in the winter concerts, the first recorded occasion of which was at a concert given on 16 February 1750, when one

³¹YC 13.6.1769, YC 5.9.1769, YC 3.10.1769, YC 6.3.1770, YC 31.12.1771.

³²YC 18.2.1746, YC 19.2.1751, YC 15.2.1754, YC 13.2.1756.

of the items in the programme was 'Mr. Handel's favourite Duet, from the oratorio of Samson ... sung by Mr. Nares and the boy'. The last concert in the Assembly Rooms at which a boy is known to have sung was on 2 April 1756, the concert programme in the York Courant merely stating that there would be a 'song for the boy.'³³

In addition to the leading musicians who played in the winter concerts and the visiting soloists who played in the August race-week concerts, mentioned above, other famous musicians visited and performed in York from time to time. John Parry, the blind Welsh harper, played in three concerts in York early in 1741, to be followed in the next year by Mr. Charles, the famous performer on the French horn. Charles again appeared in York on 28 March 1750 at a concert in the Assembly Rooms, in which an advertisement stated that 'several concerto's and solo's ... [would] be perform'd on the French-horns, shallamo [i.e., chalumeau] and clarinet, (foreign instruments)'. Four years later he again performed in a concert at the Assembly Rooms, and his last recorded performance in York was in 1756.³⁴

Georg Noëlli, a performer as famous as Mr. Charles, played in York in 1748 and 1770.³⁵ On 8 September 1748 he performed in a concert at the Assembly Rooms 'several grand lessons, composed by Handel, Festing, Arne, &c. on the cymbalo, the only instrument of its kind in

³³YC 13.2.1750, YC 30.3.1756.

³⁴YC 20 and 27.1.1741, YC 17.2.1741; The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians, s.v. 'Charles,' by F.G. Rendall and Christopher Hogwood; YC 2.2.1742, YC 27.3.1750, YC 16.4.1754; YCA, Assembly Rooms, Directors' minute book, 1730-1758, p. 301. Minute dated 26 March 1756.

³⁵The career of Georg Noëlli and his performances on the cymbalo and pantaleon are discussed in Christopher Hogwood, 'A note on the frontispiece: A concert in Cambridge,' in Music in eighteenth-century England, ed. Christopher Hogwood and Richard Lockett (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1983), pp. xv-xviii.

England'. The cymbalo, with which Noëlli toured England in the late 1740s and 1750s, was an elaborate version of the dulcimer, as was the instrument upon which he next played in York, the eponymous pantaleon. An advertisement in the York Courant on 1 May 1770 announced that a benefit concert for Noëlli would be held in the Assembly Rooms on the morning of Thursday, May 3, when he would perform

... several solos and concertos, accompanied by other different instruments, upon that most celebrated instrument called the Pantaleon ... The Pantaleon takes its name from the Inventor, and is the only one ever made in the world. It has five complete octaves, has upwards of 200 Roman strings, and is ten feet long.

Advertisements for benefit concerts provide the names of the leading performers at York but very little about the size and constitution of the instrumental ensemble with which they performed. Between 1741 and 1742 the instrumental ensemble (excluding the leading performers) performing in benefit concerts in the Assembly Rooms was described in advertisements in the York Courant with the following catch-all phrases, which give little away:

'the other Parts to the best advantage'
'all the best Hands in Town'
'all the Hands belonging to the Music Society'³⁶

The York waits probably played in the Assembly Concerts throughout the 1730s and 1740s. This was certainly the case in 1749, as a news item in the York Courant makes clear.

The Ladies and Gentlemen are desired to take notice that the next Concert, in Blakestreet, will be Tomorrow (Wednesday) Evening, instead of on Friday; the City Waits being oblig'd to attend the Lord Mayor's Feast on the Latter Day.³⁷

³⁶YC 18.3.1740, YC 3.2.1741, YC 23.3.1742.

³⁷YC 31.1.1749.

The number of leading players in the 1748-1749 season was four, comprising Catani (violin), Dixon (violoncello), Nares (organ), and Perkins (oboe and flute), which, added to the number of waits, made a total of nine players, all of whom were professional; the number of any additional players (amateur or professional) must have been small for the absence of five from the total to have necessitated the rearrangement of a concert. A number of nine or ten players was not, of course, out of keeping with contemporary practice, and would allow a minimum string combination of 2-2-1-1-1, and the addition of a keyboard continuo, and perhaps an oboe or bassoon.³⁸ Extra players would have been added to the ensemble as availability allowed and occasion demanded.

The York waits played in the morning concerts during the August race-weeks between the years 1733 and 1740 inclusive, but it is not clear if they played thereafter, although they did play each year in the race-week evening assemblies, when they were joined by five other musicians in the performance of country dances.³⁹ In 1764 the directors of the Assembly Rooms met with the directors of the Musick Assembly and agreed

... to employ at the Assembly Rooms such a Band of Musick as they [the directors of the Musick Assembly] shall appoint, and as Encouragement to get a good Band we will allow them 40s a year each which is the same Salary the City Waites has [sic] & as good a livery besides the usual Salary, Mr. Baker the Master of the Play house being asked if

³⁸For a discussion of the sizes of orchestras in the eighteenth century see Adam Carse, The orchestra in the XVIIIth century (Cambridge: Heffer, 1940), Chapter II: Constitution and strength of orchestras.

³⁹YCA, Assembly Rooms, Account Book, 1729-1883, passim.

he wou'd Encourage this new Band he gave for answer
he wou'd at the same prices he now pays.⁴⁰

A subsequent minute implies that the number of players in this proposed band would be six, the same number as that previously engaged. It is not known if this new band was actually employed, but there were musicians in the pay of the Assembly Rooms in 1775, for there is an order 'that Lee be employed as a Musician in the stead of Sharp Junior and be paid the same as the other Musicians'.⁴¹ Uncertainty also remains whether these musicians played in the Friday concerts at all, or simply for the Monday and Wednesday assemblies.

Advertisements in the York Courant from 1740 onwards for benefit concerts given in the Assembly Rooms afford an indication of the instruments (mainly the solo instruments) that were played on these occasions. A typical advertisement was that placed on 7 February 1749.

Mr. Perkins will perform several new Pieces on the Hautboy: And by Desire, a Solo on the Vox Humana [a straight form of the tenor oboe]. The Favourite Song of Powerful Guardians, and the Favourite Concerto of Mr. Felton, on the Organ, by Mr. Nares. The first Violin by Signor Cattanei. A Concerto on the Violoncello, by Mr. Dixon. To be concluded with a Concerto, on the French Horn, composed by Signor Hasse.

The violin and violoncello are frequently listed as solo instruments, while a complement of strings would have been indispensable to the performance of the concerti grossi, overtures, and symphonies known to have been played in the Assembly Room concerts. The flute is rarely mentioned, while the oboe, which was the most popular wood-wind instrument of the eighteenth century, is often noted. Clarinets are

⁴⁰YCA, Assembly Rooms, Directors' minute book, 1759-1838, p. 31. Minute dated 2 February 1764.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 111.

only referred to three times before 1767, but were regularly mentioned in the first half of the 1770s. The earliest occasions when the clarinet is known to have been played in York were on the visits by Mr. Charles in 1750 and 1754, noted above. On the first occasion, an advertisement said that music would be performed on the 'French-horns, shallamo [i.e., chalumeau], and clarinet (foreign instruments)',⁴² which indicates that at that time the clarinet was still regarded as an exotic instrument. The bassoon is infrequently mentioned as a solo instrument, but would presumably have often been used as a continuo instrument, especially when the oboes were playing.

From the 1740s French horns were used regularly in benefit concerts in the Assembly Rooms, both singly and in pairs. The use of the trumpet seems to have been very rare. A concert on 17 February 1741 included in its programme 'several select pieces on ... the trumpets',⁴³ after which the trumpet is not again listed in advertisements until 1767, when it was stated that a concert on 20 March would conclude with 'Handel's grand overture to the occasional Oratorio, accompanied with French Horns, Trumpet, Kettle-Drums, &c'.⁴⁴ The typical usage of trumpets and drums in eighteenth-century music was on occasions when colour and brilliance were needed; performers of these instruments were usually attached to military institutions, which York, of course, had. The only known instance of the use of a trombone was on 12 February 1742, when a Mr. Zuckert played a 'piece on the Sacbut accompanied by Kettle-Drums'.⁴⁵ Advertisements in the

⁴²YC 27.3.1750.

⁴³YC 10.2.1741.

⁴⁴YC 10.3.1767.

⁴⁵YC 2.2.1742.

York Courant invariably listed either the organ or the harpsichord (usually the former) as instruments which could be heard at the Musick Assembly concerts, and besides playing as solo instruments they would have been used for continuo work.

Many of the benefit concerts included choral items, which were very often used in conclusion, e.g., the concert on 3 March 1741 comprised a serenata which finished 'with a Grand Chorus of many Voices', while a concert on 27 February 1756 concluded with 'a grand chorus out of Alexander's Feast'.⁴⁶ There are no clues to the background of the chorus on these occasions, but it is most probable that the Minster choir provided at least a nucleus of the singers. The years 1769, 1770, and 1771 saw complete oratorio performances in York (discussed further below), the chorus in the 1769 performances of Messiah and Judas Maccabaeus at the Theatre Royal being made up of 'the choir of singers at Hey Chapel'. This choir from Hey, in Lancashire, also sang in performances of Messiah and Judas Maccabaeus at Sheffield on 30-31 July 1768, at Doncaster on 20-21 September of the same year (when they were joined by singers from Shaw Chapel, Kirkheaton, and Honley), and at Tadcaster on 6-7 July 1769.⁴⁷

Virtually all the information concerning York concert programmes before 1775 is provided by advertisements for benefit concerts in the York Courant. By the very nature of benefit concerts it can be assumed that their programmes contained what was most typical of, and most popular in, other concerts in the winter series. No information survives about the music performed in concerts in York in the 1730s, whereas advertisements in the 1740s do give a little, although they

⁴⁶YC 24.2.1741, YC 17.2.1756.

⁴⁷YC 14.6.1768, YC 6.9.1768, YC 13.6.1769.

are mainly concerned with specifying instruments and performers. This amount of detail (and more concerning the repertoire) appears from 1750 until the end of the 1770s, when the advertisements in the York Courant reverted to listing instruments and performers only.

From their beginnings the concerts were advertised as comprising both vocal and instrumental music, and were always followed by a ball. Beginning in 1751 the concert programmes were invariably given in two acts, and, as those given below indicate, were devoted primarily to instrumental music.⁴⁸

[1752]. For the Benefit of Mr. Perkins, At the Assembly-Rooms in Blake-Street, York, on Friday the 7th of February will be a Concert of Vocal and instrumental Musick. Act I. A Grand Concerto of Mr Handel's. A Concerto, Violin. A new Song by the Boy. A favourite Concerto of Signor Martini's for the Hautboy, by Mr Perkins. Act II. Mr Handel's Water Musick, for Violins, Hautboys, French-Horns, Kettledrums, &c. &c. Hunting Solo on the Violin by Mr Perkins, call'd The Chace [sic]. A favourite Italian Song. A song out of Mr Handel's Allegro ed Penseroso, for the Hautboy. The second of Mr. Handel's Organ Concertos.

[1772]. For the benefit of Mr. Camidge. At the great Assembly-Room in Blake-street, York, on Friday evening, the 21st inst. will be perform'd a concert of vocal and instrumental music. Act I. Overture by Lord Kelly. - Concerto violoncello. - Song. - Concerto organ. Act II. Overture by Abel. - Song. - Concerto French horns. - Song. - Sinfonia by Iomelli.

The evidence provided by the York Courant of music performed at York must be treated with circumspection, however, for it is known that music purchased by the Musical Society and Musical Assembly does not occur in any advertisements, and yet presumably would have been played in their concerts. Subscriptions were made to the following works:

⁴⁸YC 28.1.1752, YC 11.2.1772.

Bond, C.	<u>Six concertos in seven parts.</u> London, 1766.
Festing, C.	<u>Twelve sonata's in three parts.</u> Op. 2. London, 1731.
Festing, C.	<u>Twelve concertos in seven parts.</u> Op. 3. London, 1734.
Festing, C.	<u>Eight concertos in seven parts.</u> Op. 5. London, 1739.
Hebden, J.	<u>Six concertos in seven parts.</u> Op. 2. London, 1745.
Mudge, R.	<u>Six concertos in seven parts.</u> Op. 2. London, 1749.

but apart from a programme on 24 January 1752 which included 'a favourite concerto of Mr. Festing's, [played] by Mr Coyle',⁴⁹ none was included in advertisements in the York Courant.

One song was always included in each of the two parts into which the concerts were divided. However, the advertisements in the York Courant before 1765 frequently give no indication of composer or song-title, and after that date any such information at all is a rarity. On the basis of the somewhat scanty surviving evidence it would seem that the most popular composers of songs performed in the Assembly Rooms concerts were Arne, Boyce, and Handel. Choral items appeared in benefit concert programmes only occasionally before 1760, appearing in at least one concert a year thereafter. Often a chorus was linked with a solo vocal item, e.g., on 8 February 1751 the programme at the Assembly Rooms included a 'celebrated Song and Chorus, compos'd by Dr. Boyce', and on 27 January 1769 the concert concluded 'with a song and chorus from the Messiah'.⁵⁰ Until 1769 the choral items in York concerts consisted on each occasion of a single chorus, but this changed completely in that year.

⁴⁹YC 14.1.1752.

⁵⁰YC 5.2.1751, YC 17.1.1769.

In 1768 performances of Messiah and Judas Maccabaeus took place in Sheffield on July 30-31, in Halifax on 17-18 August, and in Doncaster on 20-21 September. York was not slow to follow, and this advertisement appeared in the York Courant on 17 January 1769.

Oratorios. On Monday the 20th of March next will be perform'd at the new theatre in the Mint Yard, York, the sacred oratorio of the Messiah. On Tuesday the 21st of March, the oratorio of Judas Maccabaeus. And on Wednesday the 22d of March, the sacred oratorio of the Messiah. By a band of upwards of 100 performers. First violin by Mr. Pinto, conductor of the bands at Vauxhall and Drury Lane. - The principal voices by Mrs. Pinto, (that was Miss Brent) of London, and Mr. Norris, of Oxford. The remainder of the band will consist of the best performers, vocal and instrumental, that can be procured in the kingdom.

The dates of the performances were subsequently changed, each to one day later, because of Mrs. Pinto's benefit concert at Covent Garden theatre. Tate Wilkinson wrote the following concerning these concerts in the Theatre Royal.

In Passion Week, in 1769, Oratorios were undertaken at the York Theatre, and were particularly well attended. Good profits gave proof, and Mr Baker, and three adventurers with him, shared to much advantage: Mr. Norris, and Mr. and Mrs. Pinto (Miss Brent) were engaged.⁵¹

This prevailing popularity of oratorio performances was reflected in the programmes of benefit concerts given in the Assembly Rooms in 1769 and 1770. On 17 February the programme concluded with 'the grand coronation anthem' (presumably one of Handel's four coronation anthems), while that on 3 March was given over solely to a performance of Boyce's oratorio, Solomon.⁵² In 1770 all four of the benefit

⁵¹Tate Wilkinson, The wandering patentee; or, A history of the Yorkshire theatres, from 1770 to the present time, etc. 4 vols. (York: printed by Wilson, Spence, and Mawman, 1795), 1:63.

⁵²YC 7.2.1769, YC 21.2.1769.

concerts in the Assembly Rooms were devoted to performances of large choral works.⁵³ On 26 January and 30 March Handel's Acis and Galatea was performed, an advertisement for the first occasion stating that 'a large band of music' would be used; such an instrumental force was also used in the performance of Handel's Alexander's feast on 16 February. The remaining benefit concert, that given on 9 March, was devoted to a dramatic ode, The royal pastoral, by James Nares, which is thought to have been composed in 1742 (while Nares was resident in York) for the anniversary of the marriage of Frederick, Prince of Wales, although the work was not published until 1769.

There were oratorio concerts at the Theatre Royal during the Lent assize week of 1770.

Oratorios. At the Theatre-Royal in York, will be performed by a numerous band of music, on Monday the 9th April, the oratorio of Samson. On Tuesday the 10th, the oratorio of Israel in Babylon. On Wednesday the 11th, the sacred oratorio of Messiah. The principal vocal performers, Mr. Tenducci, of London; Mrs. Hudson of York; and Mr. Norris and Mr. Matthews of Oxford.⁵⁴

According to Wilkinson, the performances at the Theatre Royal in 1770 were on a 'narrower scale' than those of 1769, the profits of 1769 being balanced by the losses of 1770. Wilkinson became manager of the York theatre shortly after the oratorio performances in 1770, and inherited the debt of forty pounds which they had incurred.⁵⁵

Oratorios were not given again in the Theatre Royal, but Handel's pastoral Acis and Galatea was performed in the Assembly Rooms on 18 January 1771 and his Alexander's feast on 8 February. On 1 March

⁵³YC 9.1.1770, YC 6.2.1770, YC 20.2.1770, YC 27.3.1770.

⁵⁴YC 6.3.1770.

⁵⁵Wilkinson, The wandering patentee, 1:71-72.

Boyce's Solomon was performed, after which date there were no further performances of extended choral works in the Assembly Rooms in the 1770s, presumably on account of the cost. The only other instance in the 1770s of choral music in the Assembly Rooms concerts was on 28 February 1777 when 'chorusses, &c. selected from Mr. Handell's oratorios' were performed.⁵⁶

The mainstay of the concerts in York (as it seems to have been in other provincial centres) was the concerto, the average number of concertos performed in each York concert between 1740 and 1775 being three, except for the 1760s when the average number was four. A concert on 22 March 1765 included no less than six concertos.⁵⁷ In much of the period now under consideration, i.e., between c. 1730 and 1775, many of the concertos advertised in the York Courant were concerti grossi, performances of which were given at least until the end of the 1760s. In the 1770s the detail given in the concert programmes advertised in the York Courant is less full than for the preceding years, and almost without exception the names of the composers of the concertos are omitted; it is thus impossible to say how far the performance of concerti grossi persisted into the 1770s, although one would assume that the concerto grosso was gradually replaced by the solo concerto.

Concerti grossi from Albinoni's op. 2 and op. 3 were performed in the 1750s, and his concerto grosso arrangements from Corelli's op. 5 in this and the next decade. It is surprising that there is no evidence of concerti grossi by Corelli being performed in York,

⁵⁶YC 8.1.1771, YC 29.1.1771, YC 19.2.1771, YC 18.2.1777.

⁵⁷YC 19.3.1765. The concertos were by Alberti, Geminiani, Hellendaal, Stamitz, and two unspecified composers.

especially in view of the enormous popularity of his op. 6 throughout England. Two of Handel's concerti grossi from his op. 6 were performed in the 1750s; one unspecified concerto being performed on 7 February 1752 and no. 5 in D on 25 January 1754.⁵⁸ Other foreign composers of concerti grossi which were performed in York include Alberti, Hasse, and Sammartini.

Besides the works of these continental composers, English concerti grossi were extremely popular. Concertos from Avison's op. 4 were performed in the late 1750s and early 1760s, and while it is not known from the surviving evidence which other of Avison's concertos were played, if any, it is possible that there were performances of some of his Twelve concertos, op. 9, as two of the leading performers in the Assembly Rooms concerts in the 1760s, John Camidge and Thomas Thackeray, were both subscribers to this set. Concertos by Stanley, probably from his Six concertos in seven parts (1742), were performed in the 1760s. As noted above, the Music Society and Musical Assembly subscribed to concerti grossi by Festing, Hebden, and Mudge, and it is reasonable to assume that they were performed from time to time.

A species of concerto composition peculiar to England in the eighteenth century was the organ concerto,⁵⁹ and from 1746 onwards organ concertos were rarely missing from advertised concerts in the Assembly Rooms. So far as is known, organ concertos made their first appearance at the Assembly Rooms on 4 February 1746, when one composed

⁵⁸YC 28.1.1752, YC 1.1.1754.

⁵⁹Charles L. Cudworth, 'The English organ concerto,' The score 8 (1953): 51-60.

by James Nares was performed.⁶⁰ On 10 February 1749 Nares was the soloist in the 'favourite concerto of Mr. Felton, on the organ',⁶¹ Felton's concertos being listed in concert programmes a further three times in the 1750s. The only other composer of organ concertos mentioned in advertisements was Handel, whose concertos were performed on three occasions. On 7 February 1752 'the second of Mr Handel's organ concertos' was performed (probably op. 4, no. 2, in B flat);⁶² on the other two occasions there is no precise indication of which concerto was played. After 1757 the composers of organ concertos played in the Assembly Rooms are never mentioned in advertisements.

Besides concertos, overtures were regularly performed, those of Handel being especially popular in the 1750s and 1760s. Other composers of overtures played at the Assembly Rooms concerts include Arne, Nares (whose unspecified overture performed on 2 April 1756 is possibly the one belonging to The royal pastoral), and Boyce. On 7 February 1752 the second half of the concert programme opened with 'Mr Handel's Water Musick, for Violins, Hautboys, French-horns, Kettledrums, &c. &c.', which was performed again on 19 April 1754.⁶³ York was not slow to adopt the works of composers writing in the so-called galant style, and overtures by Abel were being performed in York in 1762, the year after their publication in London. Overtures and sinfonias by Abel's compatriot in London, J.C. Bach, were performed from 1764 onwards, while in the twelve years before 1775

⁶⁰YC 4.2.1746. This organ concerto is either the Sonata from his Lessons, op. 2, or a composition now lost.

⁶¹YC 7.2.1749.

⁶²YC 28.1.1752.

⁶³YC 28.1.1752, YC 16.4.1754.

there were performances of works in a similar genre composed by Filtz, Gossec, Jomelli, Pasquali, Pugnani, Stamitz (probably Johann), and Schwindl, among foreign composers, and by Arnold, Collett, and Kelly, among native composers, the latter being particularly popular.

Race-week concerts were held in York beginning in 1709, and a regular series of concerts was started in 1729 or 1730. Although the continuation of these series of subscription concerts was questioned in the 1740s, they otherwise prospered and were thriving in 1775. During each season, which ran from the beginning of October to the middle of April, two, three, or sometimes four leading players would perform in an ensemble, probably nine or ten in number, which almost certainly included the York waits. The music performed was mainly of an instrumental nature, with concertos being particularly popular; the introduction of oratorios into the concert programmes between 1769 and 1771 was exceptional. By the end of the period works in the galant style had been introduced and it would seem that the conservatism in musical taste which was supposed to characterize provincial concerts in eighteenth-century England was absent from York. The story of the subscription concerts in the next sixty years is continued in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VII

'CHOICE HANDS AND VOICES' (continued):

PUBLIC CONCERTS IN YORK, 1776-1835

This chapter continues the history of public concerts in York to 1835 (excluding the musical festival of 1791 and the Yorkshire Musical Festivals of 1823, 1825, 1828, and 1835, which are discussed in Chapter V), by which time the York Choral Society had established itself and a new era in the musical life of the city had begun. During the period now under consideration, the population of York grew from around twelve to twenty-seven thousand,¹ yet although this increase might have been expected to result in an increase in the attendance at public concerts, this was not the case, presumably because of a simultaneous decline in the attendance of the concerts' main patrons, namely the gentry, who for a variety of reasons stayed away from York in increasing numbers.² As it was, the concerts throughout this period were in a state of continual financial decline. At the beginning of the period the number of subscription concerts in the

¹P.M. Tillott, ed., The city of York, The Victoria History of the Counties of England (London: O.U.P., 1961), pp. 212 and 254.

²Ibid., pp. 256-257.

series was twenty-one, for which the price was one guinea. This price remained constant throughout the period, except for the years from 1791 to 1796; it was raised to twenty-eight shillings in 1791 on account of the 'Gentlemen Directors having ordered that the Assembly Rooms shall be lighted with wax or spermaceti candles', and then slightly reduced to twenty-six shillings for the years from 1795 to 1796.³ While the price remained unchanged, however, the number of concerts paid for by the subscription gradually decreased, as the following table shows.⁴

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of concerts</u>
1776-1777	21
1778-1779	16
1782-1783	14
1787-1788	13
1794-1795	12
1797-1798	8
1802	6
1809	5
1822	4

In 1776 and 1777 the subscription concerts were organised by the 'Directors of the Musick Assembly', (or 'Directors of the Concert' and 'Gentlemen directors' as they were sometimes known). But in 1778, 'by the Desire of the Gentlemen directors', the concerts were undertaken by Thomas Shaw, the leader of the band, and Mrs. Hudson, the leading vocalist, after which date the Music Assembly is heard of no more; from 1779 until 1797 there were annual benefit concerts for the Musical Fund,⁵ the nature and function of which is not known.

³YC 30.11.1797.

⁴This table has been compiled from information contained in advertisements placed in the York Courant. The concerts before 1802 were held between October and the middle of April of the following year; in 1802, and thereafter, they were held between the beginning of January and the middle of April.

⁵YC 29.10.1776, YC 21.10.1777, YC 10.10.1778.

In 1785 Shaw's engagements at Drury Lane theatre, London, 'induced him to decline attending the concert at York', as a consequence of which the concerts were then run jointly by Mr. and Mrs. Hudson,⁶ and then by Mr. Hudson alone after Mrs. Hudson's death in 1794. At the end of the 1790s the annual series of concerts barely managed to survive, as indicated by two advertisements placed by Mr. Hudson,⁷ in which he stated that the concerts would go ahead 'provided he should be favoured with a subscription nearly adequate to the expence [sic] of the undertaking'. The precarious financial position of the concerts was probably the reason for Mr. Hudson declining to run them after 1800, and in 1801 they were taken over by Mr. Erskine, the principal oboist in the band.⁸

The decline continued under Erskine. In 1806 he had to counter rumours that there would be no concerts that season by saying 'that while he ... was honoured with their [i.e., the public's] encouragement, it was his intention to continue subscription concerts in York, and to endeavour to provide such entertainment as may merit their approbation'.⁹ Erskine continued to run the concerts until 1822, when they were taken over by John Camidge and Philip Knapton, two local musicians.¹⁰ In 1826, Camidge and Knapton announced to the public that 'from various causes, they are prevented giving the usual concerts this winter'.¹¹ Thus after a continuous existence of almost

⁶YC 6.12.1785.

⁷YC 12.11.1798, YC 4.11.1799.

⁸YC 14.12.1801.

⁹YC 8.12.1806.

¹⁰YG 15.12.1822.

¹¹YH 25.2.1826.

a hundred years, the subscription concerts fell into abeyance, only to be revived the next year, with the support and encouragement of the local press. The York Herald wrote:

We understand that Messrs. Camidge and Knapton intend to commence a series of concerts this season. Their spirited exertions on former occasions have had our commendations, and we trust their next attempt will be duly appreciated and encouraged by the musical and the fashionable.¹²

Knapton retired from the management of the concerts in 1830, probably because of illness, but Camidge carried on alone, well aware of the benefits which musicians derived from public performance. It was reported that he

... determined to carry them on ... rather than his native town should be deprived of the attraction which they have for so long a period proved, and that his profession should suffer by the want of that public display of talent which must always influence private exertion and taste.¹³

In its exhortation to local people to support the subscription concerts, quoted above, the York Herald hoped that the concerts would be 'appreciated and encouraged by the musical and fashionable', and it must be remembered that throughout the period from 1776 to 1835 the concerts were invariably followed by a ball, wherein lay the attraction of the concerts for the 'fashionable'. The social exclusivity of the concerts (symbolized by the wearing of formal dress) was not challenged until 1834, when Camidge, thirty-one days after the York Choral Society's well-attended first anniversary concert in the Festival Concert Rooms, announced his intention of 'occasionally having during the winter season a musical evening or undress concert', in which the music performed at the formal concert

¹²YH 29.12.1827.

¹³YH 4.12.1830.

on the previous night would be repeated, but with a lower price for single tickets. This was welcomed by the Yorkshire Gazette, which wrote:

We think this an excellent plan. It will enable a large class of persons to attend the concerts, and hear the excellent music usually performed at them, who, from various motives, will not attend the concerts at the Assembly Rooms.¹⁴

Camidge's venture was not well supported, however, and he chose not to repeat it.

There were few other public concerts in York apart from those which formed part of the subscription series. Between 1776 and 1781 there were concerts every morning during the August race-week, and in 1783 concerts on two of the mornings only. After this date there were concerts in the August race-week in 1789, 1815, and 1818, and none thereafter, a pattern which mirrors the decline in the series of subscription concerts. Other concerts, which were neither part of the subscription series nor given during race-week, were given in the first two decades of the nineteenth century by musicians on tour, among whom were such famous performers as Catalani and Paganini.¹⁵

Throughout the period from 1776 to 1835 all of the subscription concerts, and most of the other public concerts, were held in the Assembly Rooms, which had been built in 1732. In 1825 the Festival Concert Rooms were built,¹⁶ to the rear of the Assembly Rooms with a connecting door, primarily for the holding of concerts during the Yorkshire Musical Festivals; but their size (they could accommodate up

¹⁴YG 25.10.1834.

¹⁵These will be discussed in more detail below.

¹⁶P.H. Tillott, ed., The city of York, Victoria History of the Counties of England (London: O.U.P., 1961), pp. 532-533.

to two thousand people) meant that they were only rarely used for concerts other than during the Festivals. In the late 1820s and the 1830s concerts were occasionally held in the Freemasons' Hall, Little Blake Street, and in the Merchant Adventurers' Hall, Fossgate, while in the first two decades of the nineteenth century concerts were held at 'Mr. Noke's Room' in the Minster Yard.

When the subscription concerts were advertised in the local press as much emphasis was placed on the performers as on the music performed. A typical advertisement, especially before the turn of the century, would usually include the names of the leader of the band (or first violin, as he was sometimes called), the keyboard player, one other instrumentalist, and the names of one or more vocal soloists. The leader of the band from 1775 until 1785 was Thomas Shaw, who was described on his first appearance in York as 'Mr. Shaw, jun. from Bath'. After leaving York he was leader of the Drury Lane band from 1786 until the early 1800s, having played at London for part of each year at least since 1777. In the ten years he was at York his own music was often performed at the subscription concerts; this included a symphony, a 'new full piece' (which may have been identical with the former), a concerto for flute, and a concerto for violin, all of which have now been lost, except for the last work which is probably that published by Longman and Broderip in the 1780s. He also wrote two occasional anthems which were performed at charity services in St. Michael-le-Belfrey; these also are now lost.¹⁷

¹⁷YC 17.10.1775, YC 18.2.1777, YC 22.4.1777, YC 22.2.1780, YC 16.4.1782; The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians, s.v. 'Shaw, Thomas,' by Roger Fiske; the only recorded example of Shaw's violin concerto, RISM S 2904, is held in the library of the Royal College of Music, London.

The 'first violin' in the subscription concerts between 1786 and 1787 was Mr. Wilton, about whom very little is known; the absence of names in advertisements during the period from 1788 to 1790 suggests that the band was led by no one of particular merit, even by York standards. Between 1791 and 1801 the band was led by William Hudson, who was possibly the man of that name who had been a York wait between 1761 and 1769; after 1801 he continued to reside in York, teaching the violin and pianoforte until his death in 1815 at the age of seventy-five.¹⁸ From 1802 until 1810 the leader of the band was John White, who was born in York on 8 January 1779, and who,

... at the age of twelve ... surprised the citizens of York by the performance of one of the concertos of Borghi, an author whose compositions were, at that time, esteemed the chef-d'oeuvres of art.

At the beginning of the 1800s, White had settled in Leeds, where he was organist of St. Paul's from 1807 to 1821 and much in demand as a teacher. He performed on the violin not only at York, but also at the other major cities and towns in Yorkshire, and as far afield as Edinburgh and Glasgow.¹⁹

The next leader of the band in the subscription concerts was also a local musician, John Camidge, who was leader from 1809 until after 1835, with the exception of the 1812 season (when he was resident at St. Catharine's, Cambridge). He was one of the promoters of the concerts from 1822, and their sole promoter after 1830. Born at York in 1790, the son of the Minster organist, Matthew Camidge, he first

¹⁸YC 11.7.1803, YC 24.4.1815. This William Hudson is probably identical with the Mr. Hudson who promoted the concerts in York between 1785 and 1800.

¹⁹A dictionary of musicians from the earliest ages to the present time (London: Sainsbury, 1824), s.v. 'White, John.'

performed in public on 23 March 1798 at one of his father's benefit concerts. The York Courant announced that

... by particular desire, a child of 7 years old will make his first attempt in public in a lesson on the pianoforte, and a solo on the violin.

A year later he played a 'solo on the violin, and concerto on the pianoforte', and subsequently had lessons with Feliks Janiewicz, the famous Polish composer and violinist who had been resident in England since 1792. Camidge led the second violins at a musical festival at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1814 and was one of the two principal first violins, with Mori, at a musical festival in Chester Cathedral in 1821; he was the proud possessor of two 'celebrated violins - the Amati and the Straduerius [sic]', upon which he sometimes performed in concerts. In addition to his skills on the violin, John Camidge was talented in other musical fields. He was an assistant conductor of the Yorkshire Musical Festivals in 1823, 1825, and 1828, while in 1835 he was one of two joint conductors. On 15 October 1842 he succeeded his father, whom he had long assisted, as organist of York Minster, having also been in charge of the rebuilding of the Minster organ after the great fire of 1829.²⁰

John Camidge, senior, had begun playing regularly in the subscription concerts in 1761, where he most often performed on the organ, although from time to time he did play the pianoforte. He announced his retirement from the concerts in favour of his son, Matthew, in 1790.²¹ Matthew Camidge had first played in the subscription concerts on 17 March 1780, when one of the items

²⁰Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, s.v. 'Camidge,' by Anthony Ford; YC 19.3.1798, YC 25.3.1799, YC 6.4.1807; YG 6.10.1821; YH 9.3.1833.

²¹YC 12.3.1782, YC 16.2.1790.

performed was a 'duet for two performers on one piano forte, Mr. Camidge, jun. and Mr. Surr'. From 1785 until 1789 advertisements state that he played the pianoforte, but after his father retired from playing in the subscription concerts he played the organ also; he is last known to have played on 15 March 1822.²²

The subscription concerts in the following season were managed by John Camidge, junior, whose biographical details were noted above, and Philip Knapton, who was born in York in 1788, the son of Samuel Knapton, a local music dealer. Having received his musical education under Dr. Hague, a native of nearby Tadcaster and professor of music in the University of Cambridge, Philip Knapton returned to York where he resided until his death in 1833. He played principal second violin in concerts at Doncaster, Ripon, and Sherburn, and at concerts in the York subscription series, but his main instrument was the piano, on which he played concertos in York concerts. His playing of one of his own compositions on 7 February 1823 prompted the Yorkshire Gazette to write:

We have rarely heard any performer on this instrument with a finer touch, or a more brilliant execution. The concerto was composed by himself; as was the finale, and they are both admirable pieces of harmony.

Philip Knapton was an assistant conductor at the Yorkshire Musical Festivals of 1823, 1825, and 1828, and from 1820 he had been a partner with his father in a business selling and publishing music.²³

For most of the period now under discussion, subscription concerts in York always included at least one solo instrumentalist

²²YC 7.3.1780; YG 16.2.1822.

²³YG 8.3.1823; YC 22.8.1820; A dictionary of musicians from the earliest ages, s.v. 'Knapton, Philip.'

other than a keyboard player or violinist. Between 1777 and 1787 Robert Haxby, younger brother of Thomas Haxby (music dealer and instrument maker in York), played the flute at the concerts; he also composed a collection of Twenty-four easy airs for the guitar, which was published by Longman in 1769.²⁴ From 1791 until 1826 John Erskine was the principal oboist at the subscription concerts, and their promoter from 1810 until 1822. He further involved himself in the musical life of the city by giving lessons on the flute, oboe, and guitar; and through the music shop which he ran from 1801 until 1812. Erskine was a popular and respected performer, and was praised, for instance, in 1811 for playing 'on the oboe in his usual masterly style, which was loudly and justly applauded', and in 1825 when, in a performance of Rossini's overture 'Sigismondi', 'the oboe was heard to much advantage ... and its melodious and brilliant tones conspicuously proclaimed them to be the performance of its master, Erskine'.²⁵

Throughout the period from 1776 to 1835 the performers at the subscription concerts always included at least one female vocal soloist; in the 1790s and again in the 1810s and early 1820s there were also male vocal soloists. From 1769 until 1794, in which year she died, the principal female soloist was Mrs. Hudson; she is probably the Mrs. Hudson who frequently sang in the concerts at Vauxhall Gardens in the 1770s, songs published as 'sung by' her including A collection of favorite songs sung at Vauxhall Gardens by Mrs. Weichsell, Mrs. Hudson & Mr. Vernon (1773), and Hook's Beneath a

²⁴The only recorded example of this work, RISM H 2438, is held in the Library of Congress, Washington.

²⁵YH 12.10.1793; YC 25.2.1811, YC 25.2.1825. Erskine was also a music-dealer; his stock was sold in 1811-1812. YC 2.12.1811, YC 13.4.1812.

green shade (1774). Her repertoire included works by Giardini, Giordani, Hook, Rauzzini, Sacchini, Shield, and Storace.²⁶ Other female vocalists included Mrs. Salmon, who was the principal vocal performer in 1810 and 1812, besides singing on other occasions in the 1810s. She was at that time the 'the first female singer in this kingdom'.²⁷ Miss Darby, Miss Frith, Miss Shepley, and Mrs. Shepley were the other female vocalists who sang at York for more than one season.

Until 1787 it had been the custom for women to take the leading solo vocal roles in the subscription concerts, although from time to time men had sung solo items. In that year Edward Meredith, a bass singer, took the vocal part in the subscription series, singing also in the series of 1798 and 1799, and in several concerts not connected with the subscription series.²⁸ From 1792 to 1796, one of the principal vocal performers was Thomas Unthank, a songman in the Minster choir.²⁹ Another Minster songman, D. Kenward, sang in the concerts in the Assembly Rooms between 1820 and 1822; prior to coming to York he had sung in the oratorios at Covent Garden; and on leaving York he joined the choir at Durham Cathedral, eventually becoming precentor of the High Church, Edinburgh.³⁰ Joseph Bradbury sang in the

²⁶A biographical dictionary of actors, actresses, musicians, dancers, managers & other stage personnel in London, 1660-1800, s.v. 'Hudson, Mrs.; YC 11.7.1803.

²⁷YC 9.12.1816.

²⁸John Crosse, An account of the grand musical festival held in September 1823, in the cathedral church of York, etc. (York: Wolstenholme, 1825), p. 49.

²⁹YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Chapter acts H9/3, pp. 167-168.

³⁰YC 27.12.1809; YH 23.2.1828.

concerts in the subscription series between 1810 and 1822, singing regularly also at Leeds and Sheffield, while in 1813 he had sung in the King's Concerts and the vocal concerts of Messrs. Bartleman and Greatorrex, both in London. His obituary noted that, 'to a sweet voice, he added a chaste and feeling execution when singing the most popular and favourite airs'.³¹

Throughout the eighteenth century both native and foreign musicians had toured England giving performances at various towns and cities, and this practice increased in the nineteenth century following improvements in transport and communications. Accordingly, York witnessed performances by artists of international standing on occasions other than the festivals, beginning with Angelica Catalani.³² Her London debut was at the King's Theatre on 13 December 1806, where she sang in Portogallo's Semiramide, which contained an aria written especially for her. This 'aria di baule', or suitcase aria, went with Catalani wherever she performed, and it was in the programme of music which she sang at the Assembly Rooms, York, on 16 and 17 October 1807 to very crowded audiences. The York Courant wrote:

Language is inadequate to describe the powers of Madame Catalani, and it must suffice to state, that her claim to the reputation of the first singer in Europe, was completely established in the opinion of the amateurs present on the occasion.³³

She sang in York once more just over two years later, again at the Assembly Rooms, in a benefit concert for the York County Hospital, after which she did not sing again in York until 1822, when she

³¹YC 16.8.1813; YG 23.2.1828.

³²The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians, s.v. 'Catalani, Angelica,' by Elizabeth Forbes.

³³YC 19.10.1807.

performed on 15, 16, and 18 January, the first two concerts being attended by sixteen hundred people. In the first two concerts Catalani sang one of her bravura pieces, Rode's 'Variations for violin', about which an anonymous writer in the Yorkshire Gazette said:

The volume, the strength and flexibility of her voice, and rapidity of her execution in these celebrated violin variations, the words to which have been furnished by herself, were of such a nature as positively to electrify the whole of the mental powers ... this brilliant, fascinating and astonishing display ... surpassed in splendour of execution any thing we had ever before witnessed, and denoted a voice of unequalled power, sweetness, and flexibility, added to an ear of the nicest delicacy, with consummate taste and judgement, and the utmost energy of feeling.³⁴

Catalani's performances in the Yorkshire Musical Festivals of 1823 and 1828 are discussed in Chapter V.

Ignaz Moscheles played at subscription concerts in York in 1831 and 1833. On 14 February 1831, the first occasion, the concert 'was attended by the most brilliant assemblage of rank and fashion we ever witnessed at a Subscription concert in York'³⁵ - a further reminder of the social composition of the audiences at the subscription concerts - and Moscheles was most enthusiastically received in performances of his fantasias 'Recollection of Ireland' and 'Anticipation of Scotland', both with orchestral accompaniment; and in an extempore fantasia, in which

... after a beautiful introduction, he introduced the air of 'My lodging is on the cold ground,' and ran through a variety of brilliant variations which excited the warmest admiration. Rule Britannia was brought in at the conclusion -

³⁴YC 25.12.1809; YG 19.1.1822.

³⁵YG 19.2.1831.

and a warm and enthusiastic burst of applause rewarded the talents of the performer.³⁶

The second occasion on which he played at York was on 4 February 1833, but for some reason the concert was only 'very thinly attended'.³⁷ The programme included one of Moscheles' solo fantasias for piano, and the 'The fall of Paris' for piano and orchestra; his strictures concerning the playing of the York orchestra at this concert are noted below.

The early 1830s also saw performances in York by another virtuoso instrumentalist, Nicolò Paganini, the first of which were given on 7 and 8 February 1832 in the Festival Concert Rooms; these concerts formed part of an extensive tour of the British Isles which Paganini made between June 1831 and the spring of 1832. On 7 February he performed a concerto, a 'Sonata militaire' (entirely on the fourth string), and the 'Variazione brillante' on the theme 'Nel cor più', all of his own composition. The York Courant wrote:

No idea can be formed of his style of execution even by a violinist, who has not heard him ... his extraordinary attainments in each successive passage in his performance fully prove him to be a century in advance of all other musicians.³⁸

He next played in York on 12 October 1833 in a concert at the Theatre Royal which was one of a series of forty-four concerts given in thirty-one English towns and cities between 10 August and 30 October. His programme included two of the pieces that he had played in York on 7 February 1832, the 'Sonata militaire' and the 'Variazione brillante' on the theme 'Nel cor più', now with the addition of his 'Prelude e rondo brillante' and the 'Variazioni' upon the canzonette, 'The

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷YH 9.2.1833.

³⁸YC 14.2.1832.

carnival of Venice'. As with his concerts in London in 1833, the attendance at this concert in York was mediocre, and although the local York press was not so unfriendly as that of London, coverage was scanty.³⁹

Very little is known about the constitution of the instrumental force which played in the subscription concerts at York, which is not surprising when it is realised that not much is known of the constitution of other English orchestras (excluding those which played at the large festivals) before 1835. Such information as is available from Carse's researches⁴⁰ together with that derived from local sources concerning York orchestras, is presented in Table 7.1. It will be seen that nothing is known of the orchestras in York between 1776 and 1804, although it can reasonably be assumed that they would have been smaller than the orchestra which played in the Salomon concerts in 1791. In advertisements for concerts in York in 1805, 1807, and 1817 only the principal performers were listed, which makes comparisons with the other orchestras in the Table difficult; especially in respect of the strength of the string sections. The size of the orchestra playing in a charity concert at York in 1829 compares well with that of other orchestras playing in the period from 1825 to 1832. This charity concert of 1829 was noticed by an anonymous writer in the Harmonicon.

York is celebrated for the number and ability of its amateur performers; and on this occasion

³⁹The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians, s.v. 'Paganini, Nicolò,' by Boris Schwarz; YH 19.10.1833.

⁴⁰Adam Carse, The orchestra in the XVIIIth century (Cambridge: Heffer, 1940); idem, The orchestra from Beethoven to Berlioz: a history of the orchestra in the first half of the 19th century, and of the development of orchestral baton-conducting (Cambridge: Heffer, 1948).

their best efforts were contributed in the charitable cause. Led and conducted by Dr. Camidge and Mr. Knapton, the band performed Beethoven's Symphony no. 1, the overture to Lodoiska (Cherubini), and the Freischütz, in a style that any other orchestra than those of the Philharmonic and Ancient concert might have taken a lesson from.⁴¹

This was high praise indeed, but the testimony of this anonymous writer sits uneasily with that of Moscheles, who wrote to his wife of a concert in York on 4 February 1833, just over three years later, in which he had played.

The concert is over. I may say, without self-assertion, that I was the only one applauded at all this evening; we had ... some miserable overtures, in which the flute was the sole support of the harmonies ... there was no more life or spirit to be got out of the band than from stones or pebbles.⁴²

Reports in the York press of local concerts held during the first third of the 1800s rarely comment on the musical performances other than in a most perfunctory manner; it is probable that the standard of performance did vary widely from concert to concert as these two accounts would suggest.

The military bands stationed at York with their respective regiments provided a reservoir of wind players which could be drawn upon from time to time, and there are several references to these instrumentalists playing in York concerts, beginning in the 1810s. An advertisement in the York Courant announced that, for the concert on 4 March 1814,

⁴¹Harmonicon (1830): 27.

⁴²Ignaz Moscheles, Recent music and musicians as described in the diaries of Ignatz Moscheles, ed. by his wife (New York: Holt, 1873), pp. 186-187.

... the orchestra will be assisted by the Band of the 4th Dragoon Guards, who will perform pieces of military music, selected for the evening.⁴³

In 1825 it was recorded that the instrumental band playing in a concert on 4 February 'was augmented by the introduction of a part of that of the Enniskillen Dragoons', while in 1834 the importance of this supply of wind instrumentalists was noted by the Yorkshire Gazette, when writing of a concert given on 11 November.

The orchestra was well conducted and powerful; and the assistance of the band of the 7th Hussars gave an efficiency and correctness to the wind instruments, which in the country is often difficult of attainment.⁴⁴

Besides the occasions when all or part of a military band played in the orchestras which performed in York concerts, the players in the military bands were often called upon individually.

Choral items were occasionally introduced into the concerts given in the York subscription series. Throughout the 1790s the choral parts at these concerts were sung 'by the Gentlemen choristers and boys from the Cathedral, assisted by several gentlemen in York'.⁴⁵ In a concert on 28 March 1806 the choral part was sung by 'the choristers from the Cathedral' while on 4 January 1818 they were assisted by the choir of the Catholic Chapel in Blake Street.⁴⁶ Thereafter no information can be found concerning the identity of the singers of the

⁴³YC 28.2.1814.

⁴⁴YC 8.2.1825; YG 15.11.1834. The size of British army bands at this time was not large, having been fixed at ten musicians in 1822, a number which was increased in 1823 to fourteen to meet the requirements for new instruments. This information has been derived from Percy Scholes, The mirror of music, 1844-1944: a century of musical life in Britain as reflected in the pages of the Musical Times, 2 vols. (London: Novello, 1947), 1:498.

⁴⁵YC 1790-1799 passim, e.g. 23.3.1790 and 18.3.1793.

⁴⁶YC 24.3.1806, YC 28.12.1818.

few choral items which were introduced into the concerts; although it is most probable that minster songmen were involved, as they are known to have sung glees in the concerts in the 1820s and 1830s.⁴⁷

Having considered some of the solo performers, and instrumental and vocal ensembles with which they performed, it will be appropriate now to examine the content of the concerts, in so far as the surviving evidence allows this. One of two sources providing information about the programmes of the York subscription concerts between 1776 and 1835 is that contained in advertisements appearing in local newspapers. For much of the period, however, the information which they contain is extremely scanty other than for the names of the leading performers; details of the programmes were frequently hidden behind the ubiquitous phrase (or some such similar) 'further particulars will be inserted in the bills of the day'. Fortunately, for the period between 1813 and 1828 a collection of concert programmes exists in York Public Library;⁴⁸ these programmes list the pieces performed, the solo performers (if any), and the words to each vocal piece. In common with other programmes of the time, there was no attempt to provide anything in the way of biographical or analytical notes. Therefore, while certain broad trends can be observed, it must be remembered that the surviving evidence is often too flimsy to support conclusions other than those of a general nature, particularly for the period between 1776 and 1813.

Table 7.2 sets out the content of various concerts given in the subscription series in York during the period from 1776 to 1835.

⁴⁷YC 3.12.1824; YH 28.3.1829; YG 28.11.1835.

⁴⁸The collection is entitled Concert programmes, 1813-1828, with shelf-mark Y 780.73.

These programmes are similar to those given elsewhere in England, and display an eclecticism in their mixture of vocal and instrumental music that did not disappear until well after the middle of the nineteenth century. On a general level it can be seen that the pattern of the concerts remained much the same throughout, save for the introduction of glees in the 1800s, and the gradual displacement of the solo concerto. Each concert included at least one song, and often two, in each half of the concert, and these invariably had accompaniments provided by the full band. Songs from Handel's oratorios were popular throughout the period, while between 1813 and 1835 those by the following composers achieved a particular popularity: Sir Henry Bishop (particularly his 'By the simplicity of Venus' doves'), Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi (particularly his 'A compir gia vo l'impresa'), and Vincenzo Pucitta (whose 'Vittima sventurata' from his opera La vestale seems to have been a great favourite with York audiences).

In the early 1800s glees were introduced into the concerts; properly these were written for unaccompanied male voices, and, as such, were usually performed by men from the Minster choir. Among the more admired composers of this type of glee with audiences at York were Sir Henry Bishop (especially his 'Blow, gentle gales'), William Horsley, William Knyvett, and Samuel Webbe, senior (especially his 'When winds breathe soft'). The term glee was also extended to cover other vocal compositions such as madrigals - works by Thomas Ford, Walrent (whose 'O'er desert plains' was frequently sung), and John Wilbye were performed - and even ensembles extracted from operas, into which category fall 'Light as fairy foot can fall' and 'Over the dark blue waters', both from Weber's Oberon. These latter were probably

performed with their orchestral accompaniments, as were other glees at York, including, for example, Thomas Attwood's 'The curfew', which was written for two unspecified high voices (soprano or tenor) and bass, with accompaniment of flute, clarinet, bassoon, horn, bugle, harp, and strings. An autograph score of this work, now in York Minster Library, could well have been associated with performances at York.⁴⁹

Choral items were infrequently introduced into the York subscription concerts and before 1819 were invariably selected from the sacred works of Handel, a choice which reflected that of musical festivals both in London and the provinces until well into the nineteenth century. At the end of the 1810s in York, secular choral music was added to the previous mixture, and concerts in 1818, 1819, and 1823 included selections from Mozart's Don Giovanni.⁵⁰ In 1821 and 1824 Winter's so-called 'Battle symphony' (with chorus) was performed,⁵¹ and in 1824 on two occasions, and again in 1825 and 1827 music from Weber's Der Freischütz. On 27 February 1824 the overture to Der Freischütz was played with - it was claimed for the first time in England - other music from the opera, viz., a cavatina 'Tho' clouds by tempests' and two choruses, one of which was the so-called 'Hunter's chorus'.⁵² There is no reason to doubt the veracity of the claim, and it reflects well on Philip Knapton's knowledge of the

⁴⁹YML, Music manuscript M 49/1. The glee was performed in York subscription concerts on 22 August 1815 and 19 April 1816; Concert programmes, 1813-1828; YC 15.4.1816.

⁵⁰Concert programmes, 1813-1828, 13 February 1818, and 3 April 1818; YG 22.2.1823.

⁵¹YG 24.3.1821; YC 30.3.1824.

⁵²YC 24.2.1824, YC 30.3.1824, YC 25.1.1825; Concert programmes, 1813-1828, 30 March 1827. The first London performance of Der Freischütz did not take place until 22 July 1824.

latest music, and his initiative in placing it before a York audience. In that same concert on 27 February 1824 were performed the introduction and chorus 'Daldi la messagiera' from Rossini's La donna del lago (also repeated on 1 April) and a march and chorus 'S'intessano' from his Zelmira.

It was usual for each half of the subscription concerts to begin with a piece of music for the full band, normally an overture; although, towards the end of the period, it was often a symphony. Overtures to Mozart's operas were frequently performed, the most popular being those to Die Zauberflöte and La clemenza di Tito. Of his symphonies, the Jupiter was played on three occasions between 1819 and 1828,⁵³ while two were only specified by key - one in g minor (K. 550?) and one in D major in 1828. Over the same period for which information is available, i.e., between 1813 and 1828, it would seem that the symphonies of Haydn were more popular than those of Mozart; with the former's symphony no. 94 being most frequently performed, followed by his symphonies nos. 98 and 100. There were also performances at York of Haydn's symphonies nos. 95, 99, 101, 103, and 104.

Beethoven's symphonies nos. 1 and 2 were played, and perhaps others, as most often the concert programmes merely state 'Grand symphonia' or 'Symphony' without specifying further. His overtures to Egmont and Prometheus were widely performed. During the 1810s the most popular music for full band was that composed by Beethoven, Mozart, and Haydn, followed closely by Cherubini and Romberg, thus mirroring exactly the content of the programmes of the Royal

⁵³Concert programmes, 1813-1828, 16 September 1819, 7 March 1828, and 26 March 1828.

Philharmonic at that time.⁵⁴ Cherubini's overtures to Lodoiska and Anacréon were particularly popular; the lack of specificity in the concert programmes prevents works by Romberg from being identified. In the period after 1820, overtures by Rossini and Weber were frequently played.

Side by side with performances of contemporary instrumental music at York during the period from 1813 to 1822 (and probably throughout the entire period from 1776) were those of music from an earlier period. The performance of music from an older school was, of course, not unique to York; and the main object of the Concert of Antient Music of London (founded in 1776) was to preserve the music of earlier composers, which otherwise would have been forgotten, through the means of regular performances. Concerti grossi by Avison, Corelli, Geminiani, and Handel were performed frequently in York between 1813 and 1822; Corelli's so-called 'Christmas concerto' (opus 6, no. 8) was the most popular. In 1821, commenting on the third subscription concert, the Yorkshire Gazette wrote:

We were glad to find that the 8th concerto of Corelli, (which we were afraid had been forgotten) [although it was only just over two years since it was last performed at York] ... met with the applause it so evidently merits.⁵⁵

The same newspaper wrote enthusiastically the next year following a performance of a concerto grosso of Albinoni's in the second subscription concert.

We were glad to hear Dr. Camidge introduce it ... as we know that it is too much the fashion to

⁵⁴Robert Elkin, Royal Philharmonic: the annals of the Royal Philharmonic Society (London: Rider, 1946), pp. 19-20.

⁵⁵YG 3.3.1821.

neglect many of the excellent compositions of the old school.⁵⁶

This praise, however, was in vain. The York subscription concerts, at the end of that season, were taken over by John Camidge and Philip Knapton, and instrumental music of the 'old school' was to find no further place in their programmes.

In the earlier part of the period from 1776 to 1835 each concert had several concertos, continuing the practice of the years between 1730 and 1775, but by the end of the period, in the late 1820s and early 1830s, it was quite common for concert programmes to contain none. Given that the vocal content of the concerts remained much the same, with perhaps a slight increase because of the introduction of glees, the extra length of the symphonies performed from the late 1810s onwards was accommodated only by the removal of another form of instrumental music, namely, the concerto. Coupled with this, the promoters of the concerts were faced with an increasing difficulty of securing performers of sufficient calibre to play concertos, because of the continual decline in attendances and the drop in income. Violin concertos were most frequently performed; not suprisingly, given the necessity of the leader of the band being an accomplished violinist. Other than those composed by Thomas Shaw (between 1778 and 1785), Giornovich (in 1805), and John Camidge, the younger (in 1809),⁵⁷ nothing is known of the violin concertos performed until the period between 1813 and 1828, during which time John Camidge was

⁵⁶YG 16.2.1822. The popularity of Corelli in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century England is discussed in Owain Edwards, 'The response to Corelli's music in eighteenth-century England,' Studia musicologica Norvegica 2 (1976): 51-96.

⁵⁷YC 24.3.1778, YC 22.2.1780, YC 22.2.1785, YC 25.3.1805, YC 3.4.1809.

leader of the band and violin soloist. Since, as we have seen, Camidge had studied with Feliks Janiewicz, it was natural enough that Camidge should perform in York violin concertos composed by his teacher. Between 1813 and 1825 the most popular violin concertos were those composed by Pierre Rode and Giovanni Battista Viotti (both members of the so-called French violin school) whose works were known and respected by Beethoven. Camidge displayed a knowledge and appreciation of the new music when he performed Beethoven's violin concerto in York on 14 April 1815, some eighteen years before the generally accepted date of its London première.⁵⁸ Other violin concertos known to have been performed were those by Borghi, Feyer, Hoffmeister, and Mestrina; also - but at infrequent intervals - there were concertos for violoncello.

Performances of oboe concertos at the York subscription concerts coincided largely with John Erskine's period as principal oboist in the band; that is to say, between 1791 and 1826. There were concertos by two German oboists and composers, firstly and most frequently those composed by J.C. Fischer, who lived in England for most of his life, where he composed ten concertos for flute or oboe, and secondly by Lebrun, probably Ludwig August, who wrote a number of effective oboe concertos. Flute concertos were played throughout the period, but their composers are infrequently mentioned in advertisements. In the 1790s, bassoon concertos were introduced by a Mr. Wilson, who was at that time one of the leading performers in the York band, while clarinet concertos and horn concertos were rarely performed; there is

⁵⁸Concert programmes, 1813-1828, 14 April 1815; Pamela J. Willetts, *Beethoven and England: an account of sources in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1970), p. 53.

but a single instance of a trumpet concerto being included in a concert programme.

The first recorded instance of the performance of a pianoforte concerto in York occurs in 1782, when John Camidge, the elder, was the performer; the name of the composer is not known. Subsequent performers of piano concertos were all native York musicians - Matthew Camidge, John Camidge, the younger, and Philip Knapton - except for Moscheles, whose two performances in York have been mentioned above. Very little information now remains concerning the composers of piano concertos performed at York, but it is known that works by Jan Ladislav Dussek, George Eugene Griffin (an English pianist and composer), Daniel Steibelt, Giovanni Battista Viotti, and Joseph Wölfl were performed. In addition, Philip Knapton on two occasions performed a piano concerto of his own, now unfortunately lost.⁵⁹

During the period from c. 1730 to 1775 the organ concerto was rarely missing from advertised concerts in the Assembly Rooms, and its popularity continued between 1776 and 1835.⁶⁰ After 1757 no information concerning the composers of organ concertos is available until the 1810s, when organ concertos by Handel and Matthew Camidge were played. The concertos of Matthew Camidge are almost certainly from his Six concertos for the organ or grand piano forte which were published c. 1815; and though in this form they are for organ solo, it is probable that they were originally performed with orchestral accompaniment. The organ concerto last appeared in York concert programmes on 7 April 1820, and it would seem that it went out of

⁵⁹YC 12.3.1782, YC 17.4.1815, YC 12.2.1816.

⁶⁰For a discussion of the organ concerto and its popularity in England in the eighteenth century, see Charles L. Cudworth, 'The organ concerto,' The score 8 (1953): 51-60.

popularity at about the same time as the concerto grosso, as noted above.

Table 7.2 shows that from time to time other items were introduced into the York subscription concert programmes. These included works for piano: solo lessons and sonatas, duets for one piano (four hands) and for two pianos. Less common was music for groups of from three to six players, which included a piano quartet by Beethoven (in 1814), string quartets by Pleyel and Hoffmeister, and three works by Philip Knapton, the York musician - a quintet for pianoforte, oboe, violin, viola, and violoncello; a piano trio; and a sextet for pianoforte, oboe, violin, viola, violoncello, and double bass. Unfortunately these three works are now lost.⁶¹

As we have seen, the subscription concerts were in a continual state of financial decline during the period from 1776 to 1835 consequent upon York gradually losing its importance as a social centre. Throughout almost all of this time the concerts were promoted by performers from the band, and were invariably held in the Assembly Rooms; little is known of the constitution of the instrumental force, other than the names of the leading instrumentalists. During the 1810s and 1820s the concerts came under the influence of two local musicians who placed before York audiences the latest in contemporary music, including works by Beethoven, Rossini, and Weber, although music from the middle of the previous century and before was still occasionally played until 1820 or so. The period closes just as the York Choral Society had established itself, bringing with it a change

⁶¹Concert programmes, 1813-1828, 9 February 1816, 22 March 1816, and 19 March 1819.

in York's concert life, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

TABLE 7.1

Constitution of English orchestras, 1791-1831

Name	Date	F1	Ob	Cl	Fg	Cor	Tr	Trb	Vlms 1 2	Vla	Vlc	Cb	Additional information	Source	
London, Salomon Concerts	1791	2	2	?	2	2	2	-	12-16	4	3	4	Drums	Carse 1:22	
York, Subscrip- tion Concert	1805	?	2	?	2	2	2	?	1	1	1	2	2	Drums, organ. Principal performers only are listed from an instrumental and vocal force of at least 60.	YC 25.3.1805
York, Subscrip- tion Concert	1807	?	1	?	2	1	?	?	1	?	1	1	1	Drums, organ. Principal performers only are listed from an instrumental and vocal force of between 40 and 50.	YC 30.3.1807
Oxford, Music Room	1808	1	-	2	3	2	1	-	3	3	1	1	1	One bassoon player also played drums.	Carse 2:25
York, Subscrip- tion Concert	1817	1+	2	2	2+	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Bass horn, drums. Principal performers only are listed.	YC 24.1.1817
London, Covent Garden Theatre	1825	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	6/ 8	6/ 8	2	2	3/ 4	Drums, keyed bugle, flageolet.	Carse 2:52
Manchester, Liszt's Concerts	1825	2	2	2	2	4	2	3	12	4	<	6	>	Drums.	Carse 2:54
London, R.A.M. Concerts	1826	2	2	2	3	5	4	3	26	7	6	6	Drums, piccolo.	Carse 2:53	
York, Charity Concert, FCRs	1829	3	2	3	3	4	2	2	8	7	7	6	3	Drums.	YCA. Acc. 150
London, King's Theatre	1831	2	2	2	2	4	2	3	16	4	4	4	Drums.	Carse 2:53	

Key Carse 1. Carse, Adam. The orchestra in the XVIIIth century (Cambridge: Heffer, 1940).

Carse 2. Carse, Adam. The orchestra from Beethoven to Berlioz: a history of the orchestra in the first half of the 19th century, and of the development of orchestral baton-conducting (Cambridge: Heffer, 1948).

TABLE 7.2

Programmes of York subscription concerts, 1780-1831

Date of Concert	Part 1						Part 2						
1780 February 24	Overture	Concerto, clarinet	Song	Quartet, strings	Concerto, organ		Concerto, flute	Song	Concerto, violin	Full piece			YC 22.2.1780
1785 February 25	Overture	Lesson, pianoforte	English cantata	Concerto, flute	Concerto, organ		Overture	Song	Concerto, violin	Song	Full piece		YC 22.2.1785
1789 March 6	Overture	Song	Concertante	Song	Concerto, organ		Overture	Song	Quintet, strings	Song	Coronation anthem		YC 3.3.1789
1798 April 13	Overture	Concerto grosso	Song	Concerto pianoforte	Song	Chorus	Concerto oboe	Song	Concerto, violin	Song	Trio, vocal	Coronation anthem	YC 7.4.1798
1804 March 23	Overture	Song	Concerto grosso	Song	Concerto, oboe		Concerto, violin	Song	Concerto, flute	Finale			YC 12.3.1804
1809 April 7	'a Selection from Acis and Galatea, consisting of songs, trios & chorusses'						[Songs; glee; concerto, violin; concerto, organ; concerto, flute. Order not specified].						YC 3.4.1809
1815 February 10	Overture	Song	Concertante	Song & vocal duet	Concerto organ		Symphony	Song	Quintet, pf, ob, and strgs	Song	Duet	Overture	Concert programme
1820 March 8	Symphony	Glee	Overture	Song & glee	Overture		Overture	Song, and vocal duet	Concerto	Song	Glee	Overture	Concert programme
1825 January 7	Symphony	Song	Overture	Song	Concerto, violoncello	Glee	Symphony	Song	Overture	Glee	Song	Finale	Concert programme
1831 January 24	Symphony	Song	Concerto, French horn	Song	Vocal finale		Overture	Song	Glee	Instrumentale			YH 29.1.1831

CHAPTER VIII

'TO IMPROVE THE TASTE, REFINE THE MANNERS, AND ELEVATE ... THE MORAL CHARACTER': PUBLIC CONCERTS IN YORK, 1836-1875

In the first four decades of the nineteenth century York gradually ceased to be a centre for fashionable social activity, thus continuing a decline which had been apparent towards the end of the eighteenth century.¹ This in turn resulted in a decline in the number of people living in York and its immediate district who were both willing and able to pay for musical entertainment of a high order. It will be seen that the securing of sufficiently large audiences was a continuing problem for both the societies and the private individuals who promoted concerts. After a brief discussion of the subscription concerts held in York between 1835 and 1842, and their effective continuation by the York Philharmonic Society from 1844 to 1852, there follows a description of some of the performances given in York by various musicians of international repute, who included Louis Jullien, Franz Liszt, Nicolò Paganini, and Johann Strauss, senior. The largest part of this chapter is devoted to an account of the activities of

¹P.M. Tillott, ed., The city of York, The Victoria History of the Counties of England (London: O.U.P., 1961), pp. 256-258, 266-267.

four local societies, namely, the York Choral Society, the York Choral Union, the York Musical Society (the first of two separate societies having this name in common), and the York People's Musical Union.

The annual series of subscription concerts continued in York in much the same vein as in the period before 1835. For the price of one guinea, the holder of a ticket to the subscription series was entitled to the four concerts (and the balls which immediately followed them), the concerts taking place in the Assembly Rooms, or very occasionally in the Festival Concert Rooms, and the balls invariably in the Assembly Rooms. The concerts were now held in the winter months between October and January, rather than between January and April as formerly, 'in consequence of many of the County Families so early leaving the Neighbourhood for the Metropolis'.²

In addition to a steady decline in the attendance at the concerts (which had been apparent before 1835) there was a certain aloofness on the part of those who attended, upon which the York Herald commented from time to time. For instance, discussing the subscription concerts on 20 January 1836, it noted that with the exception of applause given for the performance of the song 'Auld Robin Gray', 'we never heard good music more coldly received than in this too-refined-to-be-delighted city', while later in the year, the same newspaper wrote thus of a subscription concert held on 19 October:

The concert listeners of this city have often astonished us with their apathy, but on this occasion they outdid themselves.³

Throughout the period in which Dr. Camidge promoted the York subscription concerts, i.e., between 1830 and 1842, he was encouraged

²YH 24.9.1836.

³YH 23.1.1836, YH 22.10.1836.

in his enterprise by the local press, and in his last year of promoting them the York Herald wrote:

We trust that the attendance has been such as to encourage Dr. Camidge to continue those concerts and balls which he has manifested so much spirit in commencing.⁴

He was not sufficiently encouraged, however, and it was probably the poor attendances and consequent low financial return which led Dr. Camidge to give up the promotion of the concerts and balls in 1842.

Virtually nothing is known of the constitution of the instrumental force which played in the subscription concerts, other than that occasional help was provided by military bands stationed in York. By way of example, at the concert on 20 December 1836 the band of the 10th Hussars was present in the orchestra 'supporting the larger wind instruments'.⁵ The vocal soloists who sang in the concerts were of particular importance, and there was usually a minimum of two. Clara Novello, who sang on 8 March 1837 and 22 October 1839, was perhaps the most famous.⁶ Occasionally, noted instrumentalists played at the subscription concerts, and these included the Distin family, Moscheles, and Thalberg.⁷ A concert typical of those given in the subscription series between 1836 and 1842 was that performed on 22 October 1839, in which the main soloist was Clara Novello.⁸ The programme contained a mixture of orchestral music played by the orchestra, solo vocal items sung by Miss Novello

⁴YH 12.2.1842.

⁵YH 24.12.1836.

⁶YH 11.3.1837, YH 26.10.1839.

⁷YH 18.11.1837, YH 10.11.1838, 18.1.1840, 12.3.1842.

⁸See Table 8.1.

(with orchestral accompaniment), and glees sung by four men and a small number of boys, all from the Minster choir.

On 16 December 1843 the York Herald noted that the concerts and balls in York, which had for many years been 'pre-eminent among the towns of Yorkshire, [had] ... much fallen off, owing to causes which were only temporary', but did not elaborate on these causes. A week before, the same newspaper had given news of a new musical society in York, the York Philharmonic Society (YPS), which was being formed 'for the express purpose of having a series of concerts and balls ... upon a very respectable scale'. The first concert promoted by this new society took place on 19 January 1844.⁹

The YPS stayed in existence until 1852, during which time it promoted nine annual series of concerts and balls, their financial arrangements being the same as those operated by Dr. Camidge, viz., an annual subscription of one guinea or payment of seven shillings and sixpence per concert. During the first five subscription series, four concerts and balls were given each year, but in the sixth and subsequent series, in addition to the four concerts, now described as professional, were added two amateur concerts and balls through which it was hoped 'to promote the love of music in the city and county of York, and to encourage the study and cultivation of that delightful accomplishment'.¹⁰ The number of subscribers in the first six years was approximately two hundred per annum, although the numbers attending the concerts were much lower than this, e.g., on 23 April 1846 only fifty-five attended and on 9 October 1851 'the amount of

⁹YH 9.12.1843, YH 20.1.1844.

¹⁰Annual report of the York Philharmonic Society, summarized in the YH 20.10.1849.

company was exceedingly small' for the concert, although numbers grew rapidly afterwards in readiness for the ball'.¹¹ It was probably lack of public support which led to the folding of the YPS after the conclusion of the subscription series of 1852.

The pattern of the YPS's concerts, both as regards musical content and types of performer, remained essentially the same as in those given by Dr. Camidge, and discussed above. Compare, for instance, the programme of a concert given by the YPS in 1845 with that given in the subscription series in 1839, where the content can be seen to be broadly similar.¹² There was the perennial problem of securing competent instrumentalists, and once again members of military bands stationed in York were frequently called upon. In an attempt to solve this problem, the committee of management of the YPS requested John Robinson, a local musician, teacher and music seller, to give 'his opinion of the propriety and necessity of establishing a School for Music in York'. His answer to the Society was published in the form of an open letter,¹³ in which he outlined the deficiencies in instrumental playing in York, claiming that they had been caused by the absence of the 'necessary patronage and a good system of solid musical instruction ... [for] its rising talent'. He went on to propose a school of not less than forty boys aged between nine and sixteen years of age who would be apprenticed for the term of seven years and taught to perform upon two instruments. There was clearly a gap in English musical education at this time: the Royal Academy of

¹¹YH 25.4.1846, YH 15.7.1848, YH 11.10.1851.

¹²See Tables 8.1 and 8.2.

¹³John Robinson, A letter addressed to the committee of the York Philharmonic Society, on the formation of a school of music in the city of York (York: Bellerby, 1845).

Music had been founded in 1822 and it was to be another twenty-eight years before the founding of the National Training School for Music (later the Royal College of Music). But although the committee of management of the YPS expressed its support for Mr. Robinson's proposed school, and determined to open a public subscription to pay for it, the school was never founded.¹⁴

Singers were the most important of the soloists performing in the YPS's concerts, as they had been in the subscription concerts promoted by Dr. Camidge, and again there was usually a minimum of two, with female vocalists appearing much more often than their male counterparts. Several of the concerts had music performed by itinerant concert parties, e.g., the celebrated vocalists Grisi, Mario, and the two Lablaches who performed on 29 October 1845, while on 8 September of the next year the same performers sang, now minus one of the Lablaches but with the addition of John Parry and Julius Benedict. Among the instrumental soloists for the Society's concerts there was only one of distinction, Thalberg, who played in 1848 and 1849.¹⁵ The bands in the Society's concerts were usually led by either John Wade Thirwall (from the Nobility's Concerts, London) or Charles A. Seymour (leader of the Gentlemen's Concerts, Manchester); occasionally between 1847 and 1850 they were led by Dr. Camidge.

It had been customary throughout Europe until shortly before this time for musical performances to be directed either by the leader of the orchestra or from a keyboard instrument, but with the demand for greater ensemble precision both were gradually dispensed with and

¹⁴Annual report of the York Philharmonic Society, summarized in the YH 22.11.1845.

¹⁵YH 23.8.1845, YH 12.9.1846, YH 5.2.1848, YH 3.2.1849.

replaced by a conductor. A pioneer in this respect was Louis Jullien, who gave an annual concert in York every year between 1844 and 1859, with the exception of 1854, when he was touring America. Jullien's declared aim was to 'ensure amusement as well as attempting instruction, by blending in the programmes [of his concerts] the most sublime works, with those of a lighter school', a practice which was reflected in the programmes of his York concerts, e.g., that given in the Festival Concert Rooms on 21 April 1847, which included two quadrilles, a polka, and a waltz, all composed by Jullien himself, and Beethoven's Symphony no. 5 in c minor.¹⁶ The very high standard of the performances given by Jullien's band was particularly noteworthy as far as York commentators were concerned, possibly because the standard of orchestral playing in York was so low, as we have already seen. In commenting upon a concert given in the Festival Concert Rooms on 17 August 1846, the York Herald wrote:

Such is the skill which the performers have attained ... that they are now enabled to produce the perfect ensemble, which nothing but practice can enable an orchestra to attain ... We have never heard Beethoven's Symphony in C minor more finely given.¹⁷

Other than on the occasions of visits by Jullien and his band, it was generally impossible in the north of England to hear symphonic compositions performed by professional orchestras until the establishment of Hallé's band in Manchester in 1858, the chief members of which, together with other professional players, performed in four

¹⁶Illustrated London News, 9 November 1850, quoted in The new Grove dictionary of musicians, s.v. 'Jullien, Louis,' by Keith Horner; YH 17.4.1847, YH 24.4.1847.

¹⁷YH 22.8.1846.

annual series of concerts in York between 1865 and 1869 under the direction of Louis Alexander Drouet.¹⁸

As with other musical ventures in York, for instance, those in the 1830s mentioned above, the York Herald was quick to support Drouet's initiative, and hoped sincerely that 'such a superior class of concerts, having taken root in the city, may become indigenous to the soil'.¹⁹ But although Drouet was well supported in his enterprise at Bradford, Leeds, and Sheffield, the first season's concerts in York were poorly attended, 'such a want of support furnish[ing] a negative to the opinion generally held that York [was] ... a musical place of the first quality'.²⁰ Although attendances did pick up considerably during his second series of orchestral concerts (a concert on 14 February 1867 attracted an audience of over two thousand),²¹ it was probably the low overall attendances and their resulting poor financial return which led him to give only one orchestral concert in each of the concert series in 1867/68 and 1868/69, replacing the other two with programmes of chamber music and songs. The orchestral programmes performed in York between 1865 and 1869 included works which are now part of the standard repertoire, e.g., overtures and symphonies by Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Rossini, and Wagner; two works

¹⁸Louis Alexander Drouet was born at London in 1830, the son of Louis Drouet, the famous French flautist, and lived in York from 1859 to 1869, where he taught music; he was an especially fine pianist. Brief biographical details of his life can be found in YH 27.3.1869 and in John Ward Knowles, 'A list of York musicians from early times to present day, etc.' 3 vols. (Unpublished MS. in York Public Library), 1:123.

¹⁹YH 10.2.1866.

²⁰YH 14.4.1866, YH 21.4.1866.

²¹YH 16.2.1867.

were performed for the first time in York, viz., Mendelssohn's Reformation symphony and Schumann's Symphony no. 1 in B flat.

After Drouet left York in 1869 there were no further concerts given by professional orchestras until 1873, when that of Hallé performed in a series of four concerts promoted by John Wilson, a local resident. The first and third concerts in this series were orchestral, Hallé being accompanied by his band of forty-one instrumentalists from Manchester, while the second and fourth concerts consisted of chamber music. A sufficient number of subscribers could not be found for a series of concerts during the next winter season, but Hallé did give further concerts in York during 1875 and 1876. The York Herald noted in this latter year the pecuniary losses to which the promotion of these 'first-class concerts' gave rise, and warned that without more generous support the concerts would be given up altogether.²² While this prediction was not entirely fulfilled, series of orchestral and chamber concerts never consistently attracted large audiences. Although there were problems in attracting audiences to these so-called 'first-class concerts', those given by the various York musical societies formed during the period from 1835 to 1876 often drew very large numbers of people, but before discussing these societies in some detail, it remains to conclude this section on the subscription concerts and their successors with a brief mention of the great virtuosi who visited and performed in York as part of their larger national tours.

In 1838, Johann Strauss, senior, the celebrated Viennese waltz composer, visited York with his orchestra of twenty-nine players during his first tour of England and Scotland. They performed in the

²²YH 5.2.1876.

Festival Concert Rooms, exciting such interest that he was persuaded to give two further concerts before leaving York a week later.²³ The greatest instrumentalist to play in York between 1835 and 1876 was Franz Liszt, who performed in the Festival Concert Rooms on 14 December 1840. The York Herald was most enthusiastic about his playing:

He brought out of the instrument, with an almost magical power, every variety of tone - dashing along the most rapid movements with the utmost ease and the greatest distinctness - now breaking forth into the loudest vibrations, and then hushed down into the softest breathings - now rolling like the thunder, and then whispering like the zephyrs in the passing gale. Liszt evidently embodies his own soul in his task, and entrances his auditory with the wizard's spell.²⁴

Among the famous vocalists who visited York were Jenny Lind, the so-called 'Swedish nightingale', who sang in 1848, 1856, and 1861, and Sims Reeves, the foremost English tenor of his day, who sang in 1857 and 1861.²⁵

There have been two societies in York with the name York Musical Society, the first of which was probably founded in 1767,²⁶ becoming defunct in 1855 or so, while the second was founded in 1876 and is still alive today; the activities of the latter are discussed in the following chapter. The first York Musical Society was a gentlemen's club, members being admitted as either performers or non-performers.

²³YH 20.10.1838, YH 27.10.1838.

²⁴YH 19.12.1840.

²⁵YH 23.9.1848, YH 29.3.1856, YH 12.4.1856, YH 24.1.1857, YH 9.11.1861.

²⁶At the meeting of the York Musical Society, reported in the YG 8.5.1830, John White (a musician born in York in 1779) said that the Society was founded by John Camidge (1734-1803), the Minster organist. The first extant minute book of the Society, now in York City Archives, Acc. 30:1, dates from 14 September 1767.

Its numbers were highest in 1825 with fifty-nine members, dwindling gradually to forty-nine in 1838, twenty in 1846, and seventeen in 1849;²⁷ in the 1830s there were weekly meetings during the winter months of the year, plus one anniversary concert. It would seem that at the weekly meetings various kinds of informal music-making took place (local musicians being hired as appropriate), with food and drink being made available at the end of each meeting.²⁸ The annual anniversary concerts were held variously in the Festival Concert Rooms, the Assembly Rooms and the De Grey Rooms. Again, local musicians were called upon, and programmes similar to those given in the subscription concerts were performed. The last recorded meeting of this first York Musical Society was held in 1855, the Yorkshire Gazette noting that the Society had then 'been in abeyance for several years'.²⁹

In addition to the York Musical Society, two other musical societies are known to have existed in York prior to the foundation of the York Choral Society in 1833. The York Quintett Society (the significance of the word 'Quintett' is not clear) was formed in 1824 by two or three young men, and in 1827 its second anniversary concert, involving forty vocal and instrumental performers, was performed before an audience of between three and four hundred people.³⁰ Another society formed in the 1820s, the York United Musical Society, gave its third and fifth annual concerts on 2 January 1828 and 9 February 1830

²⁷YCA, York Musical Society, attendance register, Acc. 30:2.

²⁸YCA, York Musical Society, minute book, 1818-1855, passim, Acc. 30:2.

²⁹YG 29.12.1855.

³⁰YH 6.1.1827.

respectively. The band on each occasion was led by John Hardman, the brother of William Hardman (musician and music seller in York), the programmes consisting of both instrumental and vocal music, e.g., the 'Hallelujah chorus' from Handel's Messiah, the chorus 'The heav'ns are telling' from Haydn's The creation, and overtures by Auber, Boieldieu, and Rossini.³¹ The committee of management of the 1825 Yorkshire Musical Festival had resolved on 4 October 1824 'that 10 guineas be applied in such a manner as Messrs. Camidge and P. Knapton think best for the encouragement of a choral society in York',³² but there is no evidence to suggest that either the York Quintett Society or the York United Musical Society was formed as a response to this initiative, although both encouraged choral music. After 1830 nothing further is heard of the York United Musical Society, but it was only another three years before the founding of another and more long-lived musical society, namely, the York Choral Society.

The York Choral Society (YCS) was established on 10 September 1833. According to the Dean of York, speaking in 1835, the Choral Society arose from the 'the exertions of the middle classes', whereas the Chairman of the Society, Mr. W.C. Anderson, speaking on two occasions almost a quarter of a century later, recalled that the society had originated with a 'class of mechanics' or by 'what they might term THE PEOPLE'.³³ Without any further corroborating evidence - the minute books of the YCS do not begin until 1837 - it is difficult to say who was right, except to note that on both occasions Mr.

³¹YH 5.1.1828, YH 13.2.1830.

³²YML, archives of the York Musical Festivals, box 2, unsorted bundles, D 10/R/M.

³³YG 18.7.1835; YH 3.10.1857, YH 13.8.1859.

Anderson was probably indulging in rhetorical exaggeration, and that membership of the YCS would seem to have been more open than that of the York Musical Society whose Rule 2 of 1825 prescribed 'that no person in any business or profession shall be deemed admissible as a Member of this Society, unless he be a principal or partner in such business or profession'.³⁴ Rule 1 of the YCS said that its sole object was 'the performance of vocal and instrumental music', and meetings for this purpose took place on Tuesday and Thursday evenings. A more high-flown description of the Society's aims was given much later by Joseph Munby, its president.

... the object of its establishment was not for the members to have the opportunity of spending an idle hour at the concerts. Neither was it instituted as a means of rational amusement, but for higher purposes, namely, to improve the taste, refine the manners, and elevate not only the intellectual but also the moral character of the members of the society and their fellow citizens.³⁵

Between 1833 and 1869 the YCS played a leading role in the music-making of the city, although it had a rather uneven existence. In 1845 the number of complimentary tickets given to each member for the Society's concerts was reduced from three to two in the hope that more money would be taken at the door, thus relieving the Society 'from

³⁴YCA, Rules of the York Musical Society, printed copy, bound in the Society's attendance register, 1818-1848, Acc. 30:2.

³⁵YCA, Rules of the York Choral Society, printed copy, glued to the front paste-down of the Society's receipt book, 1837-1842, Acc. 31:3. Munby's remarks were reported in the YG 4.10.1862. The idea of music as a morally elevating force was widely accepted in mid-nineteenth-century England, and was enshrined by Hugh Reginald Haweis in a series of magazine articles which were eventually published in revised form under the title Music and morals (London: Allen, 1871). This book was enormously popular and ran to sixteen editions. For an up-to-date discussion of the subject of music and morals in Victorian England, see David Russell, Popular music in England, 1840-1914: a social history (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), pp. 17-59.

certain pecuniary difficulties', a continuation of which led to the society becoming virtually defunct between April 1849 and October 1850.³⁶ The Society continued its concerts on 29 October 1850, however, and ten years later, at the annual meeting it was reported to be in a 'healthy, vigorous condition', having had an average of 398 members for the last five years.³⁷

From this high point, the YCS went into a steady decline in the 1860s, which was partly due to a 'refinement of the public taste', that now demanded professional soloists of a high standard, thus placing a heavy financial burden on the Society, and partly due to a failure to attract performing members (both vocal and instrumental) of a sufficient quality which led to a decline in performance, particularly in the choral singing.³⁸ Writing after the Society's last concert on 20 May 1869, the York Herald noted the lack of 'a spirit of emulation among aspiring vocalists [in York] as is to be found in the West-Riding towns', which lack had a debilitating effect on the activities of the Committee of the YCS.³⁹

Little is known of the size or constitution of the chorus which sang in the YCS's concerts. In its early years the soprano line was probably performed mainly by boys (usually from the Minster choir),⁴⁰

³⁶YH 2.8.1845; YG 4.5.1850, YG 2.11.1850.

³⁷YH 15.9.1860.

³⁸YH 20.9.1862, YH 14.9.1867.

³⁹YH 22.5.1869.

⁴⁰Rule 2 of the York Choral Society stipulated that 'every performer must be a member of this society (with the exception of six treble voices)'; there are many references to the 'Singing Boys' and the 'Threble Boys' in the Society's minute and account books. Thomas Brooke, the Society's choral conductor, was paid in 1833 for 'teaching female singers', YCA, York Choral Society receipt book, 1833-1842, Acc. 31:3. An offer by the Society to give 'gratuitous [musical]

and although efforts were made to attract women singers, it would seem that in the long-term these efforts met with mixed success, as in the 1860s the Society's chorus was often augmented by boys from the Minster choir and from two York schools, namely, the Blue Coat School and the Wilberforce School for the Blind.⁴¹ On the occasions when the York Choral Society performed Messiah in its entirety, i.e., every Christmas in the years between 1857 and 1868, its chorus was frequently enlarged by singers from the West Riding - an indication of the Society's inability to perform large-scale choral works unaided.⁴² It is most likely that the alto part of the chorus would have been sung by men, which was the practice throughout England during this period.⁴³

As with the subscription concerts given before 1842 and the concerts of the York Philharmonic Society, discussed above, the York Choral Society had a problem in finding adequately trained instrumentalists, and, as had so often been the case, this deficiency was met by introducing players from the military bands stationed in York, especially between the years 1833 and 1854.⁴⁴ It would seem that from about 1854, however, the Society no longer resorted to using the military musicians - at least, they are not mentioned in

instruction to young females' was noted in the YG 22.20.1834.

⁴¹YH 21.12.1861, YH 16.12.1865, YH 17.4.1869.

⁴²YH 14.12.1861, YH 19.11.1864.

⁴³Percy Alfred Scholes, The mirror of music, 1844-1944: a century of musical life in Britain as reflected in the pages of the Musical times, 2 vols. (London: Novello, 1947), 1:57-58.

⁴⁴By way of example, see the reports of the York Choral Society's concerts which appeared in the YG 18.11.1834; YH 20.7.1844, YH 27.5.1854.

advertisements and concert notices – and instead employed players from Bradford, Halifax, Leeds, and other West Riding towns as required.⁴⁵

The conductors of the YCS and the leaders of its orchestra were all local musicians, among whom the most important were William Hardman and George Hopkinson. William Hardman was a music and musical instrument seller and leader of the Society's orchestra for most of its public concerts between 1833 and 1842, at which latter date he retired from taking any further active part in the orchestra on account of a difference between him and the conductor over who should set the tempo.⁴⁶ From 1851 until 1867, the period when the Society was tackling its most ambitious programmes (including The creation, Judas Maccabaeus, and Messiah), its conductor was George Hopkinson, a music teacher and organist. The vocal soloists were drawn mainly from the north of England, the men very often from the choir of York Minster (or sometimes from Durham Cathedral), while women from the West Riding were frequently called upon, especially Mrs. Sunderland, the so-called 'Yorkshire Queen of Song'.⁴⁷

From its beginnings in 1833 until April 1836 the YCS held its concerts in the Merchant Adventurers' Hall, Fossgate, and afterwards in the Festival Concert Rooms. Before the society's financial crisis of 1849/1850, mentioned above, admission to its concerts was by tickets, which were given to members for the use of their friends and

⁴⁵YH 19.12.1857, YH 14.11.1863, YH 17.4.1869.

⁴⁶YCA, York Choral Society, minute book, 13 February 1843, Acc. 31:2. The rise of the conductor during this period is briefly noted above in connection with Louis Jullien.

⁴⁷Brief biographical details of Mrs. Sunderland can be found in James D. Brown and Stephen Samuel Stratton, British musical biography: a dictionary of musical artists, authors and composers born in Britain and its colonies (London: Reeves, 1897), s.v. 'Sunderland, Susan.'

acquaintances, and although it is impossible to estimate the actual cost per ticket it is known to have been low.⁴⁸ After the re-establishment of the Society's concerts in 1851, the prices of admission were standardized at one shilling for unreserved (back and gallery) seats, and two shillings for reserved (front) seats. These prices compared very favourably with those of the York subscription concerts before 1842 and those of the York Philharmonic Society, which were a subscription price of one guinea for four concerts or seven shillings and sixpence per concert, and consequently the YCS's concerts had a much broader social appeal. Until the mid-1850s the concerts had been patronized by the 'middle classes and the lowest orders', but when the York Philharmonic Society failed and the Choral Society became the sole provider of regular concerts in York, the 'aristocracy of the county' was also attracted.⁴⁹ After 1836 or so, the Choral Society frequently attracted audiences of over a thousand, and in the 1850s audiences of fifteen hundred and above were commonplace, this number representing between three and four per cent of York's population at that time.⁵⁰

A concert programme typical of those given by the YCS in the period before 1840 was that performed on 29 September 1836, which in its general pattern resembles the programmes given in the York

⁴⁸YCA, York Choral Society minute book, 5 September 1837, Acc. 31:1; YG 13.4.1848.

⁴⁹The quotations are those of the chairman of the York Choral Society speaking at its annual meeting of 1859, as reported in the YH 13.8.1859.

⁵⁰YH 27.5.1854, YH 15.3.1856, YH 14.3.1857, YH 7.5.1859. The population figures of York are quoted in P.M. Tillott, ed., The city of York, Victoria History of the Counties of England (London: O.U.P., 1961), p. 254.

subscription concerts, but for its greater amount of choral music.⁵¹ Notwithstanding the word 'Choral' in the name of the YCS, choral music did not become central to its programmes until the 1840s, and, indeed, in its early years most programmes would contain but three or four choruses at the most; for instance, the concert on 6 January 1834 contained two choruses, viz., the 'Kyrie' and first part of the 'Gloria' from Mozart's Mass no. 12 (K.Anh.232) and 'The heavens are telling' from Haydn's The creation.⁵² The paucity of choral music in the Society's programmes stemmed from the fact that the Society did not have a sufficient number of capable singers in its ranks; the choruses would probably have had to be learnt by rote by most of the singers.

By the end of the 1830s the chorus of the YCS had become able to sustain a greater part in its concerts and from about 1840 the programmes reflected this. The first part of the concert would be taken up with either a selection from a single work (usually an oratorio) or a sacred cantata in its entirety, while the second part would contain a miscellaneous selection of glees, songs, and short orchestral pieces. An example of such a concert programme can be seen in Table 8.4. With the exception of a complete performance of Haydn's The creation on 30 November 1843 it was not until 22 December 1857 that the YCS gave a performance of a large oratorio without cuts, when Handel's Messiah with Mozart's accompaniments was given, annual performances thereof following until the Society's demise in 1869. On each occasion when Messiah was performed, however, the Society's

⁵¹See Table 8.3.

⁵²The printed programmes can be found in a guard book formerly belonging to the York Choral Society (YCA, Acc. 31:3).

choral and instrumental forces were reinforced by singers and players from Bradford, Halifax and Leeds.⁵³ Only two other works were performed in their entirety: Judas Maccabaeus in 1862, and The creation in 1863, again with the help of performers from the West Riding. As noted above, the Society's chorus never attained the level of skill necessary to tackle large oratorios without outside assistance.

A rough count of the works chosen for performance in the first half of the Choral Society's concerts between 1840 and 1869 reveals that about forty-five per cent were by Handel (of whose work Messiah outstripped the others in popularity by far), and that eighty per cent were sacred choral works. Haydn, Mendelssohn, and Mozart were the composers next in popularity, with Mendelssohn's St. Paul having selections performed from it on five occasions, while selections from Rossini's Stabat mater were performed on four. Of the secular works, two by Andreas Jakob Romberg, The lay of the bell and The transient and the eternal, were performed several times, both pieces being extremely popular with English choral societies at this time. During the second part of the concerts in which a selection from a choral work had occupied the first, a miscellany containing glees, songs, and orchestral music was introduced. The heyday of the glee had been between 1780 and 1830, but its evident continuing popularity was displayed in the programmes of the YCS until 1860, after which date glees were no longer performed. Between 1833 and 1850 glees by Sir Henry Bishop were especial favourites, particularly his 'Blow, gentle gales', 'Mynheer van Dunck', and 'The chough and the crow'. Many of the songs performed were taken from oratorios and operas, Handel and

⁵³YH 19.12.1857, YH 11.12.1858, YH 15.12.1860.

Haydn being the most popular composers. The orchestral music usually consisted of overtures by composers such as Auber, Beethoven, Cherubini, Mozart, Rossini, and Weber, and very occasionally symphonies by Haydn, Mendelssohn, Mozart, Romberg, and Weber.⁵⁴ Several works were written by local composers for performance at the YCS's concerts in the period between 1833 and 1848, a list of which is included in Table 8.5.

In 1856, at a time when the York Choral Society was at its most flourishing, another musical society was formed in York, namely, the York People's Musical Union (YPMU), the aims of whose members were outlined in the York Herald.

The members ... are not merely actuated by a desire to improve their own musical tastes and attainments, but also a wish that the working classes of York generally might have presented before them a series of concerts which should not fail to be of a gratifying character, whilst at the same time they might be brought in closer acquaintance than hitherto with the works of some of the best musical composers at an occasional evening concert, which should tend to have an elevating and not a debasing influence upon them.⁵⁵

The report read at a general meeting of the YPMU on 27 May 1857 said that its formation was part of a 'national experiment', but although it is known that there were similar societies in Hull, Leeds, and London, their activities are not recorded.⁵⁶

It was noted above that, on account of the lower prices, the concerts of the York Choral Society had a broader social appeal than those of the York Philharmonic Society. In turn, the prices of the

⁵⁴It is known that the York Choral Society purchased symphonies by Beethoven (YCA, York Choral Society receipt book, 1833-1842, Acc. 31:3), but it would seem that they were never performed in public.

⁵⁵YH 20.12.1856.

⁵⁶YH 30.5.1857, YH 21.11.1857.

concerts of the YPMU were lower than those of the York Choral Society, being one shilling for front seats, sixpence for gallery seats, and threepence for promenading which, according to a letter to the York Herald from a 'Working Man',

... [would] tend to foster a taste for music of a higher class than the working classes of York had previously an opportunity of hearing; the price of concerts generally being too high for the people out of their scanty means to afford.⁵⁷

Having based their concerts on the principle of reduced charges of admission, large audiences were necessary in order to avoid financial loss, and in its first three years these large audiences were easily achieved, with average attendances for the five-concert series of 1,426 in 1856/1857, of 1,478 in 1857/1858, and of 1,782 in 1858/1859.⁵⁸ Attendances then declined steadily through the 1860s, a decline which could at first be attributed to the general 'depression of trade',⁵⁹ but thereafter to no easily identifiable cause. The YPMU suspended its activities between April 1868 and December 1869, and although they were recommenced in 1870 with a series of four concerts given between January and April, the Union is no longer heard of after the presentation of its fourteenth annual report in July 1871.

Contemporaries saw the YPMU as having its own definable sphere of musical influence. An anonymous writer stated in 1864 that whereas the York Choral Society had 'its destiny in the higher regions of the divine art', the YPMU was 'a kind of pioneer to it, each having for its object the elevation of the musical mind of the public'.⁶⁰ A few

⁵⁷YH 6.2.1858.

⁵⁸YH 30.5.1857, YH 25.8.1858, YH 13.8.1859.

⁵⁹YH 18.8.1860, YH 8.6.1861, YH 30.8.1862.

⁶⁰YH 3.12.1864.

years later, the Chairman of the YPMU categorized its position further:

... the first-class concerts were given by Mons. Drouet, and the second by the Choral Society ... The next were the people's concerts.⁶¹

He went on to say that if each continued with its adopted style, they should all continue to be successful, yet within four years all three of these categories of concert had disappeared. It was claimed that at the commencement of the YPMU's concerts the programmes were of the 'lightest possible character', but as a result of a betterment in the musical taste of its audiences, caused by the habit of attending the concerts, musical programmes of an improved character were introduced.⁶²

It is difficult to substantiate this claim from newspaper reports of the YPMU's concerts, the content of their programmes remaining broadly similar throughout, save that in the 1860s polkas and quadrilles were introduced. Other than this addition, the instrumental music performed at the concerts consisted of overtures by composers who included Auber, Balfe, Paer, Rossini, Weber, and Winter. Neither concertos nor symphonies (complete or in single movements) were performed, and on the very rare occasions that solo instrumental items were introduced into YPMU concerts they were indifferently received.⁶³ The vocal music in the programmes included various songs, duets and trios, and occasionally glees and madrigals, which were performed by the YPMU's choral class. The orchestra consisted of local musicians, most of them amateur, and although after an

⁶¹YH 31.8.1867.

⁶²YH 8.6.1861.

⁶³YH 10.3.1866.

undistinguished start their playing had much improved by 1860 or so, the committee of the YPMU still felt it necessary from 1861 to include in their instrumental force players from military bands stationed in York. On many occasions after 1861 the instrumentalists of the YPMU's orchestra were dispensed with entirely, one or other of the military bands playing the instrumental items unaided, the vocal items in the programmes being accompanied solely by piano. The conductors and leaders of the YPMU's orchestra were all local men, including Richard Hunt, Benjamin Shaw, and Thomas Thrush.

During the York Choral Society's last few years, attendances at its concerts fell away (whether because of the content of its concert programmes, or the cost of admission, is not clear), until at the beginning of the proposed 1869/70 season of concerts, financial straits required the Choral Society's committee to solicit advance subscriptions to the value of £200 before undertaking the arrangements necessary to render the concerts possible.⁶⁴ When this amount of money was not forthcoming, a meeting was called to dissolve the York Choral Society, but instead of dissolution an attempt at resuscitation was made, for which purpose a re-formed committee was voted and left with the nucleus of the old society.⁶⁵ Nothing resulted from this immediately, but early in 1870 a new society called the York Choral Union was formed, its object being the cultivation of choral music, with Robert Burton, the well-known Yorkshire musician, being appointed its choral instructor and conductor.⁶⁶

⁶⁴YH 9.10.1869.

⁶⁵YH 27.11.1869.

⁶⁶YH 8.1.1870, YH 14.5.1870. Brief biographical details about Robert Burton may be found in The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians, s.v. 'Burton, Robert,' by Herbert Thompson.

In the 1870/1871 season the York Choral Union gave four concerts, including performances of Barnby's Rebekah (with the composer conducting), Handel's Messiah, Mendelssohn's Lobgesang, and Mozart's Twelfth mass (K.Anh.232).⁶⁷ After the main business at the first annual general meeting of the York Choral Union had been concluded, the meeting was then made special to consider amalgamating the dormant York Choral Society, the York Choral Union, and the York People's Musical Union into a new musical society called the York Philharmonic Union. This was unanimously agreed, officers were elected, and a decision taken to give three 'grand' and three 'minor' concerts each season.⁶⁸ In the three 'grand' concerts, performances were given of Lobgesang, Messiah, and, for the first time in York, Mendelssohn's incidental music to A midsummer night's dream, all conducted by Robert Burton. Yet again, however, public support was not forthcoming, even though the choral singing was thought never to have been surpassed in York,⁶⁹ and the York Philharmonic Union was disbanded after its first season.

For sixteen months or so the city of York was without a choral society, until the following resolution was passed at the annual general meeting of the York Amateur Musical Society held on 15 September 1873.

That it is expedient for the better development
of this society that it should accept vocalists as

⁶⁷YH 12.11.1870, YH 24.12.1870, YH 28.1.1871, YH 22.4.1871. Sir Joseph Barnby was a native of York; his oratorio, Rebekah, composed in 1871, had previously been performed at the Oratorio Concerts, London, and at the Hereford Festival.

⁶⁸YH 30.9.1871.

⁶⁹YH 18.11.1871.

members with all the privileges and subject to the same rules and restrictions as instrumentalists.⁷⁰

The York Amateur Musical Society had been founded in 1853, but very little is known of it before 1869. It would seem that prior to this date its members met frequently to practice instrumental music together, but their only concert appearances were before friends. Throughout the first half of the 1870s the Society went from strength to strength, until, in 1876, arrangements were made to give a series of three public concerts during the winter, its ranks by this time embracing most of the leading amateur performers of the city. The word 'Amateur' was dropped from the name of the Society,⁷¹ and thus came into being the York Musical Society, which since 1876 has played a leading role in the city's music-making, and whose story will form a major part of the next chapter.

⁷⁰YH 20.9.1873.

⁷¹YH 21.10.1876, YH 4.11.1876.

TABLE 8.1

Programme of the subscription concert given in the great Assembly Room on 22 October 1839 (reported in the York Herald 26 October 1839).

PART 1

Symphony Surprise, Haydn

I know that my redeemer, Handel - Miss Clara Novello

Symphony in C, Beethoven

Glee, See the chariot at hand, Horsley

Cavatina, Quando guerriere, Mercadante - Miss Clara Novello

Finale, chorus from Oberon, For thee hath beauty

PART 2

Overture, Zauberflote, Mozart

Madrigals, Who is Sylvia, and O, by rivers

Scena, Di tanti palpiti, Rossini - Miss Clara Novello

Glee, O my love is like the red, red rose, Sir J. Stevenson

Overture Lodoiska, Cherubini

National airs, Scotch and Austrian - Miss Clara Novello

Overture, Italiani in Algeri, Rossini

TABLE 8.2

Programme of the York Philharmonic Society concert given in the Festival Concert Rooms on 15 January 1845 (advertised in the York Herald 11 January 1845).

PART I

Symphony

Glee, Blow gentle gales, Bishop

Song, Ah che forse, Paccini - Mrs. Seguin

Instrumental

Duet, Two merry gypsies, Macfarren

Glee

Rondo finale,

Nacqui all'affano, Rossini - Mrs. Seguin

PART 2

Overture

Duet, La calabrese, Gabussi

Solo, violin - Mr. Thirlwall

Scotch ballad, Smile again, Parry

New pastorale, I've been to the woods, J. Barnet

Glee, Sleep gentle lady, Bishop

Overture

TABLE 8.3

Programme of the York Choral Society's third anniversary concert given in the Festival Concert Rooms, York, on 29 September 1836 (YCA, Acc. 31:3, End B).

PART 1

Symphony, Romberg

Song, Lord remember David, Handel

Solo and chorus, Thou art our Father, Hummel

Song, He was despised, Handel

Ode, The transient and the eternal, Romberg

Song, Rolling in foaming billows, Haydn

Chorus, Awake the harp, Haydn

PART 2

Cantata (the music expressly composed for this concert by the Choral Conductor of the Society; the words by a member), T. Brooke

Ballad, There's a magic in thine eye, love, March

Notturmo, piano forte, with French horn accompaniment, Kalkbrenner

Glee, When winds breathe soft (5 voices), Webbe

Overture, Lodoiska, Cherubini

Glee, Merrily swim we, J. Smith

Overture, Sargino, Paer

TABLE 8.4

Programme of the York Choral Society's concert given in the Festival Concert Rooms, York, on 14 November 1861 (as advertised in the York Herald 9 November 1861).

PART 1

Rossini's Stabat mater

PART 2

Overture 'Oberon', Weber

Air, Soft airs around me play (Euryanthe), Weber

Scena & Quintett. E scherzo od è follia (Un ballo in maschera), Verdi

The shadow song (Dinorah), Meyerbeer

Ballad, The ship in which poor Tom was press'd (Charles II), Macfarren

Song, The skipper and his boy, Gabriel

Quintett, When the west, Mendelssohn

Irish ballad, The groves of Blarney

Finale

TABLE 8.5

Works by local composers performed at York Choral Society concerts

<u>Composer</u>	<u>Work</u>	<u>Source of reference</u>
Barker, L.W. ¹	'a chorus by a lady of this city "Come and trip it as you go" (the words from Milton)'	YH 19. 4.1845
Barker, L.W.	'a MS. symphony'	YH 19. 4.1845
Barker, L.W.	'an anthem, The Lord is my shepherd'	YH 15. 8.1846
Barker, L.W.	'Mrs. Sunderland was rapturously applauded in singing a beautiful fantasia composed by Miss L. Bar- ker of this city, expressly for Mrs. Sunderland, and adapted to one of Shelley's poems, Rarely, rarely, comest thou, spirit of delight'	YH 27. 3.1847
Brooke, T. ²	Chorus, Cry aloud and shout	Concert bill YCA Acc. 31:3
Brooke, T.	Cantata	Ibid.
Brooke, T.	Song, Bow down thine ear O Lord	Ibid.

¹Laura Wilson Barker, the third daughter of the Reverend Thomas Barker, vicar of Thirkleby (north-west of York), lived in York in the 1840s, and was the only one of the composers listed in Table 8.5 who achieved anything more than local importance. There is a brief biographical notice of her in James D. Brown and Stephen Samuel Stratton, British musical biography: a dictionary of musical artists, authors and composers born in Britain and its colonies (London: Reeves, 1897); some of her published works are listed in The catalogue of printed music in the British Library to 1980 (London: Saur, 1981), 3:315.

²Thomas Brooke was the choral conductor of the York Choral Society in the 1830s. He was probably identical with the man who was appointed parish clerk of the church of St. Mary, Castlegate, York, in 1828 (BIHR Nom.PC 1828/2).

Dennis, G. ³	'An anthem, composed by our fellow citizen, Mr. G. Dennis, with the orchestral accompaniments by Mr. Hunt, both valuable members of the Choral Society'.	YH 25. 4.1840
Dennis, G.	'Mr. Dennis's new anthem Hosanna ... Waft her, angels'	YH 15. 8.1840
Dennis, G.	'the anthem, Hosanna'	YH 13.11.1847
Hunt, R. ⁴	Song 'The forsaken'	YH 18. 4.1843
Hunt, R.	'overture ... entitled The emigrant'	YH 25. 1.1845
Reynolds, Mr. ⁵	'overture, Don Ferdinand of Castile'	YH 1. 5.1847

³George Dennis (1807-1888) was a patent medicine vendor in York and a very keen amateur musician.

⁴Richard Hunt was a music seller, a teacher of music, and a maker of pianos, who lived in York between 1841 and 1855.

⁵Nothing is known of Mr. Reynolds.

CHAPTER IX

'MUSIC FULFILS ITS MOST ATTRACTIVE AND BENEFICIAL MISSION': SECULAR INSTITUTIONAL MUSIC-MAKING IN YORK, 1876-1989

Ruskin has proposed that 'music fulfils its most attractive and beneficial mission when the masses of the people enjoy it as a recreation and a solace',¹ and, given that this is so, its mission has been extremely successful both in York and throughout England during the last one hundred years or so. The number of people actively involved in music-making grew throughout the country during the second half of the nineteenth century. This growth has been attributed to various causes, the most important of which (in a random order of importance) are: (1) the substantial growth of the lower middle classes, (2) the improved financial condition of the working classes and the greater amounts of leisure time they enjoyed as a result of government legislation, (3) the provision of state education, (4) the wide availability of cheap sheet music, and (5) the hire purchase

¹Quoted in Eric Mackerness, A social history of English music (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), p. 203.

system for musical instruments.² The city of York fully reflected this national growth in musical activity. For most of the 1850s there were three secular institutions in York involved in music-making, namely, one brass band, one choir, and one concert-promoting society. Yet by the first decade of the 1900s, in addition to a concert-promoting society, there were five brass bands, four choirs (excluding those connected with religious institutions), and an amateur orchestra. The patterns of institutional music-making established in York by the turn of the century have remained largely unchanged throughout this century, but have been considerably enriched over the last twenty-five years, not least by the establishment of the University of York. Since its foundation in 1963 the University has helped to strengthen the forms of music-making then in existence, besides adding to the musical life of the city in other ways. The musical activities of York institutions since 1876 will be discussed under the following heads - choirs, orchestral societies, brass bands, military bands, locally originated concert promotion, festivals, and educational institutions. In treating of brass and military bands, their histories, which have not been dealt with elsewhere, will be extended beyond the earlier chronological limit of this chapter.

²David Russell, Popular music in England, 1840-1914: a social history (Manchester: Manchester U.P., 1987), pp. 1-14; James Walvin, Leisure and society, 1830-1950 (London, etc.: Longman, 1978), pp. 97-112.

Choirs

York Musical Society

The York Musical Society (hereafter YMS) was founded in 1876 and since then has had an unbroken existence forming a continuous thread between the city's music-making of the nineteenth century and that of the present-day. During the first half of the 1870s various attempts had been made to form a choir which could carry on the traditions of the York Choral Society (defunct since 1869) but without any marked success. By the end of the summer of 1876 the York Amateur Musical Society, founded in the early 1850s, included among its members most of the leading amateur musicians of the city and, dropping the word 'Amateur' from its name, renamed itself the York Musical Society.³

At the first annual meeting of the YMS, held on 27 September 1877, fourteen rules were adopted, the first of which stated the object of the Society, namely 'the cultivation and practice of Choral and Orchestral Music'.⁴ This object was further defined at subsequent annual meetings, when the educational role of the Society was stressed, both in relation to its own members and to the members of its potential audiences.⁵ Almost fifty years after its foundation, the Society's aims were basically the same, except that to choral and orchestral music they now added 'and other music', a reference to the chamber concerts which the Society had infrequently promoted since the

³YH 21.10.1876, YH 4.11.1876.

⁴York City Archives, Rules of the York Musical Society, pasted in the Society's Minute book, Acc. 30:3.

⁵YG 22.5.1897, YH 4.7.1906, YH 1.6.1907.

beginning of the 1920s.⁶ For the last twenty-five years or so the Society has devoted itself solely to the performance of choral music.

Throughout much of its existence the YMS has encountered the same problems of maintaining solvency that had earlier dogged the York Choral Society and other musical societies in York; it met with financial difficulties in its first season and again in 1883 but was fortunate in having John Rutson, of Nunnington Hall, as a benefactor.⁷ However, when in 1891 he severed his connection with the Society, it came very near to collapse, and the YMS's treasurer, Michael Varvill, wrote to a local newspaper saying that 'if the York Musical Society is not dead, it is certainly in a state of suspended animation ... solely the result of financial troubles caused by the want of public support'.⁸

The very large orchestras required in the works chosen by the YMS for performance in the 1910s, e.g., Elgar's King Olaf and The dream of Gerontius, and Verdi's Requiem, led to substantial demands on the Society's resources, and in the 1909/1910 season, for instance, the solvency of the Society was only maintained through the generous monetary gifts of several of its anonymous friends.⁹ After the end of the First World War it took four years before the YMS's account showed a credit, and then only because of the income derived from a garden

⁶York city yearbook and business directory, ed. by A.G. Watson (York: Yorkshire Gazette, 1925), p. 200; York City Archives, YMS Minute book, 1908-1928, Acc. 30:5.

⁷YH 27.10.1877, YH 13.10.1883, YH 26.10.1889, YH 11.10.1890.

⁸York City Archives, YMS Minute book, 26 November 1891, Acc. 30:3; YH 16.11.1891.

⁹York City Archives, YMS Thirty-third Annual report and Balance sheet, 1910. Printed copy in the Society's Minute book, 1908-1928, Acc. 30:5.

fête and a ball.¹⁰ The Society struggled through the 1920s and early 1930s but by 1934 things had become so bad that Reginald Rose, reviewing a performance of The dream of Gerontius, wrote also of the 'threatened destruction of the society'.¹¹ However, yet again the Society was able to pull itself back from the brink of extinction and reduce that season's deficit of £205.3.3 to one of only £22.16.7 by the end of the next season.¹² Through these vicissitudes, and also a few in the post-Second World War era, the Society has emerged intact and is now confidently moving towards its one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary.

In its opening season the chorus of the YMS contained most of the leading amateur performers resident in York, but still found it necessary, until the end of the 1870s, to enlist the help of singers from the West Riding of Yorkshire (who for a YMS concert on 13 February 1878 numbered between forty and fifty) and from the Minster Choir.¹³ Having once established itself, it seems that the YMS did not again need to supplement its chorus with outside help until almost thirty years later when other York choirs were asked to assist in a performance of Elgar's The dream of Gerontius.¹⁴ The table below shows the number of singers involved and their affiliation.

¹⁰York City Archives, YMS Forty-sixth Annual report and Balance sheet, 1923. Printed copy in the Society's Minute book, 1908-1928, Acc. 30:5.

¹¹YH 15.3.1934.

¹²York City Archives, YMS Fifty-eighth Statement of account and Secretary's report, 1936. Printed copy in the Society's Minute book, 1928-1951, Acc. 30:7.

¹³YH 21.10.1876, YH 4.4.1877, YH 16.2.1878, YH 15.11.1879.

¹⁴York City Archives, YMS Minute book, 1893-1908, Acc. 30:4.

<u>Name of society</u>	<u>S.</u>	<u>Contralto</u>	<u>A.</u>	<u>I.</u>	<u>B.</u>	<u>Total</u>
York Musical Society	66	34	2	25	42	169
York Amateur Operatic Society	10	5	-	2	7	24
York Male Voice Choir	--	--	5	11	11	27
York Minster Choir	20	--	3	4	4	31
	<u>96</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>251</u>

The balance of voices in the YMS chorus was far from ideal at this time, yet by 1912, five years after the performance of The dream of Gerontius, it had deteriorated to the point where the constitution of the choir was seventy sopranos, sixty contraltos, twenty-two tenors, and thirty-five basses.¹⁵ Of course, this problem was (and still is) common to many choral societies, and its existence was again commented upon at the Society's annual general meeting in 1950, when it was stated that the number of tenors was then down to nine, and that the shortage of both tenors and basses was a worry.¹⁶

Although one of the original objects of the YMS was the cultivation of orchestral music, it would seem that its orchestra was rarely, if ever, strong enough to perform publicly without substantial outside assistance. At the Society's first series of concerts, given during the winter of 1876/1877, a band comprising the leading musicians of Lancashire and Yorkshire played, while the bands at subsequent concerts during the next five years included stiffeners from Yorkshire alone.¹⁷ In the mid-1880s advertisements for, and notices of, YMS concerts specifically refer to 'Mr. Burton's

¹⁵This information is given in a letter sent by Mr. T.T. Noble to the committee and members of the YMS resigning his post of conductor. York City Archives, YMS minute book, 1908-1928, Acc. 30:5.

¹⁶York City Archives, unidentified press cutting pasted in the YMS Minute book, 1928-1951, Acc. 30:7.

¹⁷YH 4.11.1876, YH 16.2.1878, YH 8.4.1881.

orchestra' or 'Mr. Burton's band' (Mr. Burton at that time being the conductor of the YMS), but it is unclear whether the Society's own instrumentalists were present in these ensembles.¹⁸ What is clear, however, is that the cost of stiffening the YMS orchestra became a heavy burden on its finances, and on 12 December 1891 (at a time when the Society was struggling for survival) it was resolved at a Committee meeting that the bands for future concerts, subject to the reply of the conductor, were to be 'local and voluntary as far as practicable'.¹⁹ This they seem largely to have been through the first half of the 1890s. Indeed, at the Society's annual general meeting in 1894, Dr. Naylor (the Society's conductor) spoke out against the use of stiffeners.

He was strongly against the importation of performers. It was very injurious to local effort ... [which] had been greatly discouraged in many places by the performances given by 'ready made' bands from Manchester, etc. If he had his way he would have as few outside performers in the band as possible: he certainly would have no outside help in the chorus at all.²⁰

Nevertheless, it is certain that the assistance of outside orchestral performers was sought on a regular basis, as a notice of a performance of Mendelssohn's St. Paul makes clear, when the writer noted that 'the orchestra depended, as usual, upon professional assistance, drawn chiefly from the West Riding'. Without such support the YMS's largely amateur orchestra was always likely to show signs of 'occasional nervousness' in its playing.²¹ In 1899 it was decided at the annual

¹⁸YH 26.1.1884, YH 5.12.1885, YH 6.11.1886, YH 2.4.1887.

¹⁹York City Archives, YMS Minute book 1876-1892, Acc. 30:3.

²⁰York City Archives, YMS Minute book 1893-1908, Acc. 30:4.

²¹YG 6.4.1895, YG 21.12.1895.

general meeting of the Society to discontinue the orchestra and to draw players from the recently formed York Symphony Orchestra on occasions when an orchestra was needed.²² But it seems that the Society's orchestra was not in fact disbanded, and it was reported to have taken part in one of the Society's concerts later in the same year and again the next year, while help given by the York Symphony Orchestra was acknowledged at annual general meetings of the YMS in 1909, 1910, 1912, and 1913.²³

For almost its entire existence the YMS has been extremely fortunate in having as its conductors musicians whose importance has always been more than purely local. During the first season (1876-1877) the conductor was a young German musician, Robert Werner Oberhoffer, who had been resident in York since 1875.²⁴ An election for the post of conductor took place in 1877 from among three candidates, namely, Mr. Robert S. Burton, Herr Oberhoffer, and Herr Padel (another German musician, resident in York since 1868).²⁵ Given his very wide musical experience it was not surprising that Robert Burton was elected conductor. Born in 1820, he succeeded S.S. Wesley as organist of Leeds Parish Church in 1849, holding that post until 1880; he was chorus master to the first Leeds Festival in 1858 and

²²York City Archives, YMS Minute book, 1893-1908, unidentified press cutting, Acc. 30:4.

²³York City Archives, YMS Minute book, 1908-1928, Acc. 30:5.

²⁴YH 4.11.1876, YH 3.3.1877, YH 29.9.1877.

²⁵YH 27.10.1877.

again in 1874, and at various times conductor of several choral societies in the West Riding of Yorkshire.²⁶

After Burton's death in 1892 at the age of seventy-two, Dr. Naylor (the Minster organist since 1883) was asked to take over as conductor, a post he held for the next four years, resigning from it because of illness a year or so before his death in 1897.²⁷ Naylor's replacement, Canon Hudson, is perhaps the least well-known of the Society's conductors today, although he was a highly capable musician, being a gifted cellist who had studied with Piatti and with Grützmacher of Dresden; his musical prowess was widely admired, particularly by his friends Sterndale Bennett, Joachim, and Stanford.²⁸ Having been conductor of the YMS for the four seasons from 1896 to 1900, he resigned on leaving York for Trumpington, near Cambridge.

Following Canon Hudson's resignation the position of conductor of the YMS up to the present day has been filled (with the exception of the period of the Second World War) by successive organists of York Minster. Thomas Tertius Noble became conductor in 1900 and held the

²⁶The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians, s.v. 'Burton, Robert.'

²⁷York City Archives, YMS Minute book, 1892-1908, Acc. 30:4. Naylor had been a pupil of Burton and for a time his assistant organist at Leeds Parish Church. Brief biographical details about Naylor can be found in Frederic Boase, Modern English biography, containing ... numerous memoirs of persons who have died since ... 1850 (during the years 1851-1900), etc., 6 vols. (Truro: Netherton & Worth, 1892-1921), 6:276; The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians, s.v. 'Naylor, John.'

²⁸Brief biographical details about Canon Hudson can be found in John Venn and John Archibald Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses: a biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900, 2 parts, 10 vols. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1922-1954), pt. 2, vol. 3: 474, s.v. 'Hudson [post Pemberton], Thomas Percy.' A musical appreciation of him can be found in Charles Villiers Stanford, Interludes, records and reflections (London: Murray, 1922), pp. 149-151.

post until the end of the 1912/1913 season, when he emigrated to the United States.²⁹ During this period he twice offered to resign his position of honorary conductor, in 1902 and again in 1912; in his letter of resignation to the committee of the YMS in 1912 he wrote:

After the splendid chorus formed for the 1910 Festival, I felt confident that York would possess a permanent body of singers capable of performing the greatest choral works ... but instead ... there has been a steady decline which has been most disappointing.³⁰

Although on this occasion (as on the previous one) he subsequently withdrew his letter of resignation, dissatisfaction with the chorus of the YMS (over the poor attendance and bad punctuality of its members at rehearsals and the large imbalance of the numbers in each voice-part) was probably one of the contributory reasons for his departure from York in 1913.

After Noble's departure, Edward Bairstow agreed to take on the conductorship of the Society for an annual fee of twenty guineas, although he later occupied the post on an honorary basis. Then aged thirty-nine, he already had an established reputation as a choral trainer, and the YMS was particularly fortunate in securing a conductor of such outstanding ability. Yet Bairstow's outspokenness led to an uneasy relationship with the YMS's chorus. The Society's annual report of 1927 noted that 'the lash of his whip is sometimes felt keenly by the Chorus', and Bairstow himself acknowledged these verbal lashings at the annual general meeting of the Society in 1932

²⁹York City Archives, YMS Minute book, 1893-1908, unidentified press cutting of the annual general meeting 1900, Acc. 30:4; brief biographical details of T.T. Noble can be found in Julian Mattfield, 'Noble, Thomas Tertius,' in Arthur Eaglefield Hull, ed., A dictionary of modern music and musicians (London: Dent, 1924), p. 350.

³⁰York City Archives, YMS Minute book, 1908-1928, letter of May 1912, Acc. 30:5.

when he said, 'At York I have never minced my words and I often feel I have been too rough'. It would seem that Bairstow's methods of dealing with certain members of the YMS chorus, and the Committee's objections thereto, led to his resignation in June 1939.³¹ During the period from 1939 to 1945 four conductors led YMS performances at various times, namely, Owen le P. Franklin, Clarence Raybould, Paul Steinitz, and Leslie Wright.³² In 1947 Francis Jackson became conductor of the Society, a position he held until his retirement as organist of York Minster in 1982, at which time he was succeeded in both posts by Philip Moore.

From 1876 until well into the first decade of the twentieth century practically all of the concerts given by the YMS were held in the Festival Concert Rooms, which had been built on a site adjacent to the Assembly Rooms in 1825. In the years immediately before the First World War the Society held its concerts in the Exhibition Buildings, and after 1918 in the Festival Concert Rooms until 1929 when the Rooms were sold for use as a saleroom and offices. After two concerts in the Rialto Skating Rink in that year the Society then held its concerts in the Exhibition Buildings until the outbreak of the Second World War.³³

When the Exhibition Buildings were declared unsafe in 1909, the YMS's annual report for the that season commented:

³¹York City Archives, YMS Minute book, 1928-1951, Acc. 30:7.

³²Ibid.

³³P.M. Tillott, ed., The city of York, Victoria History of the Counties of England (London: O.U.P., 1961), pp. 532-533, and 537. The Exhibition Buildings were built to house the second Fine Art and Industrial Exhibition held in York and were opened in 1879, comprising a permanent building (which is now the York City Art Gallery) and a large temporary wooden building, which, though declared unsafe in 1909, remained in use until 1941 when it was demolished.

It is matter for regret that there is in the City [of York] no hall large enough for the due performance and proper appreciation [of large-scale choral works] ... and for the accommodation in comfort of the audience.³⁴

Complaints of this kind were to recur for the next fifty years or so. In 1924 the Society wrote to the City Council about the pressing need for a suitable concert hall in York. It received a negative reply from the Town Clerk. In 1945 the lack of a such a hall was cited as a reason for keeping the Society's chorus down to a total of 150 members.³⁵ By the end of the Second World War neither the Exhibition Buildings nor the Festival Concert Rooms were available, and the YMS could find no fixed venue for its concerts. Between 1945 and 1952 concerts were given in the Empire Theatre, the Rialto Cinema, the Theatre Royal, St. Michael-le-Belfrey and York Minster. During the last twenty years or so York Minster has almost become the permanent venue for the York Musical Society's concerts. The availability of this great building for the performance of large sacred choral works is part of a trend in the last third of this century for Anglican churches throughout the United Kingdom to be used for such purposes. (In spite of the considerable drawbacks for performing certain kinds of music in York Minster - e.g., the long reverberation time - it has to be said that the building gives a sense of occasion which lifts both audience and performers.)

³⁴York City Archives, YMS 32nd Annual report and Balance sheet. Printed copy in the Society's Minute book, 1908-1928, Acc. 30:5.

³⁵York City Archives, YMS Minute book, 1908-1928 (6 October 1924), and Minute book, 1928-1951 (Annual report 1945-1946), Acc. 30:5 and 30:7. The lack of a suitable concert hall in York was to lead, in 1947, to the City Council feeling unable to take part in the discussions which led to the eventual formation of the Yorkshire Symphony Orchestra.

It was not until 1914 that the YMS gave what could properly be called its first concert in York Minster. This was a performance of Bach's St. Matthew Passion given on Tuesday 31 March under the direction of Dr. Bairstow. It was the beginning of a tradition which was to extend for over fifty years.³⁶ Shortly after that first performance in the Minster, war broke out and all the public halls in York were occupied by the military authorities, thus preventing their use as concert venues. Because of this, the Dean - who was the president of the Society - gave permission for YMS to take part in other 'musical services' (as they were called) in the Minster. The last of these concerts was given on 15 December 1918, after which the practice was discontinued.³⁷

The content of the programmes presented by the YMS between 1876 and 1900 can be said to have fallen into what Stanford described as the 'eternal rut of Messiah and Elijah'.³⁸ In these years there were seventeen performances of Messiah and six of Elijah, while their respective composers were also represented by other works - there were two or more performances of each of Handel's Acis and Galatea, Israel in Egypt, and Judas Maccabaeus, and of Mendelssohn's Hymn of praise and St. Paul. The following are among the more noteworthy performances of the YMS during its first quarter century. In 1881 Bach's St. Matthew Passion was performed 'for the first time in Yorkshire with band and chorus', while in 1886 and 1887 performances of Berlioz's Faust were given; in 1887, a year after its first

³⁶YEP 8.4.1963. Annual performances of the St. Matthew Passion now alternate with those of the St. John Passion.

³⁷York City Archives, YMS Minute book, 1908-1928, Acc. 30:5.

³⁸Quoted in Harry Plunket Greene, Charles Villiers Stanford (London: Arnold, 1935), p. 131.

performance at the Leeds Festival, the YMS performed Sullivan's The golden legend (given again in 1897), and in 1890 Parry came to York to conduct a performance of his oratorio Judith.³⁹

When Thomas Tertius Noble became conductor of the Society in 1900 he introduced many new works and laid aside the works of Handel and Mendelssohn, except for one performance each of Messiah and Acis and Galatea, and two of Elijah. All (or at least two parts out of the three) of Coleridge-Taylor's setting of Longfellow's poem Hiawatha were performed on four occasions, and the requiem masses of Brahms and Verdi were first performed in York under Noble's direction. He also introduced to York audiences Elgar's King Olaf (in 1906) and The dream of Gerontius (in 1908 and again in 1910), this latter performance forming part of the York Music Festival which Noble organised, and which is discussed in more detail below.

Under Bairstow the programmes of the YMS were not very different from those which either it or a choral society of comparable size would perform in the late twentieth century, with the exception of the inclusion of a number of works by Stanford and Parry. Perhaps the thing most noticeable about the concerts of this period is the introduction on a regular basis of works by J.S. Bach. The annual performance of the St. Matthew Passion was noted above. In March 1937 it was broadcast; the first occasion on which a performance of the whole work had been transmitted. The Mass in b minor was performed in 1927 as part of the Minster's thirteen hundredth anniversary celebrations, and the Christmas oratorio in 1935. Both of these were first performances in York. In addition various cantatas and motets

³⁹YH 2.4.1881, YH 6.3.1886, YH 19.2.1887, YH 29.3.1890, YG 11.12.1897.

by J.S. Bach were performed during this period. The repertoire of large choral works performed by the YMS has not been greatly extended since 1945. Works by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century composers have predominated, and of the works performed in the first decade after the Second World War only two would seem slightly surprising choices in the 1980s; namely, Coleridge Taylor's Hiawatha, performed in 1946, and Dyson's The Canterbury pilgrims, performed in 1954.

It is difficult to give a balanced assessment of the standards of performance in the YMS's concerts over a period of what is now almost a century and a quarter for a variety of reasons which has remained constant. Not until well into this century were the concert reports in local newspapers signed by their writers and before this time it is usually impossible to establish the identity and musical credentials of the writers. Added to this, a difficulty faced by all music critics writing in local newspapers, then as now, is that of giving a true and accurate report of concerts of variable quality without gratuitously discouraging the performers, most of whom will be both local and amateur. Reports of the choral singing of the YMS in the York Herald in the nineteenth century suggest that the standard never fell below an average level of performance, while for much of the time it was very good and on occasion excellent, and that this general high level of performance continued under T.T. Noble and beyond.⁴⁰

While the York Musical Society has been for almost all of its history the most important choral body in York, both in terms of prestige and in numbers of members, there have been many other choirs,

⁴⁰YH 22.12.1877, YH 21.12.1878, YH 12.12.1885, YG 11.12.1897, YG 23.12.1899. The only York music critic known before the twentieth century is William Newton (1825-1887) who wrote for the York Herald for many years; an obituary notice of him can be found in YH 4.6.1887.

mostly smaller in size, which have met the needs of local people for performing choral music of a kind different from that usually performed by the YMS. A list of such of these choirs that are now known can be found in Table 9.1, while there follows here a brief survey of some of the more important of them, taken in a broad chronological sweep.

York Old Priory Choir

The York Old Priory Choir was founded on 10 December 1897 by thirteen members of the Priory Street Wesleyan Young Mens Class, to which it was attached until 1908 when its allegiance was switched to the Old Priory Adult School; hence the Choir's name, formally adopted in 1926. Its objects, as stated in 1949, were the promotion of good choral singing and the assisting of charitable and religious institutions by the giving of concerts,⁴¹ but the Choir also sang in competitions in which they were almost always successful. The Choir's conductor for most of the period between 1897 and 1945 was J.H. Forster, a local businessman. During this time its repertoire included Elgar's 'Death on the hills', Parry's 'There is an old belief', and Wilbye's 'Ye that do live'. After a succession of conductors, Mr. R.A. Crookes was appointed in 1960, a position he still held in 1969.⁴² It seems that the Choir's activities ceased sometime towards the end of the 1970s.

⁴¹York city year book and business directory, ed. by A.G. Watson (York: Yorkshire Gazette, 1949), p. 203.

⁴²Musical times 68 (1927): 266; Dalesman 31 (1969): 787-789.

York Male Voice Choir

Another choir which dates from just before the end of the last century is the York Male Voice Choir (YMVC), which was formed in 1899 with an initial membership of sixteen. Its first conductor was Mr. W.S. Child.⁴³ In April 1900, by which time it had acquired a further eight members, the choir entered the Yorkshire Challenge Choral Competition at Leeds, singing two glees, 'Lone dweller of the rocks' (J.W. Callcott) and 'Hark heard ye not' (Sir John Goss), for which it was awarded second prize.⁴⁴ There was, nevertheless, controversy surrounding this award, as most people in the concert hall were of the opinion that the Choir's singing had deserved first prize. During the next twenty-two years, however, the YMVC won this particular competition twelve times, and in 1912 was the winner of a first and a second prize at the great International Competition held at Paris.⁴⁵ At the end of the 1920s, when the Choir was conducted by Mr. J.L. Slater, the deputy organist of York Minster, its repertoire included Bairstow's arrangement of 'The wise man's song,' Elgar's 'The herald,' Holst's 'Swansea town,' madrigals by Morley, and Schubert's 'Victory.'⁴⁶ The Choir's emphasis on competitive work continued into the 1960s in which decade it was unbeaten in four successive years of competition. At the end of the 1960s the Choir was sixty-two strong, with both schoolboys and pensioners among its members.⁴⁷

⁴³YG 23.9.1899, YG 28.10.1899, YEP 5.3.1959.

⁴⁴YG 7.4.1900.

⁴⁵York city yearbook, 1925, p. 202.

⁴⁶Musical times 69 (1928): 1037; idem, 70 (1929): 1035.

⁴⁷YEP 1.4.1969.

Male voice choirs in general have had more in common with the brass band movement than with the choral society, both in tradition and organisation. They were predominantly working class in origin and were to be found in the industrial districts of northern England and South Wales. They were often exclusively oriented towards competitive singing, and while their standards of performance were usually very high, their repertoire usually consisted of ballads and part-songs of a sentimental character, music which as often as not merely reflected the narrow horizons of their conductors.⁴⁸ An example of the widening of the traditional male voice repertoire by a conductor from a broader musical background can be seen with the York Male Voice Choir in the 1920s, noted above. Two further male voice choirs from York warrant a mention.

York Philharmonic Male Voice Choir

The York Philharmonic Male Voice Choir was formed in 1925 by six members of the Leeman Road Adult School and was at that time known as the Leeman Road Adult School Male Voice Choir. During the Second World War the Choir almost went out of existence and though it survived that and the next decade it was only during the 1960s that there was an upsurge of interest in its activities. At the end of the decade the Choir's director was Richard Lister, music teacher at Beckfield School, and there were fifty-four members with an age range of seventeen to seventy from a wide range of occupations - from joiner to accountant and from baker to solicitor - a social mix most unlikely

⁴⁸Arts Enquiry, Music: a report on musical life in England; sponsored by the Dartington Hall Trustees (London: Political & Economic Planning, 1949), p. 108.

in the previous century. Its repertoire in 1967 extended from Bach to Romberg and also included arrangements of such numbers as 'When the saints go marching in.'⁴⁹

York Railway Institute Male Voice Choir

In 1947 the St. Lawrence Male Voice Choir was formed, singing under this name until 1967 when it was changed to the York Railway Institute Male Voice Choir, as many of its members at that time were railwaymen and its rehearsals had been held in the Railway Institute for many years. Its conductor for the first twenty-one years was Mr. J. Stacey, and following his retirement the post was taken by John Watson. In 1970 the Choir won the male voice section of the B.B.C. Competition 'Let the people sing', the music performed comprising Bairstow's 'Music when soft voices die,' Elgar's 'The wanderer,' and Vaughan Williams' arrangement of 'Bushes and briars.' In the mid-1980s, the Choir was thirty-two voices strong, and was giving about sixteen concerts each year, mainly for charitable causes.⁵⁰

Micklegate Singers

The Micklegate Singers were formed in 1962 by Ronald Perrin, sub-organist at York Minster, and took their name from the street in York (i.e., Micklegate) on which stood the church where their first concert was given. In the early years the number of members fluctuated

⁴⁹YEP 31.10.1967, YEP 4.4.1975, YEP 15.4.1975.

⁵⁰YEP. 15.1.1968; The Express, 27.11.1985.

between twenty and twenty-eight, with an age range of between eighteen and thirty-five, a majority being either students at St. John's College, York, or local teachers. When Perrin became organist of Ripon Cathedral in 1967, he was succeeded as conductor by Gordon Pullin, and subsequently by Peter Aston, Malcolm John, and Andrew Wilson-Dickson. In 1971 Dennis Freeborn became conductor. Under his leadership the choir has expanded to about forty voices and gives three concerts a year, one of which is accompanied by instrumental ensembles of various kinds, the other two being devoted to the performance of unaccompanied works. While a wide range of choral works is sung, Freeborn has encouraged the performance of contemporary music, and the choir has sung works by Gordon Crosse, Paul Drayton, Peter Maxwell Davies, and Paul Patterson, a policy which has earned for the choir an award for Choral Enterprise from the Performing Rights Society in the years 1985, 1987, and 1988.⁵¹

Chapter House Choir

The Chapter House Choir takes its name from the Chapter House of York Minster, where it regularly performs, and was founded in 1965 by Andrew Carter, who was its conductor until 1982. Its numbers vary between thirty and forty singers and it performs a cappella music from all periods. In 1974 and 1979 the Choir won the mixed voice class in the BBC competition 'Let the people sing', and in the latter year was awarded a special trophy by the BBC for being 'the outstanding choir

⁵¹Marion Troughton, 'Voices raised in Micklegate,' Dalesman (January 1966): 784-786; Josephine Rothwell, 'The choirs of York, 1: the Micklegate Singers,' Arts Yorkshire 2 (August 1983): 6.

in the United Kingdom competition'.⁵² Peter Young was the conductor of the choir from 1982 until 1988 when he was succeeded by Andrew Padmore, a former organist and master of the choristers at Belfast Cathedral. Under these two conductors the Choir's repertoire has remained broadly based with a slight emphasis on music from the sixteenth and twentieth centuries.

Yorkshire Bach Choir

Yet another small choir based in York, the Yorkshire Bach Choir, was formed in 1979 by Peter Seymour, a former student of the University of York and now a member of staff there. Over the last decade the Choir has established for itself a reputation as the leading choir in York. Although it has commissioned and performed works from contemporary composers such as Duncan Druce, Christopher Fox, and John Paynter, it concentrates on the performance of the major choral works from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century composers in which it is accompanied by varying numbers of instrumental players, as appropriate, who perform on period instruments. The policy is to create a style of performance contemporary with that of the composition of the various works in the choir's repertoire, applying as far as possible what scholarship has revealed of historical performance practice. An annual series of six concerts in York, given in the church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey, is supplemented by concerts given in Yorkshire, and occasionally elsewhere in England and on the

⁵²Chapter House Choir. Carols by candlelight. Sleeve note of LP record: Music from York, HAR 792, 1979.

continent; the Choir has made recordings for various British and continental radio stations and television companies.

Operatic societies

The activities of the operatic society are closely related to those of the choral society, and to conclude this section on York choirs there follows a brief note on two of the operatic societies that have been active in the city. The first of these, the York Amateur Operatic and Dramatic Society (YAODS), was formed in 1901 and its first performance - that of a concert version of The pirates of Penzance - took place in the Festival Concert Rooms in 1903. Subsequent performances in the first decade of the 1900s were given in the Theatre Royal and included the following works: Dorothy (A. Cellier), Merrie England (E. German), and The gondoliers, Haddon Hall, and H.M.S. Pinafore (all by Sir A. Sullivan).⁵³ The YAODS has continued its activities down to the present day, and the list below gives an idea of the range of works performed since the 1930s.

1932	P.A. Rubens	<u>Miss Hook of Holland</u>
1949	S. Jones	<u>The geisha</u>
1953	C. Cuvillier	<u>Lilac Domino</u>
1958	R. Friml and H. Stothart	<u>Rose Marie</u>
1964	E. German	<u>Merrie Widow</u>
1970	G. Bizet	<u>Carmen</u>
1976	L. Bart	<u>Oliver</u>
1984	I. Novello	<u>Perchance to dream</u>
1987	F. Loewe	<u>My fair lady</u> ⁵⁴

⁵³W.W. Hargrove, 'York Amateur Operatic and Dramatic Society,' YH 20 June 1908. Supplement, p. 1.

⁵⁴Information from YAODS programmes, 1932-1987, in York Public Library.

The City Opera Group was formed in 1966 by some singers from the York Youth Operatic and Choral Society and over the last twenty-five years (latterly under the name York Opera) has provided York residents with the opportunity of hearing some of the less familiar pieces from the operatic repertoire, including Dvorak's The Jacobin, Orff's The moon, and Vaughan Williams' Hugh the drover.⁵⁵ From the mid-1970s operas by Verdi have been performed, for instance, La forza del destino, Macbeth, and Nabucco, and in 1986 Puccini's Turandot was performed at the Theatre Royal to acclaim from audiences and local critics.

Orchestral societies

In the last three decades of the nineteenth century, at a time when amateur orchestral societies were being formed throughout the United Kingdom,⁵⁶ several came into existence in York, two of which date from 1883. The first of these was the York Amateur Orchestral Society, which is known to have been active between 1883 and 1885, when it functioned as a 'practising society', the practices being led by Robert Oberhoffer, a local musician.⁵⁷ One stage removed from a 'practising society' was the York Instrumental Society (also active between 1883 and 1885) which, in addition to holding forty-five rehearsals each season, also gave one or two 'invitation rehearsals'.

⁵⁵P.E. Marshall, 'Twenty years of York Opera,' The dalesman 49 no. 11 (1988): 918-919.

⁵⁶Percy Alfred Scholes, The mirror of music, 1844-1944: a century of musical life as reflected in the pages of the Musical Times, 2 vols. (London, etc.: Novello, etc., 1947), 1:405-406.

⁵⁷YH 19.1.1884, YH 17.1.1885.

The number of its performing members was low - three rehearsals held in the Kenrick Rooms in 1885 had thirteen, seven and nine players respectively. The conductors were Arthur Hopkins and George Bradley.⁵⁸

York Amateur String Band

The York Amateur String Band (1884?-1889) would also seem to have had a very small number of players - at their annual meeting on 17 December 1885 thirteen players were present, of whom one played the piccolo, one the flute, one the clarinet, one the cornet, one the trombone, six the violin (three firsts and three seconds), one the cello, and one the double bass. Their conductor was John Peel. The aspirations of this society were higher than those discussed above, and it played at concerts given by the York People's Entertainment Society, at dances, and at various other public functions. The programme of music played at one of the concerts of the York People's Entertainment Society included Overture, Le myosotis [probably by A.C. Lecocq], Celian Kottaun's gavotte Jubilee, and German's 'Must I then'.⁵⁹

York Orchestral Society

In 1886 the York Orchestral Society (YOS) gave its first public performance - at an invitation river party - and was active thereafter until 1895 when it held a successful annual general meeting, at which both the annual report and financial statement were considered

⁵⁸YH 12.4.1884, YH 9.5.1885, YH 12.9.1885, YH 3.10.1885.

⁵⁹YH 19.12.1885, YH 13.3.1886, YH 22.1.1887, YH 9.11.1889.

satisfactory and adopted.⁶⁰ The YOS had the advantage of a greater number of players than the amateur orchestral societies previously mentioned - there were twenty-five in 1889, thirty in 1892 and twenty-two in 1894.⁶¹ From 1886 until 1892 it was conducted by Mr. T. Yorke Sheffield and afterwards by its former leader, Mr. W.H. Gregory.⁶² Similarities between the YOS and the York Amateur String Band include the occasions on which they performed, the venues where they played, and the music they performed. At a concert in 1894 the YOS played Gounod's Fantasia upon Faust, a gavotte Heimliche Liebe, by Resch, Desormes' Pizzicato serenade for strings, the intermezzo from Mascagni's Cavalleria rusticana, and a selection from Sullivan's Gondoliers.⁶³

York Symphony Orchestra

As noted above, nothing more is heard of the York Orchestral Society after its annual general meeting in January 1895, but at the end of the year another local amateur orchestra, John Groves' Amateur Orchestral Society, came into being with a concert given in the Exhibition Buildings. This society gave another concert some eleven months later before it too fell into obscurity.⁶⁴ A period of just

⁶⁰YH 24.7.1886, YG 26.1.1895.

⁶¹YH 13.4.1889, YH 6.2.1892, YG 5.12.1894.

⁶²Mr. T. Yorke Sheffield left York, his native city, in 1894 on his appointment as director of music at the Queen's Theatre, Manchester (YH 12.5.1894). W.H. Gregory was a violinist and music teacher in York, living from 1864-1950 (YEP 21.12.1950).

⁶³YH 5.12.1894.

⁶⁴YG 30.11.1895, YG 31.10.1896.

over a year or so was then to elapse before T.T. Noble, the recently appointed Minster organist, founded the York Symphony Orchestra (YSO) with the 'object of providing an opportunity for its members to study closely the orchestral works of the great masters, and to produce them from time to time before York audiences'.⁶⁵ The conjunction of an expressed intent to study the works of the 'great masters', an intention to give public concerts, and a conductor with wide-ranging musical experience immediately set the YSO apart from all of the amateur orchestras in York that had preceded it. Three periods of the Orchestra's history will be discussed below, beginning with what is probably its most distinguished, that between 1898 and 1913 when T.T. Noble was conductor.

Although the initiative to form the YSO was entirely that of Noble himself, he received much help from a band of 'earnest instrumentalists' among whom were members of the Groves family and Editha Knocker, who was leader of the Orchestra until her resignation in 1914.⁶⁶ The Orchestra was composed largely of amateurs, with a preponderance of string players, and for concerts substantial assistance was often required in the brass and woodwind sections - a

⁶⁵This objective is quoted in a brochure headed York Symphony Orchestra (dated with ink-stamp: 26 Feb 1912): copy in York Public Library. The account of the YSO which follows is largely indebted to Anthony Fox and Brian Hibbins, Mr. Noble's band: a history of the York Symphony Orchestra (York: By the Authors, 1988).

⁶⁶William Wallace Hargrove, 'The history of York: its men & its institutions, N.S. XCI', YH 20 June 1908, Supplement p. 1. Information about the Groves family can be found in John Ward Knowles, 'A list of York musicians from early times to present day, etc.' 3 vols. (Unpublished MS. in York Public Library), 1: 154-155. Editha Knocker was an excellent violinist, having studied with Joachim, but chronic neuritis prevented her from pursuing a career as a concert artist; she lived in York from 1891 until 1914. Biographical information about her can be found in Grove's dictionary of music and musicians, 5th ed., s.v. 'Knocker, Editha (Grace)', by Eric Blom.

practice common with indigenous York orchestras from the 1830s onwards. From twenty five members in 1898 the YSO's membership grew to fifty in 1903 and to an average of seventy or so between 1906 and 1913. Soloists who performed with the YSO included two local musicians, Christian Gottlieb Padel and Leila Willoughby, and musicians with international reputations such as Leonard Borwick, Fanny Davies, John Dunn, Alfred Hollins, and Michael Zacharewitsch.

A list of the works performed by the York Symphony Orchestra during the period when Noble was conductor is to be found in Table 9.2, from which it will be seen that the works of the 'great masters' were fully represented. Contemporary British works were not ignored, however, and there are examples of compositions by Coleridge-Taylor, Elgar, Gardiner, German, Mackenzie, and Noble himself. Two of these composers, Coleridge-Taylor and German, conducted the YSO in performances of their own works and both were very enthusiastic about the high standard of the Orchestra's playing. Coleridge-Taylor ventured to say that he thought the YSO was the best amateur band in the kingdom.⁶⁷

Until the end of the 1901/1902 season the YSO gave its concerts in the Festival Concert Rooms but from the next season the Orchestra was allowed (through the generosity of the York corporation) to use the Exhibition Buildings at a cheap rate in exchange for making available one thousand seats at the back of the hall at one penny each, for members of the working classes of York. While these very cheap seats were usually well filled, the more expensive seats were not patronized sufficiently to keep the Orchestra out of debt, and it

⁶⁷Fox and Hibbins, Mr. Noble's band, p. 7.

was only through some generous donations by certain of Noble's friends that the Orchestra was able to keep going.

During the inter-war period the YSO could no longer count on these donations from interested well-wishers, and the lack of adequate financial support was a constant worry. When the Orchestra re-formed, after the hiatus of the First World War, its activities were always of a sporadic nature, but between 1927 and 1932, and 1938 and 1946, they ceased completely. In addition to financial difficulties there was the problem of finding a suitable conductor. Between 1919 and early 1927 four people occupied the post, and between 1932 and 1937 a further two. It became virtually impossible to establish any continuity and rapport between conductor and players, and the number and quality of performers was never sufficient to enable the standard orchestral repertoire to be performed adequately. At the end of the 1910s there were forty-eight string players out of a total of fifty-three members belonging to the Orchestra, and although the imbalance was particularly extreme at this time, wind players invariably had to be engaged for concerts, and that became a serious drain on the Orchestra's finances. The lack of suitable concert halls in York was an added difficulty for the YSO, just as it had been for the York Musical Society.

After the Second World War, following a gap in its affairs of almost eight years, the committee of the YSO met again in 1946 and plans were made to resume the Orchestra's activities. During the following years the Orchestra was particularly fortunate in having the services of three dedicated and capable musicians: Francis Jackson, the Minster organist, who was conductor from 1947 to 1980; Frederick Waine, music master at St. Peter's School, York, who was conductor in

the 1946/47 season and then assistant conductor from 1947 to 1969, and Geoffrey Stevens, another music master at St. Peter's School, York, who was leader from 1946 to 1972. Between them they gave the Orchestra a stability that it had so conspicuously lacked since Noble's departure.

The first post-war concert was given in the hall of the Mount School, York, on 10 March 1948, and thereafter until the end of the 1950s one public concert a year was usually given, in the 1960s increasing to two a year. In addition, there was often a joint performance with the York Musical Society of a choral work with orchestral accompaniment at Christmas. During the period from 1948 to 1952 the Orchestra's playing was often unfavourably criticised by the local press and in the latter year it drew stern criticism from Francis Jackson, the Orchestra's conductor, who singled out for particular comment the unsatisfactory attendance at rehearsals, the failure of the members to learn their respective parts before rehearsals, and the very little improvement in the Orchestra's playing that was made from week to week. After this diatribe the playing of the Orchestra gradually improved until in the second half of the 1960s Dr. Jackson was able to say that the YSO could then compare itself favourably with the best amateur orchestras in the kingdom. The improvement in the standard of playing was matched by a corresponding improvement in attendance at the Orchestra's concerts, rising from the mediocre in the late 1940s to full houses in the late 1960s.

Works in the standard orchestral repertoire by composers such as Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, and Mendelssohn have been regularly performed at YSO concerts since the Second World War, but English composers such as Holst, Howells, Rawsthorne, Vaughan

Williams, Walton, and Warlock have also been well represented. Francis Jackson has conducted performances of his own works (e.g., a symphony and the overture Brigantia) and has also appeared as a piano soloist in performances of Saint-Saëns' Second piano concerto (in 1954 and 1963) and Schumann's Piano concerto in a minor (in 1956). Other soloists with the YSO in the post-Second World War period have included Cecil Aronowitz, Frederick Grinke, Denis Matthews, and Cyril Smith.

The financial health of the Orchestra after 1946, as in the two previous periods discussed, was a source of continuous concern. It was, however, considerably improved by gifts from Sir Benjamin Dawson in 1954, 1959, and 1965, and from institutional bodies such as the Carnegie Trust, the National Federation of Music Societies, and York City Council. A financial deficit in the 1970s produced difficulties for the Orchestra, and a simultaneous lack of commitment on the part of some of the players led to a period of introspection which culminated in the resignation of the conductor, Francis Jackson. In the 1980s the YSO has been through one of its lean periods, but its capacity to survive is evident, and it is now looking to the 1990s and its centenary. Its conductors in this decade have been Martin Hotton (1980-1986), John Godfrey (1986-1988), and Paul Mann from 1988. In addition to the YSO, there have been other orchestral societies in York since 1900. A list of these is given in Table 9.3.

Brass bands

The brass band movement in Great Britain began in the 1830s and 1840s and is derived from two strands of musical activity, namely the

military band and the waits.⁶⁸ In the previous two decades there had been civilian wind bands of various combinations but the first wholly brass bands date from the 1830s, and York is credited with having two of these. In 1833 James Walker and Daniel Hardman formed a brass band of twenty-four players consisting of cornopeans, French horns, ophicleide, trombones, and trumpets, while a year later another brass band (this time of eighteen players) was founded in York by the brothers Bean.⁶⁹ While I have not been able to identify the source of the information concerning these two bands, the statements would seem to be accurate as there are several later newspaper references to both 'Bean's brass band' and 'Walker's brass band', the former being active until 1860 or so and the latter until about 1852.⁷⁰ The bands played in civic processions, at banquets and dances, on boat trips on the river Ouse, and at open air concerts in the Minster Park and the Museum Gardens, and it would seem that their respective repertoires consisted of operatic selections (as was the case with other brass bands at that time). A list of brass bands known to have been active in York from 1833 onwards will be found in Table 9.4; that many of the bands had quite a short life span is characteristic of the brass band movement throughout the country. In the nineteenth century and the

⁶⁸For a history of the first hundred years or so of the brass band movement see John F. Russell and J.H. Elliott, The brass band movement (London: Dent, 1936); David Russell, Popular music in England, 1840-1914: a social history (Manchester: Manchester U.P., 1987), chapter 9, Brass bands, pp. 162-198; Harold C. Hind, 'The British wind band: a brief survey of its rise and progress during three centuries,' Hinrichsen's musical year book 7 (1952): 183-194.

⁶⁹Enderby Jackson, 'Origin & promotion of brass band concerts,' Musical opinion 1896 (no. 228), 815.

⁷⁰For Bean's band see YG 11.6.1836, YH 19.2.1846, and YH 4.8.1860; for Walker's band see YH 24.6.1837, YH 28.9.1839, YH 17.8.1848, and YH 31.7.1852.

first half of this century members of brass bands were almost exclusively working class. Purchasing brass instruments and keeping them in good repair was often an insurmountable problem for these players. A way out of this difficulty was the purchasing of instruments by public subscription, and this method was adopted in connection with the Chaucer Street Mission Band and the St. Paul's New Silver Band.⁷¹ York does have two brass bands which have relatively long histories: the York Railway Institute Band and the Rowntree Cocoa Works Band.

York Railway Institute Band

The York Railway Institute Band traces its origins to 1883 when a band of about a dozen players was formed by public subscription, taking its name, the Chaucer Street Mission Band, from the premises where it first played, the Chaucer Street Mission Hall, connected with the Melbourne Terrace Wesleyan Church. (Chaucer Street was just beyond the city walls and off the Hull Road; it has long been destroyed.) Successive changes of name have included the York and District Mission Band and the York Excelsior Silver Band. In 1952, when the members of the band joined the Railway Institute, York, it became known as the York Railway Institute Silver Band. One noteworthy fact is the continued presence in the band of members of the Bruce family for the whole of its history - Noah Bruce was one of the founder members of the Chaucer Street Mission band in 1883 and his grandson, Ian (and Ian's wife and two daughters) were members of the band in 1983. In this latter year there were one hundred members of

⁷¹YG 30.4.1904, YG 27.3.1936.

the band section of the York Railway Institute, which comprised a senior band (ranked in section one of the National Grades), the conductor of which was Ted Pratt, an Instrumental Teacher (Brass) with York Education Authority, a training band of some forty players, and a number of learners.⁷²

Rowntree's Band

The Rowntree Cocoa Works Band was formed in 1903 by Anthony Lickley at the invitation of the directors of the Rowntree and Company's York factory, its aim being 'to provide musical recreation for those interested in the works'. Within the factory the band has provided music for old-time and open air dancing, at dinner hour concerts, and at concerts in the Joseph Rowntree Theatre; and beyond the factory it has performed in aid of various charitable causes, for which it has raised hundreds of pounds. In addition the Rowntree Cocoa Works Band has always been involved in competitive work in which it has been very successful. Its conductor in 1958 was Mr. L. Lambeth, a member of a well-known York musical family; while conductors in the 1970s and 1980s have included Duncan Beckley, Trevor Bousfield, Christopher and Harry Law, and Ken Robinson. The band is at present in section two of the National Grades.⁷³

⁷²YG 27.3.1936, YEP 8.5.1958, YEP 26.2.1959; St. Lawrence Church. Lawrence Street, York. Celebration concert ... 1883-1983 with York Philharmonic Male Voice Choir [and] York Railway Institute Band ... Saturday 29th October [1983]. Concert brochure.

⁷³YEP 10.12.1958; personal communication from Mrs. Audrey Brown.

Military bands

On the occasion of a promenade concert given at the Exhibition Buildings on 1 April 1890 by the band of the 1st V.B. (Prince of Wales' Own) West York Regiment, the York Herald noted that 'the establishment of a military garrison has conferred many advantages upon the city, not the least of which is the presence of so many highly trained bands';⁷⁴ in the nineteenth century these military bands made a valuable contribution to the music-making of York which will be briefly described below. The first occasion on which a military band is known to have played in York in an exclusively civilian context was in 1792 when the 'music of the Inniskilling Dragoons' assisted a band in performing at a ball held in the Assembly Rooms,⁷⁵ and until 1835 or so it seems that the functions at which military bands played were confined to dances, banquets, and occasional concerts in the Assembly Rooms and Festival Concert Rooms. In the first three quarters of the nineteenth century these military bands gave much assistance to various York orchestras. From 1835 onwards these bands also played throughout the summer months on the New Walk Terrace and in the Museum Gardens.⁷⁶

In the period after 1880 military bands were no longer called on to supply York orchestras with competent wind players but their other activities in relation to the city's music-making took on a greater importance. Military bands played at the York Fine Art and Industrial Exhibition Buildings (opened on 7 May 1879) both at formal concerts in

⁷⁴YH 12.4.1890.

⁷⁵YC 17.12.1792.

⁷⁶YH 4.8.1835, YH 18.6.1842.

the large building and from 1894 on occasions when the picture galleries were open. The formal concerts frequently attracted very large audiences, e.g., in April 1886 an audience of almost fourteen hundred turned up to hear the farewell concert of the band of the 3rd Hussars.⁷⁷ These military bands also played regularly in the Museum Gardens and on St. George's Field, where at the first of a series of summer concerts held in June 1888 'crowds of people attended ... chiefly working men'; the great popularity of this performing venue led to the erection of a band stand there, adjacent to the New Walk.⁷⁸ The numbers of people who listened to military band concerts in York - both in and out of doors - were greater than the audiences for any other form of music-making in the city at this time. Typically the programmes of music performed by these bands would consist of selections from operatic and symphonic works interspersed with dances and marches, e.g., a concert given by the band of the 3rd West Yorkshire Regiment in the Museum Gardens contained the following works:

March (Austrian)	Strauss
Overture, Egmont	Beethoven
Valse, Nuit étoilée	Waldteufel
Selection, Grand Duke	Sullivan
Gavotte, Louis XIII	Ghys
Selection, Coster songs	Chevalier
Valse, Wein, Web, und Gesang	Strauss ⁷⁹

In performing such a wide range of music, military bands did much to popularize the works of the great composers among large numbers of people.

⁷⁷YH 1.5.1886.

⁷⁸YH 4.6.1888, YH 22.9.1888.

⁷⁹YG 6.6.1896.

Military bands continued to perform in York in the 1900s but with less frequency as the century progressed. Hitherto, all the military bands mentioned have been attached to units of the British army, but in the twentieth century there have been such bands in York with civilian players of which the following are known:

<u>Name of band</u>	<u>Dates when known to be active</u>	<u>Source of information</u>
White Rose of York Military Band	1926	<u>York city yearbook</u> , 1926
British Legion Military Band	1926-1950	<u>York city yearbook</u> , 1949-1950
York Postal Military Band	1967	YEP 28.12.1967

Locally originated concert promotion

People's Entertainment Society

As we have already seen, there had been a society in York, the York People's Musical Union (active between 1856 and 1871), whose aims included 'a wish that the working classes might have presented before them a series of concerts ... of a gratifying character'.⁸⁰ An organisation with a similar aim, the People's Entertainment Society (PES), was formed in York in 1882, its object being to 'elevate the musical taste of the public [i.e., the working class of York], and afford them wholesome recreation during their Saturday evenings'.⁸¹ The PES seems to have been associated, however loosely, with the Church of England, and its secretary throughout its brief existence from 1882 to 1895 was the Rev. E.S. Commeline, a vicar choral at York Minster.

⁸⁰YH 20.12.1856.

⁸¹YH 21.3.1885.

The concerts given by the PES, of which there were on average fifteen per season, were held through the winter months mostly in the Corn Exchange⁸² and less frequently at the Exhibition Buildings and the Festival Concert Rooms. The price of admission to the concerts was one penny (at a time when the prices of tickets for the YMS concerts ranged from one shilling to five shillings) and throughout the 1880s these concerts attracted very large audiences. During what was probably its most successful season, that of 1887/1888, seventeen concerts were held, ten of which were at the Festival Concert Rooms with an average attendance of 1,380.⁸³ It is not altogether clear why the audiences for the concerts of the PES fell away after 1890 but reasons adduced at the general meeting held in that year included the facts that the York Railway Institute had begun to give concerts and that there were also several cheap concerts being held in Walmgate and elsewhere in the city. During the 1890s the concerts given by the PES went into decline and after the concert on 5 December 1895 it would seem that the Society's activities came to an end.⁸⁴

The performers at the PES concerts were invariably local and included the pianists Oberhoffer and Padel, the string players Gregory, Groves, and Hornby, and the York Amateur String Band.⁸⁵ The programmes of music comprised works for various instrumental and vocal combinations and would include songs, instrumental duets, pianoforte

⁸²The Corn Exchange was built in the early 1870s and demolished in 1902; it was located on the site of the present Grand Opera House on Cumberland Street. See Tillott, The city of York, p. 486.

⁸³YH 28.4.1888.

⁸⁴YH 1.11.1890; YG 5.12.1895.

⁸⁵YH 10.1.1885, YH 13.12.1886, YH 22.1.1887, YH 10.3.1888, YH 28.3.1891.

solos, etc., to which musical items were frequently added recitations. A good example of the kinds of music performed at the concerts of the PES is that given at the concert on 27 March 1886, listed below.⁸⁶

<u>Composer</u>	<u>Composition</u>	<u>Performer</u>
	Iolanthe Lancers	York Amateur String Orchestra
	Fairy voices	York Amateur String Orchestra
Aikin, William Arthur	Winter sunshine	Mrs. Burrell
Dolby, Charlotte H.	The harbour bar	Mrs. Burrell
Sullivan, Arthur S.	The lost chord	Mrs. Burrell
	When other lips	Mr. J.A. Martin
Dibdin, Charles	Tom Bowling	Mr. J.A. Martin
Wellings, J. Milton	Turnham Toll	Mrs. Creyke
Tosti, Francesco P.	For ever	Mrs. Creyke

Organ recitals

During the middle decades of the nineteenth century the provision of organs in civic halls became commonplace, for instance at Liverpool in 1856 and Leeds in 1858, and their organists - Best at Liverpool and Spark at Leeds - became celebrated figures. York did not have the advantage of a civic hall, but there was a hall in the Yorkshire Fine Art and Industrial Exhibition building, opened in 1879, which contained an organ; this consisted of three manuals and pedals and had been purchased from the Rev. H.C. Singleton, for whom it had been built some seventeen years previously by Messrs. Telford of Dublin.⁸⁷ Recitals were given on this organ by local players such as Miss Duffield, Arthur Sample and Sydney Sykes. In 1899 Arthur Sample was

⁸⁶YH 3.4.1886.

⁸⁷YH 8.5.1879.

called the 'city organist' in newspaper advertisements, a position he held until the mid-1920s.⁸⁸ A typical example of the programmes he performed as city organist is that given on 26 April 1900:

Fantasia in G	Bach
Andantino, Rosamunde	Schubert
Offertoire	Hewlett
Fantasia on the Vesper Hymn	Turpin
Scene Pastoral, The storm	E.M. Lott
Patriotic air	Sample
March from the Bard	E.G. Monk ⁸⁹

It would seem that Sample was York's one and only civic organist. The last two decades of the nineteenth century also saw the introduction of organ recitals in York Minster and other local churches for which there were no admission charges, although collections were made in aid of various church appeal funds, including those for new organs and the provision of music and hymn books.⁹⁰ For many years now an annual series of organ recitals has been given during the summer months in York Minster in which the resident organist and visiting players have performed. An organ built by Grant, Degens & Bradbeer, was opened in the Sir Jack Lyons Concert Hall in the University of York in 1969. Recitals upon this instrument, considered by many to be the finest concert organ in the North of England, have been given by leading performers who have included Nicholas Danby, Peter Hurford, and Lionel Rogg.

⁸⁸Sample is described in Joseph Sutcliffe Smith, A musical pilgrimage in Yorkshire (Leeds: Jackson, 1928), p. ix as 'Hon. City Organist, York' and on p. 156 as 'until quite recently, its [i.e., York's] Borough Organist'. A photograph of Sample can be found facing p. 258 of Smith's book; Sample was resident in York between 1881 and 1927 and was a teacher of music and organist at various local churches.

⁸⁹YG 24.3.1900.

⁹⁰YH 15.9.1883, YH 8.2.1890; YG 2.2.1895, YG 20.10.1900.

Visiting orchestras and solo performers

Charles Hallé and his orchestra had first performed in York in 1873 and thereafter gave irregular concerts in the city until shortly before his death in 1895. The concerts, which were given in 1878, 1880, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, and 1895, were promoted by Messrs. Waddington, and while they were usually well attended, never attracted the large audiences which would have made the visit of Hallé's orchestra an annual one (with the exception of the years 1888-1891).⁹¹ Included in the concerts were symphonies and overtures by Beethoven and Mendelssohn, piano concertos by Grieg and Schumann (in which Hallé himself was the soloist on both occasions), and frequent performances of overtures to, and incidental music from, the operas of Wagner, his overture to Tannhäuser being performed at four out of the seven concerts held in York between 1878 and 1895.

In addition to Charles Hallé and his orchestra other musicians performed in York as part of national tours. Among the more important of these were Charles Santley, the English baritone and composer, Zelia Trebelli, the French mezzo-soprano, Pablo de Sarasate, the Spanish violinist and composer, and, most famous of all, Ignacy Jan Paderewski, the Polish pianist and composer, who performed in York in 1895 and 1898.⁹² On the occasion of Paderewski's first performance in York his programme included Beethoven's Piano sonata in E flat, numbers seven and eight from Chopin's Etudes (op. 25), and Liszt's Hungarian rhapsody, no. 2. A local newspaper noted that 'a more

⁹¹YH 9.1.1878, YH 3.2.1880, YH 29.11.1888, YH 16.11.1889, YH 8.11.1890, YH 12.8.1891, YG 2.2.1895.

⁹²YH 17.11.1888, YH 10.1.1891, YG 11.11.1893, YG 6.4.1895, YG 16.11.1895, YG 26.3.1898.

brilliant and soul-stirring performance of its kind has rarely if ever been listened to in the city'.⁹³ The programme performed three years later included pianoforte works by Beethoven, Brahms, and Chopin, and again concluded with one of Liszt's Hungarian rhapsodies, this time the sixth. Paderewski played 'in a manner that delighted trained musical ears and caused wonder and surprise among many young students of the pianoforte'.⁹⁴

York Musical Union

From the 1850s onwards various local residents had promoted infrequent concerts of chamber music in York; these invariably involved a loss of money. A direct consequence of a failure of two chamber concerts given by the Heckmann Quartet in 1886 and 1887 was the establishment in the following year of the York Musical Union (YMU). Its aim was the 'the cultivation of chamber music' in York which it hoped to achieve by placing the financial support for the concerts on a broader base than hitherto. The person most responsible for the formation of the YMU was Canon Hudson (briefly mentioned above in connection with the York Musical Society) who subsequently became its President.⁹⁵

By October 1888 the YMU had one hundred and ten members and the first concert under its auspices took place on 9 November when a string quartet led by Richard Gomperty, a professor at the Royal College of Music and a pupil of Joachim, performed quartets by Beethoven (op.

⁹³YG 6.4.1895.

⁹⁴YG 26.3.1898.

⁹⁵YH 28.7.1888.

18, no. 1), Dvorak (op. 51 in E flat), and Mendelssohn.⁹⁶ Thereafter there were usually two concerts each season, one in November or December and one in February or March, and York audiences were given the opportunity of hearing some of the works in the chamber music repertoire composed by the great nineteenth-century masters, e.g., string quartets by Beethoven, Dvorak, Grieg, Mendelssohn, Schubert, Schumann, and Tchaikovsky, but surprisingly there was very little Mozart and (as far as I can tell) no Haydn at all. This music was played by the leading performers of the day, including Willy Hess and Herr Brodsky and their respective string quartets, the pianists Leonard Borwick and Fanny Davies, and the contralto Mary Wakefield. (Although the music performed at chamber concerts at this time was well on the way to becoming exclusively instrumental a vocal element was still occasionally added.)⁹⁷

After three reasonably successful series of concerts the funds of the YMU had decreased to such a point where the Festival Concert Rooms had to be abandoned as the concert venue, and from the 1892/1893 season onwards the concerts were mostly held at either the Institute of Popular Science and Literature (on Clifford Street) or at the large hall of the Exhibition.⁹⁸ The YMU struggled on through the 1890s, and though by 1897 it was near to collapse it survived into the twentieth century when it was last heard of in 1902.⁹⁹ In 1904 a 'new series of resuscitated chamber concerts' began in York which were reported in the Musical times over the next two years, after which time it would

⁹⁶YH 20.10.1888.

⁹⁷YH 1888-1899, passim.

⁹⁸YH 17.10.1891.

⁹⁹YG 6.2.1897; Musical times 43 (1902): 193.

seem that chamber concerts were given only on a sporadic basis until the First World War put an end to almost all of the secular musical activity in the city.¹⁰⁰

British Music Society of York

Following the First World War professional chamber music concerts were promoted in York by the British Music Society of York, beginning in the autumn of 1921, since when (notwithstanding a shaky period in the late 1920s when Dr. Bairstow could speak of the Society as appearing 'to be wobbling on its knees') the Society has presented sixty-nine consecutive annual seasons of chamber music concerts.¹⁰¹ For many years the concerts of the British Music Society were given in the Tempest Anderson Hall; after a period when they were held at Bootham School, York, the Society now holds its concerts in the Sir Jack Lyons Concert Hall in the University of York, to the mutual benefit of the Society and the University.

¹⁰⁰Musical times, 45 (1904): 815; idem, 46 (1905): 816; idem, 47 (1906): 269; idem, 55 (1914): 56.

¹⁰¹The British Music Society was founded by Dr. Eaglefield Hull in 1918 for the furtherance of British music and music in Britain. Hull, A dictionary of modern music, p. 63. Bairstow's comments about the British Music Society of York are contained in an unidentified press cutting reporting the annual general meeting of the YMS in 1927, York City Archives, YMS Minute book, 1908-1928, Acc. 30:5.

Festivals

York Musical Festival, 1910

The last of the early nineteenth-century festivals in York was held in 1835 after which date a period of seventy five years was to elapse before another festival of national importance was held in the city. This was the York Music Festival of 1910 which was organised by the indefatigable Minster organist, T.T. Noble, and held on Wednesday 20 and Thursday 21 July of that year.¹⁰² The concerts were performed in the Exhibition Building which The Times described as a 'prosaic but insignificant structure', but which could hold large audiences and therefore keep ticket prices down. A chorus of over four hundred voices, all of whom were from York and its immediate neighbourhood, sang in the Festival; the orchestra comprised the wind of the Queen's Hall Orchestra and the strings from the Hallé Orchestra. Mr. Rawdon Briggs, the leader of the Hallé Orchestra, led the York Festival Orchestra, which was conducted by Noble, with Elgar and Bantock present to conduct their own works.

The concert on the afternoon of the first day included Elgar's overture Cockaigne, the Enigma variations, Sea pictures (in which the soloist was Phyllis Letts), and the first The wand of youth suite; Bantock's Song of the genie; Mozart's Piano concerto in G (K.453), in which the soloist was Fanny Davies, and Bach's Concerto for strings in G (probably the third Brandenburg concerto). The evening performance on the first day, attended by an immense audience, was devoted to a

¹⁰²The account which follows is based on reports in the Musical times (1910): 525, and The Times 21 and 23 July 1910.

single work, Mendelssohn's Elijah. The Times noted that the chorus sang with 'admirable smartness and finish, following the beat closely and with quick intelligence'. The morning concert of the second day comprised orchestral items by Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Tchaikovsky, and Wagner, while that in the afternoon was devoted to three works, namely Elgar's cantata, King Olaf, Bantock's Dramatic suite (which was receiving its first performance), and selections from the music written by Noble for the York Pageant of 1909. The charitable object of the 1910 Festival - the York County Hospital - received five guineas from the organisers (the gift of which was only made possible by the fact that Miss Fanny Davies, one of the principals, had remitted £5 of her fee). No doubt, this lack of financial success, after all the hard work which had gone into organising the Festival, effectively destroyed any plans there might have been for its repetition.

York Festival

The York Festival of 1951 was one of the regional festivals held in association with the Festival of Britain of the same year, which itself served the double function of celebrating the centenary of the Great Exhibition of 1851 and of nurturing in the people of Britain a unity, confidence, and hope for the future. The director of this first York Festival was Keith Thomson, secretary of the York University Foundation Planning Committee, while subsequent directors have included Hans Hess, curator of the York City Art Gallery (the Festivals from 1954 to 1966), Graham Beynon (the 1969 Festival), Gavin Henderson (the 1973 and 1976 Festivals), Richard Gregson-Williams (the

1980 and 1984 Festivals), and Jude Kelly (the 1988 Festival). The York Festival of 1951 took the Edinburgh Festival as its pattern, but what has distinguished it from other Festivals, then and subsequently, are the Mystery Plays which have been central to its continued existence. For instance, in 1963, from a total of seventy-five thousand tickets available for all performances in the Festival, some forty-three thousand were for the twenty-three performances of the Mystery Plays.¹⁰³ In the Festival of 1951 the Mystery Plays made a profit of £2,400 but the concerts, which had cost £17,872 to promote, lost £9,443, which sum almost accounted for the whole of the loss on this Festival.¹⁰⁴ Subsequent York Festivals have relied heavily on the Mystery Plays to supply the financial balance necessary to enable less profitable musical events to take place. A good part of the deficit on the concerts in the early Festivals was doubtless due to the heavy costs associated with visiting orchestras and choirs. The table below lists the large choral works given in the Minster during the York Festival of 1951; of the orchestras and choirs which performed only the York Musical Society was locally based.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Orchestra</u>	<u>Choir</u>	<u>Work performed</u>
July 7	Hallé Orchestra	Sheffield Philharmonic Soc.	Walton <u>Belshazzar's Feast</u>
July 9	Hallé Orchestra	Leeds Festival Chorus	Elgar <u>The dream of Gerontius</u>
July 12	Yorkshire S.O.	York Musical Society	Fauré <u>Requiem</u>
July 14	London Philharmonic Orchestra	Leeds Philharmonic Soc.	Bruckner <u>Te Deum</u> Beethoven Symphony no. 9
July 16	London Philharmonic Orchestra	Huddersfield Choral Society	Verdi <u>Requiem</u>

¹⁰³Economist 207 (1963): 1237.

¹⁰⁴P.A. Harrison, The York Festival, 1951. Unpublished typescript in York Public Library.

By the time of the 1988 York Festival this heavy reliance on imported choirs and orchestras had been abandoned, almost certainly on grounds of expense, but also because there were then competent locally based performers, who were actively encouraged through the emphasis which the Festival organisers placed on the idea of a "people's festival". Arguably two of the best musical events of the 1988 Festival were provided by the University of York's Symphony Orchestra and Choir in a performance of Britten's War requiem, and by the Yorkshire Bach Choir (and the Yorkshire Baroque Soloists) in a performance of C.P.E. Bach's Die letzten Leiden des Erlösers.

And what of the other music performed in the York Festivals? The choral works performed in the 1951 Festival have been listed above; in subsequent years the chronological span of the choral works was extended as far forward as Britten and as far backward as Monteverdi. A number of first performances was given during the first four Festivals, e.g., John Joubert's Violin concerto, op. 13 (1954), Richard Hall's Flute sonata (1957), and Alexander Goehr's Symphony for small orchestra (1963), but following the establishment of the University of York, with its Department of Music and its resident composers, the importance of new music was further emphasized. In 1966, there were premières of David Blake's Chamber symphony (a piece commissioned by the York Festival), Wilfrid Mellers' A May magnificat, and Sherlaw Johnson's new string quartet.¹⁰⁵ This emphasis on new music tailed off in the Festivals of the 1970s and 1980s and although there were several first performances in the 1984 Festival (e.g., works by Richard Orton and John Paynter) by the time of the 1988

¹⁰⁵Musical times 95 (1954): 438-439; idem, 98 (1957): 507; idem, 104 (1963): 643; idem, 107 (1966): 696.

Festival the only concession to new music was in a concert given by Firebird on 20 June in which there were first performances of compositions by three York student composers (at that time not well established), Anthony Adams, Martyn Craft, and Michael Parkin.¹⁰⁶

After achieving an importance throughout the north of England and even nationally, perhaps reaching a high-point in the Festivals of 1963 and 1966, the York Festival could claim with some justification in 1988 to be the largest festival in England, but by the mid-1980s the York Festival had been overtaken in importance, as far as its music was concerned, by the York Early Music Festival.

York Early Music Festival

Following the success of the York Early Music Week held in April 1977, the York Early Music Festival was established in 1978; there have been festivals in every year subsequently with the exception of 1984. The aim of the York Early Music Festival is 'not merely to present good music - both familiar and unfairly forgotten - in beautiful surroundings, but to try to capture something of the sounds the original composers intended by using old instruments or replicas and by discovering the ways in which the music was played and sung'.¹⁰⁷ In pursuance of this aim - which has been admirably fulfilled - leading soloists and ensembles from the field of early music have been engaged to perform in York, including Emma Kirkby, Nigel North, Anthony Rooley, Melvyn Tan, and Stephen Varcoe, and the Academy of Ancient Music, Baroque Brass of London, Musica Antiqua Köln, and the

¹⁰⁶York Festival & Mystery Plays 1988. Diary of events.

¹⁰⁷York Early Music Festival, 1982. [Festival Brochure], p. 1.

Parley of Instruments. Since 1986 each festival programme has been grouped around a central theme, beginning with 'Musica transalpina' in 1986, and followed by 'Venice and the carnival spirit' in 1987 and 'Vienna Fest: six centuries of imperial music' in 1989. By the end of the 1980s the York Early Music Festival had established itself as one of the leading festivals of its kind in Europe.

Educational institutions

Various educational institutions in York have contributed to the music-making of the city, albeit in different ways and to vastly varying degrees: their musical activities will be discussed under the following heads - Local schools (including the Yorkshire School for the Blind), College of Ripon and York St. John, University of York.

Local schools

Music was established in the curriculum of Board schools in England in 1871, and at first there was a heavy emphasis on vocal music.¹⁰⁸ This was reflected in York in the establishment of the York Children's Choral Society, which although very short-lived, was in many ways the most interesting choral movement of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It was formed in 1877 following a discussion at a meeting of the York and District Teachers' Association. Its principal objects, having a certain similarity to those of the

¹⁰⁸Russell, Popular music in England, p. 45.

proposed school of music in York in 1845 (discussed in a previous chapter), were as follows:-

The development of a taste for music among the children of the working classes, the familiarising them with music and songs of a wholesome character, and the imparting (to those who have greater natural ability for music) such an acquaintance with the art as will enable them, in course of time to become useful singers in the choirs and musical societies of our city.

An annual concert was proposed, the first of which was given on 31 May 1877; further concerts were given in 1878 and 1879, after which the Society is heard of no more. The children were taught by the tonic sol-fa method, and though most of the items performed in their concerts were sung in unison, each concert also included some choruses of Handel and Mendelssohn in which the alto, tenor, and bass parts were sung by various school teachers and their friends.¹⁰⁹

The School for the Blind (later known as the Yorkshire School for the Blind) was founded in 1834 as a memorial to William Wilberforce and was situated in the King's Manor, York, from its foundation until the end of the 1950s.¹¹⁰ In addition to the usual subjects the children were taught weaving, basket-making, and music. The principal music masters included William Barnby (brother to Sir Joseph Barnby), who was in office from 1835 until 1890, and (in the 1890s) W.T. Hanforth (later organist of Sheffield Cathedral), T. Robinson (assistant organist at York Minster), and Louis Banks.¹¹¹ Weekly concerts were held from 1840 until 1921 when the reconstruction of the music room at the King's Manor prevented their continuation. These

¹⁰⁹YH 19.5.1877, YH 27.5.1877, YH 2.6.1877, YH 9.3.1878, and YH 29.3.1879.

¹¹⁰Tillott, The city of York, p. 459-460.

¹¹¹Much of this section is derived from an article in YH 9.2.1925.

concerts consisted of instrumental solos and duets, part-songs, vocal duets and trios, and glees. (Sir George Macfarren composed a four-part song, 'In a drear-nighted December', especially for the School for the Blind at York.) In 1879 an organ was built for the School by Messrs. Willis and Sons,¹¹² and throughout its history during the nineteenth century the School produced a succession of organists who subsequently played at churches in York and elsewhere in the county (e.g., Francis Watson, organist at St. Mary's, Beverley, W.H. Strickland, organist of St. Michael-le-Belfrey's, York, and other York churches, and Jacob Hird, organist of St. Sampson's, York). The School's most famous musical son was undoubtedly Alfred Hollins, the English organist, pianist, and composer, who has left an interesting account of his experiences there.¹¹³ It seems that after 1920 or so the concerts were given only on a sporadic basis, the legislation then current specifying that the pupils at the school should leave at the age of sixteen, when previously they had often stayed on into their twenties. This reduced the number of potential performers. Although still in existence, the Yorkshire School for the Blind no longer has the musical importance that once it had.

The York Youth Orchestra (YYO) was formed in September 1944 and by January 1945 consisted of forty-five members, all of whom provided their own instruments, although the music was paid for by the York Education Committee; the Orchestra's conductor was Mr. J.W. Sanderson.¹¹⁴ It may have temporarily ceased activities towards the

¹¹²YH 15.3.1879.

¹¹³Alfred Hollins, A blind musician looks back: an autobiography (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1936), pp. 34-53.

¹¹⁴YG 19.1.1945; YG 7.9.1946.

end of the decade as Mr. T.H. Welch, director of the YYO throughout the 1950s, later claimed that the Orchestra was formed in 1949.¹¹⁵ A similar hiatus in the Orchestra's activities occurred in the early 1960s, following which the YYO was restarted in 1964 by Mr. Ronald Easey, a music teacher at Queen Anne Grammar School and the organiser for instrumental music with York Education Committee.¹¹⁶ In addition to sponsoring the activities of the YYO, the Youth Service of the City of York Education Committee also encouraged the formation of the York Youth Choir (active from 1956 to 1958) and the York Youth Operatic and Choral Society (YYOCS), which was founded in 1963 and is still in existence. During the 1960s the YYOCS produced operas which included German's Merrie England, Offenbach's La belle Hélène, and Sullivan's The gondoliers, Iolanthe, and Patience.

The York Music Centre (YMC) was formed in 1966 with the backing of the two education authorities of York and the former West Riding of Yorkshire, and its aim was to encourage ensemble playing in children who were already receiving instrumental tuition at their local schools. In 1968 the Central College of Further Education on Tadcaster Road was home to the YMC, which was attended by a hundred schoolchildren, the youngest of whom were aged eight;¹¹⁷ in 1971 the YMC moved to Queen Anne Grammar School, where it has been located since. Until 1973 pupils from York schools played in the York Senior Schools' Orchestra (from 1964), the York Schools' String Orchestra (from 1966), and the York Junior Schools' Orchestra, all of which were

¹¹⁵City of York. Education Committee. 'Youth service bulletin,' no. 136, October 1956.

¹¹⁶Idem, no. 226, September 1964.

¹¹⁷YEP 12.2.1968.

completely independent of the York Music Centre and its orchestras. Following local government reorganisation in 1973, these York Schools' orchestras (and also the York Youth Orchestra) ceased to exist and their former roles were taken over by the orchestras of the YMC, which now included pupils of schools from within a twenty-mile radius of York. After 1973 the level of peripatetic instrumental teaching in York maintained schools was raised to the high standard of that previously provided in those of the North and West Ridings of Yorkshire, to the obvious benefit of the YMC and its various ensembles. In 1975 David Lloyd was appointed Advisory Teacher for Music by the York Area Education Office, with responsibility for the development of instrumental teaching in York and for the YMC, and under his direction its activities flourished. The aim of the YMC in the 1980s has been to foster the acquisition of musical skills in the community,¹¹⁸ and the Centre now attracts between three and four hundred children every Saturday morning throughout each school term who play in one of four orchestras, two concert bands, or other small sectional groups. The York Area Schools Symphony Orchestra, class 1 of the YMC (with a target standard of ability of grade V plus for string players and grade VI plus for wind players), achieves a commendable standard of playing and its repertoire includes works by Shostakovich and Walton in addition to works from the standard eighteenth- and nineteenth-century orchestral repertoire.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸York Music Centre. Prospectus, 1980-1981.

¹¹⁹I am much indebted to Mr. Robin Black, a Music Adviser with North Yorkshire L.E.A., for information included in this paragraph.

College of Ripon and York St. John

The York and Ripon Diocesan Training College was opened in 1841 in Monkgate, moving to its present premises on Lord Mayor's Walk four years later; the College has been known subsequently as St. John's College and the College of Ripon and York St. John. Throughout the nineteenth century the College had between seventy and eighty students, some of whom, until the end of the 1880s, would contribute to one or at the most two concerts per year, which were conducted by successive music masters at the College. These concerts consisted largely of part-songs, duets, trios, and glees such as 'Hail, smiling morn' by Reginald Spofforth, 'Great Apollo strike the lyre' by Samuel Webbe, the Elder, and 'When winds breathe soft.'¹²⁰ In the 1890s a pattern of two concerts a year seems to have been established and for the first time the musical forces within the College (which included boy sopranos from the Model School and the Practising School) were sufficient and competent enough to perform larger works than hitherto, e.g., St. Cecilia's day by Jan Bernard van Bree, Horatius, a cantata for male voices by John Henry Mee, Damon and Phinias, also for male voices, by Ebenezer Prout, and Romberg's Toy symphony.¹²¹ Nothing is known of the concerts given at the College during the first half of the twentieth century, but presumably they followed the pattern established at the end of the nineteenth century. The range of concerts given at the College in the 1960s and 1970s is mentioned in the Annual Report of the York Civic Trust,¹²² from which it can be seen

¹²⁰YH 28.5.1864.

¹²¹YH 24.10.1891, YH 25.6.1892, YH 28.6.1894.

¹²²York Civic Trust Annual report (1974-1975): 46-47.

that a strong emphasis was given to piano recitals by young professional performers. The College also enjoyed a limited amount of music-making and concert-giving from its own students, some of which has been described by David Lang, a former head of music, in an article written about the work of his department.¹²³

University of York

The University of York was founded in 1963 and was the first of the new universities to establish a full chair in music (from 1964), which was occupied by Wilfrid Mellers until his retirement in 1981. The University's Department of Music was extremely fortunate in having this remarkable man as its founder and head. He is a composer (whose works include cantatas, chamber music and song cycles) and also a scholar of very broad interests, having written on such diverse musical subjects as Bach, the Beatles, English music, and twentieth-century women pop-singers.¹²⁴ His philosophy of musical education in a university, which has been set out in two periodical articles,¹²⁵ is based on the assumption that the performance of music should underpin the whole of a music department's teaching activities, and it is this philosophy which has been followed at York since 1964. While music graduates of the University have gone on to distinguish themselves as

¹²³David Lang, 'Music in the College,' The white rose: the annual newspaper of the Association of the College of Ripon and York St. John, 1981 and 1982.

¹²⁴Peter Aston, 'Wilfrid Mellers: a 70th-birthday tribute,' Musical times 125 (July 1984): 373-374.

¹²⁵Wilfrid Mellers, 'Aims of University's Music Department,' York and county magazine (April 1967): 24-26; idem, 'The study of music at university, 2: a question of priorities,' Musical times 114 (1972): 245-249.

composers, critics, performers, and scholars, ameliorating the musical life of this country and elsewhere, what is of greater concern here is the enrichment that the University has brought to the musical life of York and its immediate region.

Shortly after the foundation of the University one of its members, Richard Middleton, then a postgraduate student in the Department of Music, publicly criticised music-making in York, writing that 'musically at least ... the city has little to offer'.¹²⁶ As we have seen above, there were various musical groups active in the city at this time, but it cannot be denied that, as Middleton continued, 'York's amateur tradition, apart from the limited fields of brass band and light opera ... [was] weak, the musical product predictable and stereotyped'. His views were echoed by a Yorkshire music critic, Ernest Bradbury, who perhaps could be impartial on this 'town-gown' issue where a member of the University could not. Reviewing music in Yorkshire a little less than a year after Richard Middleton had written, he commented:

Elsewhere in Yorkshire the familiar scene has changed a little because of the impact of the newer universities. York is the outstanding example, where the music department consists of four composers of diverse outlook and aims. The music of these - Wilfrid Mellers, David Blake, Peter Aston, and Robert Sherlaw Johnson - is naturally to be heard, but it does not dominate a series of Wednesday events which in one season (with jazz, Indian Classical Music, quartet, choral and orchestral music, old and new) offers more to the ancient city than, triennial festivals apart, it has probably heard in half a century.¹²⁷

The contribution which the University has made to music-making in York is threefold. Firstly, it has provided the city with a reservoir

¹²⁶Musical times 108 (1967): 724.

¹²⁷Musical times 109 (1968): 160.

of fine instrumental and vocal performers who have performed regularly (or on an ad hoc basis) with local orchestras, such as the York Symphony Orchestra, and with local choirs, such as the Chapter House Choir, the Micklegate Singers, and the Yorkshire Bach Choir, and it has provided conductors for various musical groups. For example, Andrew Wilson-Dickson and Peter Aston have conducted the Micklegate Singers, David Blake has directed the City Opera Group, and John Godfrey and Paul Mann have conducted the York Symphony Orchestra. Secondly, the University has, through its own choirs, orchestras, and ensembles of various kinds, made available to York audiences an amazingly wide range of music, from Cardew and Carter to Tallis and Taverner, and from big band jazz to music for the Javanese Gamelan. Memorable performances in the 1980s, for instance, have included Bartók's Music for strings, percussion and celesta (1981), Beethoven's Symphony, no. 3, conducted by Roger Norrington (1986), Beethoven's Symphony, no. 9 (1987), and Verdi's Requiem (1989). Thirdly, the University has promoted annual series of concerts (usually given in the Sir Jack Lyons Concert Hall) in which, in addition to the Music Department's performing groups, visiting soloists and instrumental ensembles have appeared, including in the 1980s, among others, Peter Donohoe, the Hilliard Ensemble, the London Sinfonietta, Les percussions de Strasbourg, and Sing Circle. The University of York has also, since 1984, promoted a series of orchestral concerts in its Central Hall, in which professional orchestras such as the BBC Philharmonic Orchestra, the English Northern Philharmonia, the Northern Sinfonia, and the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra have performed.

For most of the period covered by this chapter York was something of a musical backwater compared with neighbours Leeds and Bradford, as the concert reports in the Musical times for much of this period testify. Speaking on the occasion of an organists' meeting in York in 1952, Ernest Bradbury said that he did not consider York a musical city, despite the success of the 1951 Festival; and Lumley Dodsworth, a York solicitor, was of the opinion that there was a time when, 'because of indifferent reception, professional artists avoided the city'.¹²⁸ In the late 1980s these claims could no longer be made, and at the end of this decade it could be stated with complete justification that the concert series promoted by the University of York in the season 1989-1990 was 'one of the largest, certainly the most wide ranging in the North of England'.¹²⁹ This series, taken together with the concerts given in the city by the British Musical Society of York, the Guildhall Orchestra, the Micklegate Singers, and the Yorkshire Bach Choir, and others, as well as concerts given in the York Early Music Festival, certainly allows the city of York to claim that it is indeed 'a musical place of the first quality'. This phrase, used in a notice of a York concert in 1866,¹³⁰ expressed an opinion that was widely held in the city throughout the nineteenth century. Whereas then (and for the first two thirds of the twentieth century) it would seem to have been mostly an expression of wishful thinking, its validity in describing York in the 1980s is undeniable.

¹²⁸YEP 21.1.1952. Dodsworth was probably referring to the inter-war years.

¹²⁹University of York, Department of Music. Sir Jack Lyons Concert Hall. Public concerts, October-December 1989. [Concert brochure].

¹³⁰YH 4.4.1866.

TABLE 9.1

York choirs active since 1876 (excluding those associated with religious institutions)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Dates when known to be active</u>	<u>Source of reference (if not referred to in text)</u>
York Musical Society	1876-	
York Children's Choral Society	1877-1879	
York Amateur Choral Society/Herr Padel's chorus	1880-1884	YH 20.3.1880 YH 22.2.1882 YH 24.3.1884
York Temperance Choral Society	1885	YH 21.10.1885
York Old Priory Choir	1897-1977	
York Male Voice Choir	1899-1969	
Burton Lane Club and Institute Male Voice Choir	1900-1950	<u>York city yearbook</u> , 1949-1950, p.93
York Co-operative Choral Society	1923-1950	Ibid., p.92
York Madrigal Choir	1925-1969	<u>Musical times</u> 66 (1925): 71; YEP 1.4.1969
York Philharmonic Male Voice Choir	1925-1975	
St. Lawrence Male Voice Choir	1947-1967	
Rowntree Choral and Operatic Society	1950	<u>York city yearbook</u> , 1949-1950, p. 92
York Settlement Choir	1950	Ibid.
York Youth Choir	1956-1958	
York Athenaeum Ladies Choir	-1959	YEP 2.4.1959

[contd]

Micklegate Singers	1962-	
Ebor Ladies Choir	1964-1985	YEP 4.4.1985
Chapter House Choir	1965-	
York Railway Institute Male Voice Choir	1967-	
York Celebrations Choir	1970-1981	YEP 27.2.1970 YEP 13.6.1981
Yorkshire Bach Choir	1979-	

TABLE 9.2

List of works performed at York Symphony Orchestra concerts, 1898-1912. (Transcribed from a list in a brochure entitled York Symphony Orchestra; copy in York Public Library, with date-stamp 26 Feb 1912).

Overtures

<u>Composer</u>	<u>Title</u>
Beethoven	Egmont
Beethoven	Prometheus
Beethoven	Coriolan
Elgar	Cockaigne
German, E.	Richard III
Mozart	Figaro
Mozart	Die Zauberflöte
Mendelssohn	Ruy Blas
Mendelssohn	Hebrides
Mackenzie	Britannia, Nautical
Noble	The Wasps
Nicolai	Merry Wives of Windsor
Rossini	William Tell
Schubert	Rosamunde
Smetana	Die verkaufte Braut
Sullivan	In Memoriam
Taylor, Coleridge	Hiawatha
Weber	Der Freischütz
Weber	Euryanthe
Weber	Oberon
Wagner	Die Meistersinger

Symphonies

Beethoven	No. 3 (Eroica)
Beethoven	No. 5, C minor
Beethoven	No. 7 in A
Haydn	No. 2 in D
Haydn	Farewell
Mozart	Jupiter
Mozart	G minor
Mozart	Prague

Mendelssohn	Reformation
Mendelssohn	Italian
Schubert	Unfinished

Concertos

<u>Composer</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Soloist</u>
Bach	Brandenburg for strings in G	
Bach	Piano Concerto	Miss Ethel Page
Beethoven	Violin Concerto	Miss Nora Clench
Beethoven	Piano concerto in G major	Miss Fanny Davies
Bruch, Max	Violin Concerto, G minor	Mr. P. Sharman
Bruch, Max	Violin Concerto, G minor	Mr. John Dunn
Handel	Concerto Grosso, two violins, cello, piano and string orchestra	
Mozart	Piano Concerto in A	Miss C.A. Bigge
Mozart	Piano Concerto in A	Herr Padel
Mozart	Violin Concerto in D	Miss Leila Willoughby
Mendelssohn	Violin Concerto	Mr. P. Sharman
Mendelssohn	Piano Concerto, G minor	Miss Fanny Davies
Saint-Saëns	Piano Concerto, G minor	Mr. Leonard Borwick
Schumann	Piano Concerto	Mr. Alfred Hollins
Tschaikowsky	Violin Concerto	M. Zacharewitsch
Weber	Piano Concerto	Herr Padel
Wieniawski	Violin Concerto No. 2	Miss Leila Willoughby

Dances

Brahms	Three Hungarian Dances
Gardiner, Balfour	Shepherd Fennel's Dance
German, E.	Nell Gwyn
German, E.	Henry VIII
Grainger, Percy	Mock Morris
Moskowski	Spanish Dances
Sinigaglia	Danse Piemontese, No. 2

Marches

Chopin	Marche Funèbre
Elgar	Pomp and Circumstance
Elgar	Imperial March
Meyerbeer	Coronation March
Taylor, Coleridge	Ethiopa Saluting the Colours

Miscellaneous

Bizet	Suite L'Arlesienne
Bach	Aria
Bach	Suite for Strings in D
Elgar	Serenade for Strings
Elgar	Wand of Youth Suite
German	Gypsy Suite
German	Symphonic Poem Hamlet
German	Welsh Rhapsody
Grieg	Peer Gynt Suite
Grieg	Holberg Suite
Handel	Larghetto and Gavotte
Henschel	Andante from Serenade for Strings
Järnefelt	Berceuse
Järnefelt	Prelude
Kotchetoff	A La Balalaika from Suite
Luigini	Egyptian Ballet
Mattheson	Aria for Strings
Mozart	Minuet for Strings
Moskowski	Foreign Parts
Noble	Introduction to Act III The Wasps
Noble	Incidental Music to The Wasps
Noble	Suite for Orchestra
Noble	Solemn Prelude
Olsen	String Suite
Purcell	String Suite
Ronald, Landon	Suite de Ballet
Sibelius	Finlandia
Sibelius	Valse Triste
Schubert	Ballet Music to Rosamunde
Stanford	Irish Rhapsody, No. 1
Taylor, Coleridge	Ballade
Tschaikowsky	Nut Cracker Suite
Tschaikowsky	Elegy for Strings
Wagner	Introduction to Act III, Lohengrin
Bruch, Max	Romance in A minor for Miss Leila Willoughby Violin and Orchestra
Noble	Three pieces for Miss Leila Willoughby Violin and Orchestra
Tschaikowsky	Cello variations on Mr Herbert Withers the Rococo

TABLE 9.3

York orchestras active since 1900 (excluding the York Symphony Orchestra)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Dates when known to be active</u>	<u>Source of reference</u>
The Philharmonic	c1890-1908	YH 20. 6.1908
York Orpheus Orchestral Society	1906-1907	YG 3.11.1906 YG 1.12.1906 YG 2. 3.1907
York Chamber Orchestra	1941-1964	YG 5.12.1941 YEP 11. 7.1964
York Youth Orchestra	1944-1973	
City of York Light Orchestra	1947-1972	YG 18. 3.1947 YEP 25. 7.1961 YEP 31. 7.1961 YEP 22. 2.1963 YEP 1. 7.1972
Academy of St. Olave	1977-	YEP 31.12.1977
Guildhall Orchestra	1980-	<u>Yorkshire Ridings Magazine</u> 17 (May/April 1980): 53; <u>Arts Yorkshire</u> 2 (1983): 18

TABLE 9.4

York brass bands

<u>Name</u>	<u>Dates when known to be active</u>	<u>Source of information</u> (if not referred to in text)
Bean's brass band	1833-1860	
Walker's brass band	1834-1852	
Temperance brass band	1844	YH 8. 6.1844
York Operatic Brass Band	1858	YH 12. 6.1858
York Amateur Brass Band	1859-1860	YH 18. 6.1859 YH 30. 6.1860
City Model Brass Band	1877-1885	YH 10. 3.1877 YH 7. 2.1885
Albion brass band	1881	YH 14. 5.1881
York Temperance Brass Band	1882-1885	YH 6. 5.1882 YH 1.12.1883 YH 23. 5.1885
York Citadel Band	?1891-	[R. Hawkshaw] <u>York Salvation Army, 1881-1981</u> (York, 1981), p. 39-42.
Chaucer Street Mission Band <u>subsequently</u> York and District Mission Band York Excelsior Band York Railway Institute Band	1883-	

[contd]

Groves Mission Band	1889-1903	William B. Gardner <u>Unfinished story: the birth and growth of the Groves Methodist Church in York</u> (York, 1949), p. [13]. According to Gardner the Groves Mission Band 'finally became merged in the Rowntree Cocoa Works Band in 1903'. Anthony Lickley was the conductor of both bands.
St. Paul's Brass Band <u>subsequently</u> St. Paul's New Silver Band	1900-1904	YG 30. 4.1904
Rowntree Cocoa Works Band	1903-	
York City Brass Band	1906-1950	YG 3.11.1906; <u>York city year book and business directory, 1949-1950</u> (York: Yorkshire Gazette, 1949), p. 93.
Ebor Brass Band	1980-1984	YEP 30.10.1982 YEP 10.12.1984

CHAPTER X

'ALL SORTS OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AND CASES; BOWS,
BRIDGES, STRINGS, AND WIRE; MUSIC, VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL':
A HISTORY OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENT BUILDING, MUSIC PUBLISHING,
AND MUSIC SELLING IN YORK

The institutional music-making in the city of York has depended on various supporting trades connected with the technical dimensions of musical performance, namely, those of the instrument builder, the publishers and copiers of scores and parts, and the dealers who sold these and other musical artefacts. This chapter will discuss the activities of the people involved locally in these ancillary trades; the first and longer section will treat of various instrument builders, and the second and shorter of music publishers and music dealers. Much of the information contained in this chapter, especially that concerning the nineteenth century, is presented here for the first time, thus illuminating the working lives of many who have hitherto been known merely by name, and lifting others from total obscurity.

Throughout England the services of organ builders, in demand by large and small churches alike before the Reformation, were

subsequently required only by cathedral, collegiate, and the larger parish churches, in the main, for a period of about two hundred years. Thereafter, reaching a high point in the second half of the nineteenth century, organ builders were extremely busy in supplying churches with the instruments that had by then come to be seen as a prerequisite for the proper observance of religious worship. In the second half of this century there has been a decline in the number of traditional organ builders as a result of the organ losing its musical primacy in church services, the wide availability of electric organs, and the closure of many places of worship. The experience in York matches this national pattern throughout.¹

Very little is known about York's pre-Restoration organ builders and instrument makers other than their names which occur in the city's freemen's rolls,² from which the list in Table 10.1 has been largely compiled. The list is necessarily incomplete as it is known that organ builders were not always described as such in official documents - as late as 1634 the distinguished organ builder Robert Dallam could be given the epithet 'blacksmith' in the contract for building an organ in York Minster.³ York's only known Restoration organ builder

¹Some of York's organ builders are very briefly discussed by the following writers. B.B. Edmonds, 'Yorkshire organ-builders of the nineteenth century,' BIOS journal 8 (1984): 4-17; B.B. Edmonds, 'Yorkshire organ-builders: the earlier years,' BIOS journal 9 (1985): 42-50; Laurence Elvin, Family enterprise: the story of some north country organ builders (Lincoln: By the Author, 1986), pp. 143-152.

²Francis Collins, ed., Register of the freemen of the City of York from the city records, 2 vols. Publications of the Surtees Society, 96 and 102 (Durham: Surtees Society, 1897-1900).

³John Raine, ed. The fabric rolls of York Minster, with an appendix of illustrative documents, Publications of the Surtees Society, 35 (Durham: Surtees Society, 1859), p. 319.

is mentioned by Hawkins in his monumental history, which was published in 1776:

... so that, excepting Dallans, Loosemore of Exeter, Thamar of Peterborough, and Preston of York, there was at the time of the restoration scarce an organ-maker that could be called a workman in the kingdom.⁴

Hawkins does not provide evidence to support this statement; it is not clear, moreover, to which Preston he was referring. There is much confusion here between three Prestons known to have been involved in organ building at around the same time, namely, Edward, Roger, and William. While each is sometimes referred to by his first name in addition to surname, many entries in the cathedral archives at York and Ripon simply refer to 'Mr Preston'. The muddle is made worse by the presence of another Preston in York at that time, Thomas Preston, who was organist of York Minster between 1666 and 1691. Yet another Thomas Preston was a songman at York Minster between 1679 and 1683,⁵ and two other Thomas Prestons, father and son, were organists at Ripon Cathedral between 1690 and 1730.⁶

On 26 August 1662 Edward Preston undertook the 'constant amendinge and keepinge the organ [in York Minster] from tyme to tyme in tune', for which he was to be paid an annual fee of forty shillings.⁷ Some seven months later Archbishop Frewen ordered 'that

⁴Sir John Hawkins, A general history of the science and practice of music, 2 vols. (New York: Dover Publications, 1963), 2:689.

⁵YML, Dean and Chapter archives, Chapter acts, 1660-1701, H5 sequence 2, ff. 134v. and 158r.

⁶Private communication from Dr. Watkins Shaw.

⁷YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Chapter minutes and drafts, H8/8 f. 12r; Chapter acts, H5 f. 28r.

the great Organ be made and sett up before Michaelmas next',⁸ and on 3 June 1663 'Mr Preston' was paid £86.13.4 by the Minster, the first of three equal payments for building this new organ,⁹ of which, unfortunately, no further records remain. In 1671 Roger Preston was paid £5 for mending the organ at York Minster.¹⁰ At the end of 1663, a 'Mr. Preston at York' began work on an organ for Ripon Cathedral for which he was paid £100; the work was completed by April 1664.¹¹ Other allusions to Preston made in Sumner's book, except for the quotation from the Ripon Minster archives, could, of course, refer to men other than the Prestons of York.¹²

The next York organ-builder of which there remains a record is Ambrose Brownless. In 1744 he was paid £15.5.0 by the church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey for cleaning, repairing and improving the organ there and seven years later he was paid for tuning the organ in York Minster.¹³ Brownless died in 1752 and was buried in the church of

⁸YML, Archbishop Frewen's injunctions, M1/7/6.

⁹YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Chapter minutes and drafts, H8/8 f. 21r. This 'great Organ' was probably an addition to an already existing chair organ.

¹⁰YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, St. Peter's account, E2/22, End B.

¹¹J.E. Mortimer, ed. 'Ripon Minster fabric accounts, 1661-1676,' in Charles Edward Whiting, ed., Miscellanea, vol. 6, The Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record series, 118 (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1953), pp. 85-150, passim. In a footnote on p. 108, the editor says that the Mr. Preston referred to in the accounts is 'William Preston, organ-maker', but does not give the source of this information.

¹²William Leslie Sumner, The organ: its evolution, principles of construction and use, 3rd ed. (London: Macdonald, 1962), pp. 129-130.

¹³BIHR, St. Michael-le-Belfrey, Churchwardens' accounts, 1730-1752, PR Y/MB 35; YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, St. Peter's account, E2/23.

Holy Trinity, Goodramgate.¹⁴ For most of the second half of the eighteenth century Thomas Haxby was of considerable importance to many areas of music-making in York.¹⁵ He was born in York in 1730, the son of Robert Haxby, a joiner, from whom it is supposed that he learnt the woodworking skills necessary for instrument building. On 25 January 1751 Thomas was appointed a songman at York Minster and parish clerk of the church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey, retaining both positions until his death in 1796;¹⁶ he sang at concerts in the York Assembly Rooms and also at Leeds, and was a member of the York Musical Society.¹⁷ His activities in connection with his music shop will be discussed below.

In 1755 Haxby was paid six guineas for tuning the organ in York Minster, a duty which he performed regularly until his death; in 1759 he added a dulciana to the choir organ and repaired the furniture stop on the great organ, while in July 1791 he made an extensive overhaul of the organ in preparation for its use in the musical festival held in the August of that year.¹⁸ Haxby was probably responsible for

¹⁴Robert Beilby Cook, ed. and transcriber, The parish registers of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, 1573-1812, Publications of the Yorkshire Parish Register Society, 41 (Leeds, 1911), p. 286.

¹⁵A detailed account of Thomas Haxby's life and work has been published recently, upon which the following description of his activities as an instrument builder is largely based. David Haxby and John Malden, 'Thomas Haxby of York (1729-1796) - an extraordinary musician and musical instrument maker,' York historian 2 (1978): 43-55; this article is supplemented by the same authors' 'Thomas Haxby - a note,' York historian 3 (1980): 31.

¹⁶YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, Chapter acts H 9/1 f. 70v.

¹⁷YC 5.2.1754; Emily Hargrave, 'Musical Leeds in the eighteenth century,' in Miscellanea, vol. 9, Publications of the Thoresby society, 28 (Leeds: Thoresby Society, 1928), pp. 324 and 326.

¹⁸YML, Records of the Dean and Chapter, St. Peter's account, E2/23; Chamberlains' accounts, unsorted vouchers, E2/PV.

repairs to the organ in Leeds parish church in 1760; he built organs for the parish churches of Scarborough in 1762 and Louth in 1768.¹⁹ The only other organ that he is known to have built after this date was in the church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey, York, in 1785.²⁰ Haxby also built barrel organs. As early as 1763 he advertised for sale a 'a great choice of chamber and box organs', adding that new barrels could be made for these latter, and until at least 1790 this was to form part of his work.²¹ The only surviving record of any of his barrel organs, however, is of one built in 1782 at the request of William Mason, precentor of York Minster, for the church of Aston (in South Yorkshire), where it was to be installed after a trial period in the church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey, York.²²

Four spinets built by Haxby survive, dating from 1764 (two examples), 1766, and 1772, as well as two harpsichords, dating from 1775 and 1777.²³ In 1765 he announced that he had

... lately invented a pedal to a harpsichord, by which means a single harpsichord is capable of all the Variety of a double one, and with greater Facility. The Construction is very simple, and not in the least liable to be put out of Order.²⁴

¹⁹YC 13.7.1762; C.J. Sturman and J.C. Pillans, 'Thomas Haxby and the organ of Louth parish church, 1767-69,' BIOS journal 7 (1983): 77-84.

²⁰D. Alleyne Walter, A complete guide to the churches of York (York: Pickwell, 1872), p. 9.

²¹YC 1.3.1763, YC 17.8.1790.

²²Letter from Mason to Christopher Alderson, quoted in Haxby and Malden, 'Thomas Haxby', pp. 46-47.

²³Haxby and Malden, 'Thomas Haxby,' pp. 48-50 and 53-54.

²⁴YC 5.2.1765.

This mechanism was later patented, and can be seen on an instrument built in 1777, now in the Castle Museum, York.²⁵ On the basis of the production numbers appearing on their lowest key levers, it has been estimated that Haxby produced in excess of three hundred and fifty square pianos between the years 1772 and 1794. All of these instruments use the so-called 'English single action', in which a wire with a leather-covered button at the top acted directly upon the hammer, which fell back only on the release of the key.²⁶ Haxby's instruments were elegantly finished, the inlaying and paintwork on the nameboards being particularly fine. The following advertisement appeared in the York Courant on 13 March 1792:

Pianofortes, harpsichords, &c. At Haxby's musical instrument warehouse, Blake-street, York, are made and sold, piana [sic] fortes, upon an improved plan, at 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, and 22 guineas. Also grand piano fortes at 60 guineas & upwards according to their finishing. Patent and other harpsichords, [etc.].

Although this advertisement suggests that Haxby was making grand pianofortes, none has survived. Two stringed instruments by Haxby remain, namely, a violin, now in the Castle Museum, York, and a cittern, in private possession, which was made in 1770 for King George III. The making of the cittern was not an isolated example of his work with fretted instruments, as an advertisement in 1764 announced

²⁵Patent number 977, dated 28 December 1770. Patents for inventions: abridgments of specifications relating to music and musical instruments, A.D. 1694-1866, 2nd ed. (London: Office of the Commissioners of Patents for Inventions, 1871), pp. 6-7. There are two photographs of a harpsichord displaying this mechanism in Haxby and Malden, 'Thomas Haxby,' p. 49.

²⁶The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians, s.v. 'Pianoforte I, 4: England and France to 1800,' by William J. Conner.

that Haxby had just finished 'some curious Guittars with eight additional strings'.²⁷

On Haxby's death in 1796, his business was continued by Edward Tomlinson and his son, Thomas Tomlinson.

Tomlinson and Son, brother-in-law, and nephew, to the late Thomas Haxby ... have entered upon the whole stock in trade of the said Mr. Haxby ... at his shop and warehouses in Blake-Street, where the business will be carried on in all its branches as formerly. Having been employed by Mr. Haxby for many years past, in assisting him and executing his business, and particularly finishing all his new instruments, they hope ... to merit ... that favour and patronage ... so liberally bestowed for many years past on their worthy relation.²⁸

Advertisements in 1797 and 1798 refer to 'Tomlinson & Son, piano-forte makers', while Edward's brief obituary notice describes him as a 'musical instrument maker'.²⁹ None of Tomlinson's instruments is known to have survived, however, other than a square piano built in 1788, which was restored in 1961 for an antique-dealer in Pickering;³⁰ the instrument's present location is not known.

John Donaldson (c. 1747-1807) is first heard of in York in 1791 when he advertised for an apprentice and a joiner, giving his address as the Bedern. After having premises in Micklegate Bar, he moved in 1797 to Petergate, where he carried on 'as formerly, his manufactory of church, chamber, barrel and bird organs', now having added the

²⁷YC 3.1.1764.

²⁸YC 7.11.1796.

²⁹YC 11.12.1797, YC 19.12.1798, YC 1.3.1813.

³⁰YEP 16.1.1961. It is not clear how the instrument was dated. The brief press notice merely says 'built by Tomlinson of York 173 years ago', which would date it 1788/89 at which time Tomlinson was still employed by Haxby, when, presumably, he would not have been building instruments on his own account.

practice of pianoforte making and repairing.³¹ For most of his time in York, Donaldson was a member of the York Musical Society, having been admitted a non-performing member on 15 September 1794; he died on 31 May 1807, and his stock-in-trade was sold later that year.³²

Five weeks or so after Donaldson's death, his foreman for the previous ten years, Robert Boston, announced that he was making church, chamber and barrel organs at premises in the Bedern, York. Boston is known to have built three organs: at Middleham in 1809, at Keighley in 1811, and at Pickering in 1813. He died on 25 March 1814,³³ and his place as York's sole organ builder was taken over by John Ward (1777-1855), who opened premises in College Street, York, where he intended 'carrying on the business of organ building in all its various branches and departments'.³⁴ Ward is only now remembered, if at all, for his major rebuild of the Minster organ to John Camidge's rather curious design, the work being completed prior to the musical festival of 1823.³⁵ In addition to his work on the Minster organ, both before and after 1823, however, Ward is known to have built at least thirty-eight complete organs, and to have undertaken repairs and rebuilds on a further ten, although it seems that his fame

³¹YH 7.5.1791, YH 20.8.1791; YC 3.4.1797. None of his pianos seems to have survived. A list of the organs which he is known to have built can be seen in Table 10.2.

³²YCA, York Musical Society minute book, Acc. 30:1a; YC 1.6.1807; YH 16.11.1807. No copy of the auction catalogue mentioned in the second advertisement seems to have survived.

³³YC 27.7.1807, YC 22.12.1813, YC 4.4.1814; Edmonds, 'Yorkshire organ-builders: the earlier years,' 48.

³⁴YC 23.5.1814.

³⁵Andrew Freeman, 'The organs of York Minster,' The organ 5 (1926): 193-204.

did not spread far beyond the county boundaries, as his work was done almost exclusively in Yorkshire.³⁶

In 1832, at the age of twenty-three, John Parkin set up business as an organ builder in Marygate, announcing that he had also 'engaged Mr. Boston, from Manchester, late of the firm of Renn and Boston, whose experience as a tuner and builder is well known'. Parkin built a small organ for the Promenade Room, Low Harrogate, and an organ for Christ Church, Scarborough, which was opened in 1834. He died shortly afterwards and his business was purchased by Robert Postill.³⁷ Postill had become a freeman of York in 1831, at the age of twenty-one, at which time his occupation was described as a joiner.³⁸ He entered upon the business of organ building at a time when there was a dramatic increase in the number of churches being built, each invariably wanting a new organ, with a similar demand for organs from churches previously built.³⁹ Postill built at least seventy-nine organs, mostly in Yorkshire, but also in adjacent counties and as far afield as St. Austell and Perthshire in the United Kingdom, and Pietermaritzburg in South Africa.⁴⁰ Typical of the medium-sized organs

³⁶A list of the organs which he is known to have built can be seen in Table 10.3.

³⁷YH 4.2.1832, YH 13.5.1843. An inscription in Belton church gives Parkin's dates of birth and death as 6 May 1808 and 29 December 1834, respectively; it is recorded in William Brocklehurst Stonehouse, The history and topography of the Isle of Axholme, being that part of Lincolnshire which is west of the Trent (London: Gainsburgh, 1839), p. 331; YG 28.3.1835.

³⁸Robert Davies, comp. The freeman's roll, [1760-1835] (York: Wilson, 1835), p. 57.

³⁹Nicholas Temperley, The music of the English parish church, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979): 1:233-234.

⁴⁰A list of the organs which he is known to have built can be seen in Table 10.4.

that he built is the one erected in the church of St. Crux, York, in 1862: the poorly-provided pedal organ, was, of course, common to most English organs of this period. After his death in 1882, the business was carried on by his son, also named Robert, but although the son's obituary in the Yorkshire Gazette⁴¹ said that Postill, junior, had 'executed some splendid work in his time' and that organs built by him were sent to all parts of the country', none has so far been identified.

Joseph Bell (1823-1898) became an apprentice to Robert Postill, senior, at the rather late age of twenty-two, but four years later (an apprenticeship usually lasting seven years) was advertising himself as an 'organ builder and tuner, seraphine, cremonine & concertina manufacturer'.⁴² He built two organs, so far as is known, one for Skirpenbeck church in 1848, and one for St. Mary, Bishophill, York, in 1851, while some four years later he moved the organ in the church of All Saints, Pavement, York, from the nave to the end of the south aisle, furnishing it with new stops, and other improvements.⁴³ It would seem that he was mostly concerned with the making of harmoniums, an advertisement in 1855 stating that his 'York Harmonium Manufactory ... [was] the only establishment in York where the harmonium ... [was] manufactured throughout.'⁴⁴ In 1862, at the London International Exhibition, he displayed

... an harmonium with wood reeds and pedals,
two octaves; also an instrument containing bassoon,

⁴¹YG 20.4.1918, p. 2.

⁴²YCA, Register of apprentice indentures, 1817-1858, D 16, p. 443; YH 27.11.1849.

⁴³YG 5.8.1848; YH 30.8.1851; YG 2.10.1855.

⁴⁴YG 3.2.1855.

oboe, and clarinet, in the shape of a violoncello, with two rows of keys and wood reeds.⁴⁵

A 'pipe-harmonium' which he built survives in the Castle Museum, York. This instrument has the external appearance of an harmonium, but with an internal substitution of pipes for the reed box.

The harmonium, developed in the first half of the nineteenth century, achieved great popularity during the second half thereof as a substitute for the pipe organ in small churches, schoolrooms, and theatres, and also as an instrument for the home. In addition to Joseph Bell, another three men are known to have been independently involved in the manufacture of harmoniums in York. Bartholomew Pexton was active in York between 1838 and 1850, and the inventor in 1842 of the cremoniene (a kind of harmonium); he is not heard of again after his bankruptcy in 1850.⁴⁶ A contemporary of Joseph Bell, Charles Duffill, was described in a newspaper report in 1876 as a pianoforte and harmonium maker, but he is known only for his 'New Chancel Organ Harmonium', on which a recital was given in York in November of that year.⁴⁷

Henry Whitehead (1826-1916) was an instrument maker concerned with the building of organs and harmoniums. After an apprenticeship with John Ward, he commenced business in 1848 as a music and musical instrument dealer, and by 1855 had established an organ and harmonium factory. He built at least twelve organs,⁴⁸ but as with Joseph Bell,

⁴⁵Arthur W.J.G. Ord-Hume, Harmonium: the history of the reed organ and its makers (Newton Abbott: David & Charles, 1986), p. 128.

⁴⁶YG 18.6.1842, YG 16.2.1850.

⁴⁷YH 29.4.1876, YH 4.11.1876.

⁴⁸A list of the organs which he is known to have built can be seen in Table 10.5.

most of his time was probably spent on the manufacture of harmoniums, for in a directory of 1861 he is styled 'harmonium maker'.⁴⁹ Unfortunately none of Whitehead's harmoniums appears to have survived.

Soon after Whitehead had left the city for Dublin, in 1863 or so, another organ builder, William Denman (1825-1911), set up business in York, having previously worked for Robert Postill.⁵⁰ Noel Mander is reported to have said of an instrument built by Denman in 1883:

... A very clever mechanic. Each piece of action most carefully made and as good today as the day it was put in (1883). A very fine example of North-country workmanship.⁵¹

William Denman went into partnership with his son, John Derrill Denman, and under the latter's direction the firm's best organs were built, according to John Derrill's obituary, which cited in particular the large organ of seventy-five stops built at Ormskirk church.⁵² After the death of his son, William Denman disposed of the business, which was acquired by Walter Hopkins.⁵³

Walter Hopkins' father, Thomas, came to York in 1862 according to Knowles, and from 1863, at least, he was the resident tuner of the organ in York Minster.⁵⁴ In a directory of 1867 he was listed as an organ builder, but it is supposed that poor health prevented him from

⁴⁹Post Office directory of the City of York (London: Kelly, 1861).

⁵⁰John Ward Knowles, 'A list of York musicians from early times to present day ... together with a list of organ builders,' 3 vols. Unpublished manuscript in York Public Library, 2:370 and 380.

⁵¹Quoted in Edmonds, 'Yorkshire organ-builders of the nineteenth century,' p. 15.

⁵²YG 19.12.1898. A list of the organs known to have been built by the Denmans can be seen in Table 10.6.

⁵³Elvin, Family enterprise, p. 151.

⁵⁴Knowles, A list of York musicians, 1:188-189; YH 22.8.1863.

giving his full attention to the business.⁵⁵ As it is, he is known to have built only one organ, that erected in Heworth parish church in 1869.⁵⁶ After the death of Thomas Hopkins in 1893,⁵⁷ the business was taken over by his son, Walter, who worked in Wood Street before moving to the former premises of Henry Whitehead in Skeldergate. Under the name of 'Thomas Hopkins & Son', Walter Hopkins built the following organs:

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Source of reference</u>
?	Askrigg	J. Sutcliffe Smith ⁵⁸
1896	Grinton (extensive rebuild)	YG 11. 4.1896
1900	St. John's College, York	YG 14. 4.1900
1900	All Saints, Pavement, York	YG 22.12.1900
1902	Loftus-in-Cleveland	YG 24. 5.1902
1902	St. Margaret, Walmgate, York	YG 20. 9.1902
1905	St. Barnabas, York	P.M. Tillott ⁵⁹

The business of 'Thomas Hopkins & Son' was sold by auction on 21 July 1921,⁶⁰ and the tradition of organ building in the city was then carried on by Summers & Barnes, at first in St. Saviour's Place, Peasholme Green, and then, from 1935 or so, at Ambrose Street, Fulford Road. They ceased business in 1957 or 1958.⁶¹ Coming right up to

⁵⁵William White, Directory of the boroughs of York, etc. 6th ed. (Sheffield: By the Author, 1867), p. 474; Elvin, Family enterprise, p. 151.

⁵⁶YH 2.10.1869.

⁵⁷YG 25.3.1893.

⁵⁸Joseph Sutcliffe Smith, The music of the Yorkshire dales (Leeds: Jackson, 1930), p. 36.

⁵⁹P.M. Tillott, ed., The city of York, The Victoria History of the Counties of England (London: O.U.P., 1961), p. 391.

⁶⁰Elvin, Family enterprise, p. 151.

⁶¹A list of the instruments which they are known to have built can be seen in Table 10.7.

date, it remains to mention the firm of Principal Pipe Organs which was founded by Geoffrey Coffin in October 1983.⁶²

It was noted above that although advertisements in 1797 and 1798 referred to 'Tomlinson & Son, piano-forte makers', none of the instruments they might have made then or in the early part of the nineteenth century has survived, and the first record of a piano made by a York maker in the 1800s is of that exhibited by Richard Hunt at the Great Exhibition of 1851. Hunt was an all-round musician who in 1841 was appointed an agent for the sale of pianos manufactured by Zeitler & Co. Five years later he announced that he had engaged 'experienced artists from the first London manufactories', giving his address as the 'Pianoforte Manufactory, 22 Blake Street, York'.⁶³ According to the Yorkshire Gazette, the instrument Hunt displayed at the Great Exhibition, a so-called tavola piano-forte, had its keys and general action made by 'an establishment of high repute in London', while the exterior was made in York. The curious nature of this instrument warrants an extended description.

The instrument externally resembles the centre table for a sitting room, with pedestal and feet ... The shape of the top is an oblong square, rounded at the corners, and its dimensions are 5ft. 5in. by 4ft. 3in. At one end, a leaf is lifted up, when the keys of a piano-forte are presented to view, with music stand and other appendages. Behind the keys, and running the whole length of the surface of the table are the hammers, wires, and all the necessary mechanism of a piano forte.⁶⁴

⁶²A list of York organ builders not noted above can be seen in Table 10.8.

⁶³YG 2.10.1841, YG 14.3.1846.

⁶⁴YG 29.3.1851.

One of Hunt's contemporaries in York was James Marsh, who arrived in the city from London (where he had been employed by Messrs. Broadwood & Son) in 1839 and during the next year opened a 'piano forte repository' in Feasegate.⁶⁵ Although Marsh was later to manufacture pianos at London, his activities in York seem to have centred on the sale of a wide range of pianos from such firms as Broadwood, Collard, and Mott. He also adopted a practice common with other provincial piano dealers and 'makers', i.e., that of adding their names to instruments made by others.⁶⁶ Following Marsh's death in 1883, his business was purchased by John Gray, who from 1853 to 1859 had been Marsh's principal piano tuner before commencing business on his own behalf in the latter year.⁶⁷ Gray was clearly very proficient in the art of selling pianos, and by the turn of the century he had shops in Hull, Malton, and York. His premises at York were in Coney Street where he had a stock of two hundred instruments.⁶⁸ Gray's success was a local response to an almost insatiable national demand for the pianoforte. Cyril Ehrlich has remarked of the piano in England that

... in its golden age [i.e., 1890-1930] it became the centre of domestic entertainment, of musical education and, not least, a coveted possession, symbolic of social emulation and achievement, within reach of an ever-widening circle of eager purchasers.⁶⁹

⁶⁵YH 12.10.1839, YH 8.2.1840, YH 12.1.1861.

⁶⁶YH 15.11.1856, YH 3.12.1864.

⁶⁷YG 26.2.1859, YG 14.7.1883.

⁶⁸YH 17.10.1896; YG 31.12.1898.

⁶⁹Cyril Ehrlich, The piano: a history (London: Dent, 1976), p. 9.

Another York man connected with the trade in pianofortes was William Alfred Waddington, who started to make and sell pianos in York probably in 1848.⁷⁰ In 1854 he completed extensions to his showroom and factory and patented an improvement in the construction of sounding boards.⁷¹ By the early 1860s he was employing a workforce of between 135 and 150 people, while in 1871 he was said to have the largest piano manufactory outside of London; an advertisement of 1876 said that by that date ten thousand of his pianos had been sold.⁷² This makes all the more curious his omission from the list of piano makers compiled by Harding, and an incomplete entry in that compiled by Ehrlich.⁷³ Later in the century, his sons joined him in the enterprise, which was henceforth known as Waddington & Sons. In 1927, the firm still had showrooms in Stonegate, York, but by then the factory had been moved to Scarborough; it is thought that the York premises closed in 1958.⁷⁴

In addition to the skills provided by the makers of musical instruments, York was also able to provide the musical public, both in the city and in the surrounding region, with the services of various music sellers and music publishers. A very rough guide to York's importance in the field of British music publishing before 1850 can be

⁷⁰An advertisement in the YH 31.5.1862 thanked the public for their patronage over the last fourteen years, placing the origins of the firm in 1848, whereas an advertisement in the YG 25.6.1927 claimed that the firm was established in 1838.

⁷¹YH 16.12.1854; Patents for inventions, p. 204.

⁷²YH 5.1.1861, YH 15.7.1871; YG 8.3.1862, YG 1.1.1876.

⁷³Rosamond Evelyn Mary Harding, The piano-forte; its history traced to the Great Exhibition of 1851 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933), pp. 385-489; Ehrlich, The piano, pp. 203-220.

⁷⁴YG 25.12.1927; information from the newspaper card file in York Public Library.

gained from a count of the numbers of provincial music publishers and dealers listed by Humphries and Smith, which places York in fourth position behind Oxford, Bath, and Cambridge.⁷⁵ Until the mid-1700s, music was sold in York by general book dealers, and it is in the stock of one of these that the first evidence of music available for purchase in the city can be found. An inventory of the contents of John Foster's shop was made on 26 November 1616, six days after his burial in the church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey; the music contained in his stock, which is a fraction of the total, is listed below.⁷⁶

Sticht Bookes in folio. Musick

One Pilgrims Solace [John Dowland. A pilgrimes solace. 1612]	4s. 6d.
[One] Downehams first booke [John Dowland. First book of songs and ayres of four parts. 1613]	2s. 6d.
With five of other sortes	13s. 0d.

Song Bookes in quarto

One Wilkes first set [Thomas Weelkes. Madrigals to 3, 4, 5, and 6 voyces. 1597]	5s. 6d.
[One] Youles of three partes [Henry Youll. Canzonets to three voyces. 1608]	3s. 8d.
Two settes of Allisons [Richard Alison. An howres recreation in musicke? 1606]	8s. 0d.
Two settes of Ittallian songes	5s. 0d.
Three settes of Eastes [Michael East. Madrigals to 3, 4, and 5 parts. Three sets, 1604-1610]	9s. 0d.
One sett of Gombartes [Gombert?]	2s. 6d.
[One] Courtmantian with old prick songes in yt	1s. 4d.

Of the ten items listed, eight comprise secular vocal music, which is exactly what one might have expected, but the presence of works by

⁷⁵Charles Humphries and William C. Smith, Music publishing in the British Isles from the beginning until the middle of the nineteenth century: a dictionary of engravers, printers, publishers and music sellers, with a historical introduction, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970).

⁷⁶The inventory is transcribed in Robert Davies, A memoir of the York press, with notices of authors, printers, and stationers, in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries (Westminster: Nichols, 1868), pp. 342-374.

Gombert (if, indeed, 'Gombartes' does refer to Gombert) is surprising. It has not been possible to identify the 'Courtmantian'.

In the first half of the 1700s, general booksellers in York known to have had music in their stock included Francis Hildyard, John Hildyard, and Alex Staples. The first music shop in York was opened by Thomas Haxby in 1756, the market for both music (which since the early 1700s had been published in increasing quantities in England) and musical instruments being such by this time as to make commercial success likely. An advertisement in the York Courant announced the opening of the shop.

June 15 1756. This day is opened (at the Organ in Blake Street, York) a music shop; where gentlemen, ladies and others may be furnished with all sorts of musical instruments and cases; bows, bridges, strings, and wire; music, vocal and instrumental, books of instruction; blank books, ruled paper &c. ... N.B. Instruments repaired, and kept in order in town or country.⁷⁷

Besides keyboard instruments, both of his own manufacture and that of others, Haxby is also known to have sold violins, violoncellos, flutes, recorders, and French horns. The range of music that Haxby sold can be seen from an advertisement in the York Courant; most of it was intended for a domestic market which had arisen from the growth of a new middle class.⁷⁸ Haxby also published three works, details of which are given below; there are copies of each in the British Library (Humanities and Social Sciences).

Six easy lessons for the harpsichord, composed by John Camidge, organist of York Minster. York, printed (by Tho. Haxby) for the author and sold by him at the music shop in Blakestreet. [YC 1 March 1763].

⁷⁷YC 29.6.1756.

⁷⁸YC 1.3. 1763. For a transcription of this advertisement see Table 10.9.

Six lessons for the guitar, composed by Thomas Thackray of York. York, printed for the author, by Thomas Haxby, at the Organ, in Blake Street. [YC 14 May 1765].

An ode on the King of Prussia, and six songs, by Matthew Hawdon. Printed by John Johnson for Thomas Haxby at the Organ in Blake Street, York. [Date of publication unknown, but probably in the 1760s].

All three were printed using engraved plates, the first music in York to be published in this way (all previous publications having been printed from moveable type),⁷⁹ and all were composed by local musicians (Matthew Hawdon was organist at Beverley Minster).

Eight years after the opening of Thomas Haxby's music shop in York, another was opened by Joseph Shaw, a local musician,

... at the sign of the Violin and Hautboy, near the Black Swan in Coney-Street ... where ... may be had, all sorts of musical instruments; new music, English and foreign; and every other article in the musical way ... Music copied, and instruments mended and put in order.⁸⁰

Shaw was a York wait between 1754 and 1769, and for the last four years of this period he performed on the violoncello in concerts given at the Assembly Rooms in York; his link with the musical public was further strengthened when he became a member of the York Musical Society in 1770.⁸¹ He died in 1775, and from then until 1788 Haxby's music shop was the only one in York.

In 1788 Haxby announced that he had 'disposed of all his stock of printed music, and every other article in the musical branch, to Mr. S. Knapton' in order to pay more attention to the building of

⁷⁹Musical works printed in York from moveable type were mainly books of psalmody, published by people such as John and Grace White, and Thomas Baxter.

⁸⁰YC 24.1.1764.

⁸¹YCA, York Musical Society, minutes, 1767-1772, Acc. 30:1.

instruments. Samuel Knapton (1756–1831) had earlier been one of the York waits and throughout his life he played the violoncello, on which instrument he performed in the orchestra at the Yorkshire Musical Festivals of 1823, 1825, and 1828. He would thus seem to merit Thomas Haxby's description of him as 'a person in every way qualified for the business in which he [had] ... engaged'.⁸² From the beginning he sold a wide range of instruments, e.g., violins, violas, violoncellos, flutes, recorders, fifes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, harpsichords, and pianofortes, while advertisements appearing between 1790 and 1810 announced that 'regiments could be supplied with complete sets of military instruments on the shortest notice'.⁸³ In 1803 he opened a musical circulating library, about which more will be said below, shortly before moving his business in Coney Street to larger premises in the same street.⁸⁴ Knapton announced two developments in his music business in 1820.

Samuel Knapton ... has this day commenced a partnership with his son, Philip Knapton ... Messrs Knapton have also in conjunction with Mr. White, of Leeds, formed a separate establishment under the firm of Knapton, White, and Knapton, for the printing and publishing of music; every arrangement has been carefully made to ensure the beauty and accuracy of their editions, which in the first instance, will consist of a series of useful and popular works for pupils.⁸⁵

A list of the works published by Knapton, and by Knapton, White, and Knapton can be seen in Table 10.10. The works were mainly popular

⁸²YC 14.10.1788.

⁸³YC 14.10.1788, YC 22.1.1797, YC 15.1.1798, YC 21.7.1800, YC 18.7.1803. During the 1790s many bands were formed by regiments of militia, volunteers, and fencibles.

⁸⁴YC 22.11.1802, YC 18.3.1803.

⁸⁵YC 22.8.1820.

in character, as the advertisement quoted above suggests, and were all composed or arranged by local musicians. This latter characteristic was a feature of most of the music published in York between 1750 and 1850, and applies to the works of Thomas Haxby, and also to works published by Hardman, and by Tomlinson & Sons, which will be discussed below. Without exception, the music listed in Table 10.10 was printed from engraved plates; those engraved plates which remained after Philip Knapton's death were subsequently sold by auction in London.⁸⁶ Philip Knapton also published, on his own account, several works for the use of the Yorkshire Musical Festivals.⁸⁷ The Knaptons declined business in 1829 in favour of William Hardman, who for the previous two years had been living on the premises of their shop, almost certainly in their employ. A list of the stock belonging to the Knaptons shortly before the transfer of the business to Hardman can be seen in Table 10.11; surprising features of the list are the number of flutes in stock (122), the solitary bassoon, and the complete absence of oboes.⁸⁸

Thomas Haxby bequeathed to his brother-in-law, Edward Tomlinson (1738-1813), and his nephew, Thomas Tomlinson (1768-1846), all his keyboard instruments and the whole of his stock-in-trade connected in

⁸⁶YG 15.2.1834. Unfortunately no copy of the auction catalogue seems to have survived.

⁸⁷Quarterly musical magazine and review 8 (1826): 516-518.

⁸⁸YH 22.8.1829. The list of stock was made by Thomas Benson, and is transcribed in Knowles, 'A list of York musicians,' 2:210-211. The original deed was in the possession of Peter Banks in 1961, but its present whereabouts are not known. The number of oboes and bassoons in D'Almaine's catalogue of musical instruments of 1839 was also small, and this would seem to reflect a very low level of demand for these instruments. For D'Almaine's catalogue see H.E. Poole, 'A catalogue of musical instruments offered for sale in 1839 by D'Almaine & Co., 20 Soho Square,' Galpin Society journal 25 (1982): 2-36.

the making of such instruments.⁸⁹ Haxby died in 1796, and by the end of the next year, in addition to a very wide range of musical instruments, the Tomlinsons were also selling

... new music, vocal and instrumental, books of instruction, ruled books, ruled paper ... and every article in the music branch.⁹⁰

Towards the end of the 1820s, his two sons, Thomas Haxby (1805-1862) and John (1807-1890) were taken into the business and, under the name of Tomlinson & Sons, they published some keyboard music of an elementary and popular character, most of which was of their own composition or arrangement.⁹¹ The music shop continued in Blake Street until the death of Thomas Tomlinson in 1846, his sons declining the business in favour of careers as musicians.

John Robinson (1785-1855) opened a music shop in Stonegate, York, in 1819, having previously been a tuner of pianofortes and harps, on which instruments he also gave lessons.⁹² He advertised infrequently in the local press, at which times his main objective seemed to be the sale of Broadwood pianofortes. Robinson published an arrangement of Haydn's 'La tempesta' (copy in York Minster Library), probably in 1828, and this and his 'Exercises for the pianoforte', published c. 1840, are his only known publications. Robinson's 'zeal and exertions in the promotion of musical science ... [were] well known', and led to a request in 1845 by the committee of the York Philharmonic Society for him to give his opinion on the possibilities of setting up a

⁸⁹BIHR, Wills January 1797; YC 7.11.1796.

⁹⁰YC 11.12.1797.

⁹¹A list of the music known to have been published by Tomlinson & Sons can be seen in Table 10.12.

⁹²YC 8.11.1819; YH 19.9.1829.

school of music in York.⁹³ It is interesting to note that Alfred Novello served his apprenticeship with Robinson in York, but the reasons why Alfred's parents chose York and Robinson are not clear.⁹⁴

As with four of the five York music dealers mentioned so far, William Hardman (1792-1855), who succeeded the Knaptons in business in 1829, was very much involved in practical music-making in York. From 1818 onwards he provided music 'for balls, quadrilles, waltzes, &c.', and at least until 1851 his Quadrille Band was still performing at such functions.⁹⁵ He led the band of the York Choral Society from its inception in 1833 until 1839 and conducted the music in the church of St. Martin-le-Grand in the first half of the 1830s.⁹⁶ He continued in business until his death in 1855, after which his property was auctioned. A contemporary advertisement indicated that his stock

... embraced several piano fortes, a great variety of violins and brass instruments, [and] an assortment of wind instruments, books of music, modern and otherwise.⁹⁷

But other than this rather bald statement, little information remains about his activities as a music dealer. He is known to have published several pieces of music, a list of which can be seen in Table 10.13.

Almost two months after William Hardman's business had been auctioned, Henry Banks (1822-1891) announced that he had opened a shop

⁹³YH 6.9.1845; John Robinson, A letter addressed to the committee of the York Philharmonic Society, on the formation of a School of Music in the city of York (York: Bellerby, 1845).

⁹⁴Clara Novello's reminiscences, compiled by her daughter, Contessa Valeria Gigliucci (London: Arnold, 1910), pp. 37-38.

⁹⁵YCh 12.3.1818; YH 8.1.1851.

⁹⁶YCA, York Choral Society, minute book, 1837-1840, Acc.31:1; YH 27.2.1836.

⁹⁷YG 22.12.1855. Unfortunately no copy of the auction catalogue seems to have survived.

for selling music and musical instruments at no. 2, Stonegate, York, describing himself as 'successor and sixteen years assistant to the late Mr. Hardman'.⁹⁸ Banks was quite familiar with the practical aspects of music-making: he had been paid on several occasions by the York Choral Society for scoring and copying music.⁹⁹ In 1883 he asserted that he had 'the largest [music] stock in the north of England', and within the space of two years claimed to have 'the largest stock in England'.¹⁰⁰ Allowing for a certain rhetorical exaggeration, it would seem that the business had been considerably expanded since its inception, and the two advertisements referred to make clear that the postal business was by then most important (as it has been ever since).

Sometime in the early 1880s Henry Banks' son, Louis Henry (1849-1934), was taken into the business, which subsequently became known as Banks & Son. It was about this time that the publishing activities of the firm were begun, much of which has been channelled into various series, four of which have contained piano pieces.¹⁰¹ The first of these, the 'Morceaux classiques', edited and fingered by Walter Macfarren (a professor of music at the Royal Academy of Music), was

⁹⁸YH 23.2.1856.

⁹⁹YCA, York Choral Society, receipt book, 1842-1861, Acc. 31:5, *passim*.

¹⁰⁰YG 14.7.1883, YG 10.1.1885.

¹⁰¹The range of music published in these five series can be seen in Appendix 1. Dating of the commencement of these series is made very difficult by virtue of an absence of dates of publication on much of the music. It also seems clear that the firm was unaware of its obligations under the Copyright Acts of 1814 and 1842, and probably not until the mid-1920s was its music being registered at the Copyright Office (before being passed to the library of the British Museum, now the British Library Humanities and Social Sciences).

started at the beginning of the 1880s.¹⁰² Two other series of piano pieces were started probably before the turn of the century, namely the 'Ebor classic series' edited by Louis Kohler, and the 'Leipscic classics for the pianoforte'. The 'York series', comprising sacred music for mixed voices (usually S.A.T.B.) and organ was probably begun in the first decade of the twentieth century. The fifth series, the 'Banks Edition', is a collection of piano music intended for use in piano teaching, and for the amateur player. It seems likely that this series dates from the beginning of the 1920s. After the death of Louis Henry Banks in 1934, the business was carried on by his son Cecil Golightly Banks (1880-1960), who is supposed to have been responsible for the development of the music publishing activity of the firm.¹⁰³ From 1945 or so this was looked after by Cecil Golightly's son, Peter Dresser, while the latter's sister, the redoubtable Janet Banks, looked after the retail trade. A member of the fifth generation of the Banks family, Peter Nicholas, is still involved with the business, which has now moved from Stonegate to Lenda1 (another street in York), but the music publishing side was sold to Ramsay Silver in 1972, although the name of Banks has been retained in the imprint, i.e., Banks Music Publications.

Besides the role played by music shops in York in the dissemination of musical taste, that played by libraries is of importance, and it is appropriate here to mention some of those to

¹⁰²The first twenty-one pieces had been published by 1885, when they were advertised in the Directory of York and neighbourhood (London: Stevens, 1885), p. 293. For Walter Macfarren see James Duffus Brown and Stephen Samuel Stratton, British musical biography: a dictionary of musical artists, authors and composers born in Britain and its colonies (London: Reeves, 1897), s.v. 'Macfarren, Walter.'

¹⁰³'Music from Stonegate,' York times 1 (1961): 34-35.

which York musicians and interested amateurs would have had recourse. Historically, the most important of these libraries was undoubtedly that belonging to the Minster choir (though access to its contents was, of course, very restricted), most of which was consumed in the great fire of 1829.¹⁰⁴ Of the secular institutions, the Musical Assembly (responsible for concerts in the Assembly Rooms in the eighteenth century), the York Choral Society, and the first York Musical Society, each had libraries, but little is known of them other than the titles of a few works belonging to each. The Minster Library had a small collection of music from at least the mid-eighteenth century onwards, and a contemporary register of loans reveals that Laurence Sterne was among the borrowers of music.¹⁰⁵

In addition to these institutional libraries, commercial attempts were made to provide music for the individual, beginning in the early nineteenth century with Samuel Knapton's circulating library.

S. Knapton ... purposes opening a general circulating library of music on the 1st January, 1803; catalogues of which will be ready on that day, price 6d. - To his present great and extensive stock he intends to add every new work of merit, as soon as published. Terms the same as in London, the particulars of which will be inserted in their catalogue.¹⁰⁶

Unfortunately for Samuel Knapton his library met with 'small encouragement', as a result of which it was closed on 1 January 1807. The next musical circulating library in York was opened in 1848 by another music dealer, James Marsh, the sentiments expressed echoing

¹⁰⁴David Griffiths, 'The music in York Minster,' The musical times 123 (1982): 633-637.

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

¹⁰⁶YC 22.11.1802. For the national picture see Alexander Hyatt King, 'Music circulating libraries in Britain,' The musical times 119 (1978): 134-138.

those of Knapton some forty year before.¹⁰⁷ It would seem that Marsh's attempt at introducing a musical circulating library met with even less success than that attending Knaptons', for little more is heard of it. Thereafter, interested persons would have had to rely on the large musical circulating libraries operating from London until the demise of these latter towards the end of the nineteenth century, by which time music was available for loan from the York Public Library, and music prices were at a sufficiently low level to allow the musical public to buy much of the music it required.

York's position as an ecclesiastical and economic capital of much of northern England before the end of the seventeenth century ensured that its organ builders had an importance throughout much of the region. In the second half of the eighteenth century one of the city's instrument builders, Thomas Haxby, achieved more than local fame, but in the next century, although York had several organ builders and piano makers (some of whom were excellent craftsmen), none among the former achieved even the limited fame gained by Forster & Andrews of Hull and Binns of Leeds, and none among the latter that by Hopkinson of Leeds. With regard to music publishing, York was probably no more prolific than other places in Yorkshire (Leeds, for example) for much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but the success of Banks & Son has set it apart from other provincial centres, particularly during this century. The city of York was most likely the first in the north of England to have a music shop, and its pre-eminence in this field has been maintained to the present day, when that of Banks & Son (Music) Ltd. remains one of the largest in the country.

¹⁰⁷YC 29.12.1806; YH 22.1.1848.

TABLE 10.1 York organ builders and instrument makers before 1660¹

<u>Name</u>	<u>Description in freemen's rolls</u>	<u>Date made free</u>
Adam de Torkesay	organister	1343/1344
Joh. de Kokerham ²	organister	1349
Johannes Gyse	organemaker	1430/1431
John Seymour ³		
Willelmus Nyvell	organmaker	1446
Johannes Roos ⁴	frater ordinis Praedicatorum, organista	1464/1465
Willelmus Hall	organmaker als. mercator	1476
Edwardus Boyse	orgonmaker	1476
Moras Binan ⁵	organer	1485

¹This list has been almost entirely compiled from Francis Collins, ed., Register of the freemen of the city of York from the city records, Publications of the Surtees Society, 96 and 102, 2 vols. (Durham: Surtees Society, 1897-1900).

²Adam de Torkesay and John de Kokerham have been included in this list as there is the possibility that they were organ builders, even though they were not described as such in the freemen's rolls.

³Died 1435. His will, in which Seymour was described as an organmaker of York, was proved 9 September 1435. (BIHR, Prerogative Court of York, vol. 3, f. 431). It has not been possible to identify him clearly in the freemen's rolls. Two John Seymours were made free in the first half of the fifteenth century, but in dissimilar occupations: John Seymour, clericus, free 1416; John Semer, cordwainer, free 1435.

⁴In 1457 John Roose was paid for mending and restoring the organs in York Minster. Arthur Perceval Purey-Cust, Organs and organists of York Minster (York: Sampson, 1899), p. 5, quoting from the York Minster Fabric Rolls. Roose built organs at Kilkenny and York between 1450 and 1469 according to William Leslie Sumner, The organ: its evolution, principles of construction and use, 3rd ed. (London: Macdonald, 1962), p. 103.

⁵His will, dated 19 August 1510, in which he is described as an 'organe maker', has been published in Testamenta Eboracensia: a selection of wills from the registry at York, vol. 5. Publications of

Johannes Hugh	orgonmaker	1487/1488
Jacobus Demps ⁶	organmaker	1525/1526
Guillins Treasurer ⁷	orgenmaker	1539/1540
Johannis Heweson ⁸	organmaker	
Geo. Stydie	instramentmaker or joyner	1584/1585
Geo. Mashroder ⁹	instromentmaker	1597
George Masseter ¹⁰		
Joh. Raper ¹¹	instrumentmaker	1606/1607

the Surtees Society, 79 (Durham: Surtees Society, 1884), pp. 22-23.

⁶According to Sumner, The organ, p. 106, Demps was organ maker to the Earl of Kildare in 1515, later building organs in Ripon Minster and Doncaster parish church, where he was buried on 27 July 1567. John Ward Knowles, 'A list of York musicians,' 2:369, says that Demps built an organ for Christ Church, Dublin, in 1531.

⁷Treasurer worked on the organs in the church of St. Michael, Spurriergate, in 1542 and 1543. BIHR, St. Michael, Spurriergate, Churchwardens' accounts, 1518-1547, PR Y/MS 4 ff. 180v and 187v.

⁸John Heweson was cited in 1545/1546 in the freemen's rolls as an organmaker on the occasion of his son claiming the freedom of the city by patrimony.

⁹Walter Laurie Woodfill, Musicians in English society from Elizabeth to Charles I (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1953), pp. 258-259, records payments to Mashroder by the Earl of Cumberland in 1612 and 1617 for repairing lutes and viols, and selling strings. In 1623 he was paid for tuning the organs in York Minster. Johnston and Rogerson, York, 1:571. John Ward was apprenticed to 'George Masshrother, joiner' in 1617. YCA, Register of apprentices, D 12 f. 40v.

¹⁰Woodfill, Musicians in English society, pp. 258-259, records payments to Masseter, of York, by the Earl of Cumberland in 1611 and 1633 for mending instruments and organ tuning. It is possible that Geo. Mashroder and George Masseter are identical.

¹¹John Raper was recommended to the Hull corporation by the Archbishop of York as 'being a man of known quality and skill for the making of musical instruments, and well approved of for his honest performance in matters which he undertaketh, is authorised and hath a grant from me under my hand and episcopal seal, to make and repair organs in all churches within my Diocese, where, in former times, they have been used.' Smith, A history of Hull organs and organists, pp. 5-6.

Stephanus Britten ¹²	organmaker	1607/1608
Joh. Ward ¹³	instrumentmaker	1615/1616
Joh. Chase	instrumentmaker	1629/1630
Ric. Harland	instrumentmaker	1643/1644
Alex. Mashbrother	instrumentmaker	1645/1646

¹²Stephanus Britten was probably identical with the 'Stephen Bretton' and 'Stephen Brittaine' noted by Sumner, The organ, p. 113.

¹³John Ward was apprenticed to George Mashroder in 1617. In 1624 Ward supplied viol strings to the Minster. Johnston and Rogerson, York, p. 571. Fourteen years later he was paid by the Earl of Cumberland for 'several sorts of strings for the musicians'. Woodfill, Musicians in English society, p. 260.

TABLE 10.2 Organs built and repaired by John Donaldson

Key

Burgess-Winn This information is taken from a list, compiled in 1966 by Colonel G.I. Burgess-Winn, which is attached to the card 'Donaldson, John' in the newspaper card index in York Public Library.

Edmonds B.B. Edmonds, 'Yorkshire organ builders: the earlier years,' BIOS journal 9 (1985): 47-48.

Fowler Frederick Fowler, Edward Miller, organist of Doncaster: his life and times (Doncaster: Museum and Arts Services, 1979), p. 140.

Knowles John Ward Knowles, 'A list of York musicians from early times to present day ... with a list of organ builders,' 3 vols. Unpublished manuscript in York Public Library, 2:365a, 2:371a.

Date Place Source of reference

1. New organs

1783	Aberdeen, St. Paul	Burgess-Winn
1788	Knaresborough, St. John	<u>The organ</u> 51 (1971-1972): 104.
1790	Belvedere House, Dublin	<u>The musical times</u> 126 (1985): 369.
1791	Sowerby	YH 10.9.1791
1792	Beverley, St. Mary	Burgess-Winn
1792	Glasgow, Trades Hall, Glassford St.	Burgess-Winn
1792	Pontefract, St. Giles	Burgess-Winn
1795	Mansfield, parish church	<u>The organ</u> 52 (1972-1973): 54
1799	Forres, Morays, Altyre House	Burgess-Winn
1802	Handforth (near Wilmslow), Methodist chapel	Knowles
----	East Retford	Edmonds
----	Newcastle, St. Andrew	Edmonds
----	Penistone	Edmonds
----	Sheffield, St. James	<u>The organ</u> 53 (1973-1974): 121

2. Rebuilds and repairs

1784	Sedgefield, parish church	<u>The organ 52 (1972-1973): 106</u>
1789	Ripon Cathedral	Burgess-Winn
1791	Leeds, parish church	Burgess-Winn
1799	Aberdeen, St. Paul	Burgess-Winn
1802	Doncaster, parish church	Fowler
1807	Leeds, parish church	Burgess-Winn
----	Newcastle, All Saints	Edmonds

TABLE 10.3 Organs built and repaired by John Ward

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Source of reference</u>
1. New organs		
1819	Bradford, Christ Church	YG 8. 5.1819
1819	York, St. Helen	YC 22. 2.1819
1821	Halifax, Square Chapel	YG 23. 6.1821
1822	Howden, Minster	YG 15. 6.1822
1823	Hull, Christ Church	Smith, ¹ p.93
1823	York, St. Michael, Spurriergate	YG 8. 2.1823
1824	York, St. Saviour	YC 10. 8.1824
1825	Barton-on-Humber, St. Mary	YG 19. 3.1825
1825	Barton-on-Humber, St. Peter	YG 19. 3.1825
1825	Hull, Myton-Gate (Masonic Room)	YG 9. 7.1825
1825	Sowerby (near Halifax), parish church	YG 1.10.1825
1826	Driffield, parish church	YG 4. 2.1826
1829	Hedon, St. Augustine	YG 6. 6.1829
1829	Whitby, Presbyterian chapel, Friargate	YG 5. 9.1829
1830	Kirkhammerton	YH 30. 1.1830
1831	Heckmondwike	YH 9. 7.1831
1833	Hull, Christ Church	Smith, p. 93
1834	Hull, St. James	Smith, p. 104
1834	Hull, Drypool, St. Peter	YG 12. 7.1834
1836	Whitby	YG 27. 8.1836
1836	York, St. Martin-cum-Gregory	YG 23. 4.1836
1837	Acomb	YH 17. 6.1837
1837	Catton	YH 23. 9.1837
1837	York, St. Martin-le-Grand	YH 27. 5.1837
1837	York, St. Saviourgate chapel	YH 9.12.1837
1838	Howden	YH 2. 6.1838
1838	Wilberfoss	YH 10.11.1838
1839	Hull, Mariner's church	Smith, p. 114
1840	Bradford, Wesleyan chapel, Kirkgate	YH 11. 1.1840
1841	Snaith	YH 31. 7.1841
1842	Hull, Albion Congregational church	Smith, p. 141
1844	Bradford, St. Jerdes	YH 8. 6.1844
1846	Nafferton	YH 10.10.1846
1846	York, St. Mary, Bishophill Senior	YH 16. 5.1846
1847	Bridlington Quay [probably Christ Church, Quay Road]	YH 17. 7.1847
1853	York, St. Paul	YH 19. 3.1853
1855	York, St. John, Micklegate	YG 23. 6.1855
1855	York, St. Margaret, Walmgate	YG 23. 6.1855

¹George Henry Smith, A history of Hull organs and organists, together with an account of the Hull Musical Festivals, and the formation of the various musical societies in the town (London: Brown, [1910]).

2. Rebuilds and repairs

1819	York, St. Michael-le-Belfrey	YG 8. 5.1819
1822	York Minster	YG 5. 1.1822
1823	Lincoln, St. Peter-at-Arches	YG 22.11.1823
1823	York Minster	YG 5. 7.1823
1824	Bradford, St. Peter	YG 10. 8.1824
1826	Hull, St. John	YG 8. 4.1826
1826	Knaresborough	YG 20. 5.1826
1827	Cottingham, St. Mary	YG 19. 5.1827
1827	York Minster	YH 27.10.1827
1832	Caistor	YH 1.12.1832
1833	Louth	YH 27. 4.1833
1835	Doncaster, parish church	Elvin ²
1837	York Minster	YH 2. 9.1837
1838	York, St. Helen	YH 21. 7.1838
		and
1845	York, St. Saviour	YH 31. 5.1845
1848	York, St. Martin-cum-Gregory	YH 19. 8.1848
1850	York, St. Saviour	YH 9. 3.1850

Specification of the organ built at Bradford, Wesleyan Chapel, Kirkgate, 1840

Great	Swell	Pedal
Open diapason	Open diapason	Separate pedal
Stopped diapason (metal)	Stopped diapason	soundboard, with a
Principal	Principal	large German pedal
Twelfth	Dulciana	diapason trombone
Fifteenth	Trumpet	
Sesquialtera	Oboe	
Cornet		
Trumpet		
FFF - F in alt	EE to F in alt	
Composition pedals		
Great to Pedal		
Octave coupler		

²Elvin, Family enterprise, p. 145.

Specification of the organ built at Snaith in 1841.

Great

Open diapason
Stopped diapason
Harmonica
Principal
Fifteenth
Cornet
Sesquialtera

Swell

Open diapason
Stopped diapason
Principal
Dulciana
Trumpet

TABLE 10.4 Organs built and repaired by Robert Postill

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Source of reference</u>
1. New organs		
1836	Pocklington	YG 11. 6.1836
1839	York, St. Sampson	YH 10. 8.1839
1840	York, New Street chapel	YH 4. 7.1840
1841	Barton-on-Humber, Wesleyan chapel	YH 10. 4.1841
1842	Tuxford, parish church	YG 18. 6.1842
1844	Sinnington (two miles west of Pickering)	YH 10. 8.1844
1845	Hutton Buscel (three miles south-west of Scarborough)	YH 5. 4.1845
1848	Malton, Old Malton church	YH 24. 6.1848
1849	Fylingdales, parish church	YH 24. 2.1849
1849	Osmotherly	YG 8. 9.1849
1850	York, St. George's Roman Catholic church	YH 7. 9.1850
1851	Stokesley church	YH 16.10.1852
1852	Yarm	YG 3. 7.1852
1853	Market Weighton	YG 7. 5.1853
1853	Skelton, Cleveland, church	YH 7. 5.1853
1854	Kirkby-in-Ashfield	YH 24. 6.1854
1856	St. Austell, Wesleyan chapel	YH 26. 4.1856
1856	Selby, Roman Catholic church	YH 29.11.1856
1857	Llandilo [Llandello?]	YH 29. 8.1857
1857	Pittington (two miles north-east of Durham), parish church	YG 12.12.1857
1857	York, St. Denys	YH 24. 5.1857
1858	Church Fenton	YH 18.12.1858
1858	London (exact whereabouts unknown)	YH 23.10.1858
1859	Burscough Bridge, St. John	YH 24. 9.1859
1859	South Shields, Methodist Free church	YH 11. 6.1859
1859	Spennymoor, St. Paul	YH 11. 6.1859
1860	York, St. Lawrence	YH 29. 9.1860
1861	Ryhope (near Sunderland)	YG 16. 2.1861
1861	Sherburn Hospital chapel	YG 7. 9.1861
1861	Tuxford, parish church	YH 2. 2.1861
1861	Wolsingham	YH 2. 2.1861
1862	York, St. Crux	YH 14. 6.1862
1862	York, St. Thomas	YH 11. 1.1862
1863	Newcastle under Lyme, Wesleyan chapel	YH 18. 7.1863
1864	Blaydon, Wesleyan chapel	YH 9. 2.1864
1865	Rosedale	YH 3. 6.1865
1865	York, St. Helen	YH 10. 6.1865
1866	York, St. John, Ousebridge	YH 13.10.1866
1867	Barnby Moor	YH 9. 2.1867
1867	Southport, West End Congregational church	YH 10. 8.1867
1868	Downholme (near Leyburn), St. Michael	YH 5. 9.1868
1868	York, Baptist chapel, Priory Street	YH 20. 6.1868
1869	York, chapel in York Castle	YH 3. 7.1869
1874	Wheldrake, parish church	YH 7.11.1874

1876	Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, Cathedral church	YH 9. 9.1876
1876	Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, Wesleyan chapel	YH 9. 9.1876
1876	Stanton, West Hartlepool, Methodist New Connexion chapel	YG 9.12.1876

2. New organs, date of completion unknown, but probably shortly after the newspaper advertisement

Ampleforth	YH 1. 4.1854
Auckland, St. Helen	YH 26. 1.1861
Deighton (near Huddersfield), Wesleyan chapel	YH 1. 4.1854
Fenton (near Stoke-on-Trent)	YH 12.10.1861
Grewelthorpe	YH 3. 7.1869
Jullymett, Perthshire, R.C. church	YH 21. 3.1857
Kirby Knowle (near Thirsk)	YH 1. 4.1854
Kirkley (near Mansfield)	YH 1. 4.1854
Naburn	YH 26. 1.1861
New Seaburn	YH 26. 1.1861
Romaldkirk (near Barnard Castle)	YH 12.10.1861
Seaham	YH 12.10.1861
Seaham Harbour	YH 26. 4.1856
Sherburn	YH 21. 3.1857
Shincliffe, Durham	YH 21. 3.1857
Thirsk, parish church	YH 6.10.1877

3. New organs completed some time before 1872, as listed in an advertisement in D. Alleyne Walter, A complete guide to the churches of York (York: Pickwell, 1872), p. 60.

Bellemont (County Durham)
 Blenheim Palace Church
 Escomb (County Durham)
 Ferry Hill (County Durham)
 Gateshead
 Hart (County Durham)
 Hartshill (Staffs.)
 Lathom (Lancs.), St. John
 Middlesbrough, St. Hilda
 Middlesbrough, St. Paul
 Ormskirk, parish church
 Oystermouth (West Glamorgan), parish church
 Penkull (Staffs.)
 St. Helens
 Thorganby
 West Rainton
 Whorlton

4. New organs, date of completion unknown

Blacktoft (barrel organ)	Langwill ¹
Sutton on Derwent	Elvin ²

5. Rebuilds and repairs

1838	Beverley, St. Mary's	YG 14. 7.1838
1838	Thorne church	YG 15. 8.1838
1847	Bridlington church	YG 31. 7.1847
1847	York Minster	YH 3. 4.1847
1848	Howden church	YH 9.12.1848
1849	Barton-on-Humber, Wesleyan chapel	YG 10.11.1849
1850	Easingwold church	YG 4. 5.1850
1853	Pocklington	YG 20. 8.1853
1858	York, St. Saviour	YH 3. 4.1858
1860	York, New Street chapel	YH 26. 5.1860
1860	York, St. Martin-le-Grand	YH 14. 7.1860
1860	York, St. Mary, Bishophill	YH 4. 2.1860
1867	Durham Cathedral	YH 26. 1.1867
1878	York, St. Maurice	YH 2. 2.1878
1883	York, St. Lawrence	YH 26. 5.1883

Specification of the organ built at St. Crux, York, in 1862

Great		Swell		Pedal	
Open diapason	8	Double diapason	16	Open diapason	16
Claribel	4	Open diapason	8	Lieblich gedakt	16
Salicional	8	Dulciana	8		
Principal	4	Stop bass	8		
Clarionet flute	4	Stop treble	8		
Twelfth	2 2/3	Principal	4		
Fifteenth	2	Fifteenth	2		
Sesquialter	4 rks	Hautboy	8		
Trumpet	8				
Clarion	4				
Sw. to Gt.					
Gt. to Ped.					
Sw. to Ped.					
Compass -	Pedal organ	CCC to E,	29 notes		
	Great organ	CC to G,	56 notes		
	Swell organ	CC to G,	56 notes		

¹Lyndesay G. Langwill and Noel Boston, Church and chamber barrel-organs: their origin, makers, music and location: a chapter in English church music, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: By the Authors, 1970), p. 99.

²Laurence Elvin, Family enterprise, p. 152.

TABLE 10.5 Organs built and repaired by Henry Whitehead

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Source of reference</u>
1. New organs		
1851	Saxton (near Tadcaster)	YH 6. 9.1851
1854	Brafferton	YH 12. 8.1854
1856	Fulford, Wesleyan chapel	YG 17. 5.1856
1856	Kirkhammerton	YH 26. 1.1856
1856	York, All Saints, North Street	YH 19. 1.1856
1856	York, Festival Concert Rooms (erected in connection with a musical festival held there)	YH 20. 9.1856
1857	Bishopthorpe	YH 25. 4.1857
1857	Thirkleby	YH 21.11.1857
1857	York, Trinity chapel, Peckitt Street	YH 3.10.1857
1859	Coxwold	YG 25. 6.1859
1859	Gilling	YH 3. 9.1859
1859	Manchester (unidentified music hall)	YH 26.11.1859
1861	Halesworth, Suffolk	YG 12. 1.1861
2. Rebuilds and repairs		
1853	Helmsley	YG 29. 1.1853
1861	Kirkby Fleetham	YH 26. 5.1861

TABLE 10.6 Organs built and repaired by William Denman

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Source of reference</u>
1864	York, Freemasons' Hall	YH 17. 9.1864
1865	Kirkthorpe church	YH 11. 3.1865
1865	Skelton church	YH 11. 3.1865
1866	Wakefield, St. Mary	YH 10.11.1866
1867	Briestfield, Methodist church	Elvin ¹
1868	York, United Methodist Free Church	YH 1. 2.1868
1869	Knaresborough, Wesleyan chapel	YH 14. 8.1869
1869	York, Lecture Hall, Goodramgate	YH 18. 9.1869
1871	Whitwood (Normanton), St. Phillip	YG 14. 1.1871
1872	Heslington, parish church	YH 7.12.1872
1873	York, St. Mary, Castlegate	YH 15. 2.1873
1873	Thirkleby	YG 26. 4.1873
1874	Buckthorpe (probably Bugthorpe) church	YH 24. 1.1874
1875	York, St. Martin-cum-Gregory; 'rebuilt, enlarged, and improved'	YH 22 5.1875
1875	York, Lendal chapel	YH 28. 8.1875
1876	Castleford church	YH 4. 3.1876
1876	Full Sutton church	YH 10. 6.1876
1876	York, Centenary chapel [major rebuild]	YH 8.12.1876
1878	Kilrush, Ireland	YH 8.10.1878
1881	York, Melbourne Street chapel	YG 30. 4.1881
1883	Malton, St. Michael [major rebuild]	YH 19. 9.1883
1884	York, St. John	YH 26. 7.1884
1885	York, St. Michael-le-Belfrey	YG 7. 3.1885
1888	Coxwold	YH 14. 4.1888
1889	Acomb, St. Stephen	YH 15. 4.1889
1889	Hensall-cum-Beck	YH 2.11.1889
1890	Whitwell church (new swell organ, etc.)	YH 1.11.1890
1890	York, St. Michael, Spurriergate	YH 23. 8.1890
1892	Upper Poppleton (removal and rebuilding of organ from Christ Church, York)	YH 1.10.1892
1892/3	Scarborough, Trinity Church	Elvin
1892/3	Birkenhead, St. John	Elvin
1894	Ormskirk, parish church	Elvin
1894	Lincoln, St. Peter-in-Eastgate	Elvin
----	Boroughbridge, Wesleyan chapel	Knowles ²
----	Harrogate, Wesleyan chapel	Knowles
----	Stamford, All Saints	Knowles

¹Laurence Elvin, Family enterprise, p. 151.

²John Ward Knowles, 'A list of York musicians from early times to present day ... together with a list of organ builders,' 3 vols. Unpublished manuscript in York Public Library, 2:370.

TABLE 10.7 Organs built or repaired by Summers & Barnes

This table has, with one exception, been compiled from information contained in an advertisement in a souvenir programme: Centenary Wesleyan Chapel, York. Dedication & opening of re-constructed organ, November 15th, 17th, and 24th, 1929 (copy in BIHR, Y/CEN 43, cited below as CWC), and from a brochure published by Summers & Barnes around 1930 (copy in BIHR, PR Y/MS 42, cited below as SB).

Ampleforth, R.C. College	CWC
Avonmouth, Masonic Hall	CWC
Bishop Wilton church	CWC
Bristol, 'Northside', Leigh Woods (electric action)	CWC
Easingwold church	SB
Elvington church	SB
Fulford, St. Oswald	CWC
Haverton Hill, Co. Durham, St. Hilda	CWC
Malton, St. Michael	CWC
North Ormesby, Middlesbrough, parish church	CWC
Scarborough, South Cliff Congregational church	CWC
Scarborough, Westborough Unitarian church	CWC
York, Baptist church	CWC
York, Centenary Wesleyan church (electric action)	SB
York, St. Martin-le-Grand (new organ)	MT ¹
York, St. Peter's School	CWC

¹Musical times 76 (1935): 829.

TABLE 10.8 York organ builders not otherwise noted in Chapter X

Brown, John (1800-1848)

He was active in York between 1833 and 1840, and built the organ at the Centenary Chapel, St. Saviourgate, York. (YH 12.10.1833, YH 25.1.1840, YH 3.7.1841; YG 25.3.1848.)

Chapman, Richard (1819-1861)

He was apprenticed to John Ward, organ builder of York, on 30 December 1833. In 1847 he described himself in an advertisement as an organ builder and maker of metal and wood pipes; it would appear that he did not, in fact, build any complete instruments. (YCA, Register of apprentice indentures, 1817-1858, D 16, p. 336; YH 18.1.1842, YH 18.9.1847, YH 8.1.1859; YG 17.8.1861.)

Hackett and Hackett

Rebuilt the organ at the church of St. Philip and St. James, Clifton, York, in 1926. Hackett senior died in 1933, or very shortly before; until that date they had regularly tuned the organ at the church of St. Martin-cum-Gregory, York. (Knowles, 'Notes on the organs ... in York churches, etc.' 3 vols. Unpublished manuscript in York Public Library, 3: 163; BIHR PR Y/MG 63.)

Hunton, John

He was active in York between 1838 and 1840, and 1852 and 1854. In 1839 he described himself in an advertisement as an organ builder, cabinet maker and undertaker, but it would seem that he was not a good businessman, as he was twice made bankrupt, in 1840 and in 1853. (YG 9.3.1839, YG 18.7.1840, YG 3.9.1853.) He built the organs listed below:

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Source of reference</u>
1838	York, Albion Street chapel	YH 29.12.1838
1852	Scruton, parish church	YG 21. 2.1852
1852	Holme-on-Spalding Moor	YH 25. 9.1852
1853	Whittle-le-Woods, Chorley	YG 29. 1.1853
1853	Middlesbrough, St. Hilda	YG 26. 2.1853
1854	Stockton-on-Tees, Congregational church	YH 7. 6.1854

Jones, Pilcher

At one time he worked with Hill & Son, organ builders of London. He rebuilt the organ in the English Presbyterian chapel, St. Saviourgate, York, in 1860, and that in St. Margaret, Walmgate, York, in 1861. (YG 18.8.1860; YH 22.1.1860, YH 23.11.1861.)

Maskell, Samuel

He came to York in 1899, and in an advertisement in Kelly's directory of the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire, and the city of York (London: Kelly, 1889), p. 26, he described himself as 'organ builder, Toft Green, York, Late of Leeds'. He built the organ in the Garrison Church, York, in 1891. (YH 4.4.1891.)

Riley, Edward

He repaired and improved the organ in Trinity Church, Hull, in 1788. (Smith, A history of York organs, p. 15.)

TABLE 10.9 An advertisement placed by Thomas Haxby in the York Courant, 1 March 1763

NEW MUSIC

This Day are published, Price 5 s.

By T. HAXBY, at his Music Shop in Blake-street, York.

Six Easy LESSONS for the HARPSICHORD, Composed by Mr. CAMIDGE, Organist of the Cathedral in York.

Where may be had, lately published for the Harpsichord.

Six divertimenti's by Sig. Paganelli, 2s. 6d. A Lesson by M. Morheim, 3s. A favourite Lesson by Mr. Kuntzen, 6d. Lady Powis's Minuet, with Variations, 6d. Three Sonata's, with accompts. by Sig. Sarti, 4s. Fifty favourite Airs, some with Variations, by Mr. Peacock, 5s. The Comic tunes in Harlequin Cherokee, 1s. 6d. The Harpsichord or Spinnet Miscellany with proper Directions for Learners, 3s.

For Concerts, accompanied with French Horns, Hautboys, &c.

Six Overtures from the Italian Opera's of Sig. Cocchi, Galuppi, Graun, and Jomelli, 10s. 6d. Three Overtures by Sig. Pugnani, 7s. 6d. Six Symphonies by M. Schwindl, 10s. 6d. Six Overtures by Lord Kelly, 15s.

For two Violins and a Bass.

Six Sonata's by Sig. Guerini, 5s. Six Sonata's by Sig. Campioni, 4th set, 5s. Twelve Sonata's by Sig. Rozelli, 3s. Six Sonata's by Sig. Zannetti, 5s. Six Sonata's by Sig. Ferigo and Pugnani, 5s. Three Sonata's in 4 Parts by Sg. Pugnani, 5s. Six Sonata's for two German Flutes and a Bass, by Sig. Piota [?], 5s. A Collection of Marches and Airs, in 2 and 3 parts, 5s.

For two German Flutes.

Six Duets, by Sig. Dothel, jun. 4s. Six Duets by Mr. Bates, 3s.

For two Violins

Six Duets, by Sig. Noferi, 3s. Six Duets by Sig. Mosell, 3s. Six Duets by Sig. Chinzler, 2 Books, 3s. each. Six Duets, by Mess. Clagets, 3s. Six Duets by Sig. Testarini, Book 3, 3s. 24 Duos by Dr. Pepush, 2s.

For the Violin and German Flute.

Six Solo's by Sig. Noferi, Op. 2a, 5s. The Opera of Artaxerxes, by Dr. Arne, 1s. Thomas and Sally, by Dr. Arne, 1s. Scots Tunes by Mr. McGibbon, 3 Books, 1s. 6d. each. Several Collections of Dances and Minuets for the present Year, 6d. each.

For the Guittar.

Six Sonata's with Accompaniments, by Sig. Giardini, 5s. Some favourite Lessons, with Instructions, by Miss Ford, 10s. 6d. The Art of playing the Guittar, by Mr. Geminiani, 15s. Forty Lessons by Mr. Musgrove, 4s. A Collection of Italian and French Songs and Airs, 2s. Twelve Suits of Lessons by Mr Bates, 3s. A Collection of Songs and

Airs by Mr. Thackray, 3s. A Collection of Italian and English Songs and Airs by Mr. R. Shaw, 3s. Beggar's Oppera [sic] and Gentle Shepherd, 1s. 6d. Twelve favourite Scots songs.

Vocal Music.

A book of Canzonets, by Sig. Giardini, 10s. A book of Duets by ditto, 5s. Six Airs, with Accompaniments, by ditto, 10s. 6d. The Overture and songs in Artaxerxes by Dr. Arne, in 2 Books, 9s. The Songs in the Spring, 2s. Love in a Village, 3 Books, 9s.

Also great Choice of Chamber and Box Organs, Harpsichords, Spinnetts, Guittars, Violins, Violoncello's, German and English Flutes, French Horns, and all Sorts of Musical Instruments, Wire, Roman Strings, &c. at the London prices. Instruments neatly repaired; new Barrels made to Box Organs, &c.

TABLE 10.10 Works published by Knapton; and by Knapton, White, and Knapton

Key	BLHSS	British Library, Humanities and Social Sciences
	DG	Private collection belonging to David Griffiths
	Kidson	Frank Kidson, <u>British music publishers, printers and engravers</u> (London: Hill, 1900)
	YPL	York Public Library

Knapton

A collection of tunes for psalms and hymns; arr. -by Philip Knapton. [YC 5.8.1817. Copies in BLHSS and YML]

The favourite Dutch minuet and Nightingale rondo; arr. by Philip Knapton. [Copy in BLHSS. WM date 1807]

Lewie Gordon, a favorite rondo for the piano forte; composed by T.H. Butler. [1815. Copy in YPL]

Margery Topping, a favourite comic song, sung by Mr. Blanchard at Cov't Garden. [Kidson, p. 174]

A musical companion to the psalms; by Matthew Camidge. [YC 21.7.1800]

A musical companion to the psalms; by Matthew Camidge. 2nd ed. [WM date 1808. Copy in YML]

Knapton, White, and Knapton

Air, with variations for the piano forte; by Kirmair. [1820? Copy in YPL]

Les amies; by Philip Knapton. [YH 19.3.1825]

A collection of tunes for psalms & hymns; arr. by Philip Knapton. 2nd ed. [YG 9.3.1822. Copy in BLHSS]

County guy, a ballad ... by Philip Knapton. [YH 8.5.1824. Copy in BLHSS]

England - Europe's glory; by Thomas Bridgewater. [YH 2.8.1828]

The evening star ... by Thomas Bridgewater. [YC 29.3.1825. Copy in BLHSS]

The favourite set of quadrilles from Der Freischütz, as danced at the York Winter Assemblies. [YH 19.3.1825]

For all our men were very merry; by Philip Knapton. [1820. Copy in BLHSS]

Maiden, wrap thy mantle round thee ... by Thomas Bridgewater. [YH 5.8.1826]

A Malay air; by Thomas Bridgewater. [YH 12.1.1828. Copy in BLHSS. WM date 1824]

Mary of the dale ... by Thomas Bridgewater. [YC 29.3.1825]

Merch megan ... by Philip Knapton. [YG 3.3.1821]

Monica, a German air ... arr. ... by Philip Knapton. [1820. Copy in BLHSS]

A morning and evening service ... by Thomas Bridgewater. 2nd ed. [YH 24.3.1827]

Nina, air with variations. [1825. Copy in BLHSS]

The popular Scotch air, And we're a noddin; arr. with variations for the piano forte ... by Mrs. White of Leeds. [YG 9.3.1822]

The popular Scottish [sic] ballads, Donald ... and O my love's like the red red rose; arr. for the pianoforte, by the editors. [1820. Copy in DG]

A Russian pas redoublé ... by Philip Knapton. [YH 19.3.1825]

The sixth (last new) set of York quadrilles ... as danced at the York Winter Assemblies. [YG 3.3.1821]

Twenty four original psalm & hymn tunes ... composed & arr. ... by Matthew Camidge. [YG 9.8.1823. Copy in YML]

Will you come to the bower; by Thomas Bridgewater. [YH 28.3.1829]

TABLE 10.11 Inventory of the stock of Messrs. Knapton, 1829.
Transcribed from John Ward Knowles, 'A list of York musicians,' 2:210-211.

Knaptons
Extracts from Schedule of their Stock taken August 6 1829

Summary

Piano fortes organ & harps	847	0	0
Wind instruments	200	9	4
D[itto] Miscellaneous articles	71	10	10
Stringed Instruments Bows Strings etc	136	1	4
Printed music & Paper	397	2	8
Fixtures Packing Cases	72	13	0
Miscellaneous Articles	39	8	6

The stock comprized 35 pianos
Two valued at 64 & 60 £ each
the others averaging 30 £ each
highest 43 £ lowest £10

Barrell Organ 3 barrells £28
1 Double Action Harp (Erard) 63 £
Single 20
8 pianos varying from £105 to 32 £
left on approval

2 trombones £8 18
1 chromatic trumpet with keys £5
1 Concert Trumpet £6
6 Key Bugles about £3 5 0
one of them with 2 Crooks 10 11 6
14 Horns 14/- to 30/-
8 Flutes £9 9 to £4 0 0
70 Flutes 'Gouldings' 2 2 0 to 6/-
5 Ditto 'Milhouse' 1 6 6 to 17/-
7 Ditto Potter 4 4 0 to 12/-
6 Ditto Willis & Goulad [i.e., Goodlad] 1 5 6 to 4/-
27 Ditto Various 6 11 0

Clarinets
13 Gouldings 7 0 0 to 2 8 0
15 Milhouse 6 9 6
7 1 Guttridges 10 13 0

Piccolos
8 Goulding Milhouse & Calusac 1 16 6
19 Various 3 10 0 to 10/-

Flageolets
19 Various 3 10 0 to 10/-

Flageolet flutes					
12	Various	£1	0	0	to 10/-
	one with 9 keys	7	0	0	
	one with 3	-	17	-	
Fifes					
29	Various	5/- to 2/-			
Bassoon					
1	with 6 keys 'Milhouse'	3	13	6	
1	Pitch pipes	5			
Reeds					
for Bassoons & Clarinets					
67	dozen various	10	8	8	
1	Military Great Drum	4	14	6	
2	Tambourines at	28/- each			
1	Spanish Guitar	40/-			
1	Ditto	40/-			
29	Violins	4	16	0	to 14/-
6	Violas & Cellos	4	4	0	to 21/-
65	Violin Bows	2	10	0	to 7/6
39	Cello Bows	3	8	0	to 15/-
Shop fixtures		£72 13			

Thomas Benson
Appraizer

In the 1829 Directory
Thomas Benson was a Joiner
and lived at St Saviourgate

TABLE 10.12 Works published by Tomlinson & Sons

Key	LIST	List of music published by Tomlinson & Sons, 21 Blake-Street, which appears in A. Pilati <u>Six rondinos facile, for the pianoforte</u> (London: published for the Proprietors [i.e., Tomlinson & Sons ?] by Metzler & Co., n.d.). Copy in the private collection belonging to David Griffiths.
	DG	Private collection belonging to David Griffiths
	YPL	York Public Library

Auld lang syne; arr. as a rondo by J. Tomlinson. [YG 3.8.1839]

Les bijoux, six favourite airs; duet for two performers. [LIST]

Blue cap waltz; by J. Tomlinson. [YH 9.3.1833]

Le carnaval: a second set of brilliant waltzes; by J. Tomlinson. [Copy in YPL. YG 3.8.1839]

The casket, a third set of favourite waltzes; by J. Tomlinson. [YG 3.8.1839]

The celebrated Russian pas de deux; by G.C. Crouch. [YH 14.5.1836]

The celebrated wreath pas de deux; by G.C. Crouch. [YH 14.5.1836]

The conservatory, a fourth set of favourite waltzes; by J. Tomlinson. [YG 3.8.1839]

Cruda sorte; by J. Tomlinson. [LIST]

The drawing room waltzes; by J. Tomlinson. [Copy in DG]

The favourite Alpine Band march; by J. Tomlinson. [LIST]

Florentine air; by J. Tomlinson. [LIST]

La fuchsia; by J. Tomlinson. [LIST]

Gems a la mode; by J. Tomlinson. [YH 9.3.1833]

Les graces; by J. Tomlinson. [LIST]

I cannot bear to pass thee by; song by T.H. Tomlinson. [YH 9.3.1833]

Les lanciers, set of quadrilles; by J. Tomlinson. [YH 3.8.1839]

The market chorus, from Masaniello [by D.F.E. Auber]; arranged by J. Tomlinson. [YH 9.3.1833]

My lodging is on the cold ground; by J. Tomlinson. [YG 3.8.1839]

Napoleon's farewell; by J. Tomlinson. [LIST]

Oh, come! The breeze hath woke; song by T.H. Tomlinson. [LIST]

Oh, tis the melody; by J. Tomlinson. [YG 3.8.1839]

Poor Adele, Neukomm's favourite song; arr. as a rondo by J. Tomlinson. [YH 9.3.1833]

Select gems; arranged as a rondo by J. Tomlinson. [YG 3.8.1839]

Le tableau, three favourite waltzes; arranged as a duet by J. Tomlinson. [Copy in YPL. YG 3.8.1839]

Take with thee, love, my heart; song by T.H. Tomlinson. [LIST]

Talisman quadrilles; by J. Tomlinson. [YG 3.8.1839]

Le Tournay, a second set of favourite quadrilles; by J. Tomlinson. [YG 3.8.1839]

Tutti unite in dolce affetto, air from The Freebooters; arranged by J. Tomlinson. [YH 9.3.1833]

Union Hunt quadrilles; by J. Tomlinson. [YH 30.9.1843]

Union Hunt waltzes; by J. Tomlinson. [YH 4.10.1845]

Three waltzes in imitation of a musical snuff-box; by J. Tomlinson. [YH 9.3.1833]

Welcome me home, with variations by Miss Allen. [LIST]

TABLE 10.13 Works published by William Hardman

Key DG Private collection belonging to David Griffiths
 YPL York Public Library

Hardman's favorite set of quadrilles ... arranged for the pianoforte.
[1837. Copy in YPL]

The battle of Prague, a sonata for the piano forte; by Kotzwara.
[Copy in DG]

England, Europe's glory! A song with an accompaniment for the harp or
piano forte; [by Thomas Bridgewater]. 5th ed. [Copy in YPL]

The Caledonian hunt, with variations for the piano forte; by J.
Latour. [Copy in YPL]

A collection of tunes for psalms & hymns ... by Philip Knapton. [3rd
ed. Copy in YPL]

Le minuet de la cour ... composed by Monsr. Gardell of Paris ...
arranged for the piano forte, by the editors. [Copy in YPL]

Air with variations for the piano forte; by Kirmair. [Copy in YPL]

The favorite Parisian galopes, for the piano forte as performed by
Hardman's Quadrille band. [YG 7.5.1836]

German waltzes, arranged for the piano forte, as performed at the
Yorkshire Musical Festival Ball. [YG 7.5.1836]

CHAPTER XI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The preceding chapters have illustrated the wide range of institutional music-making that has taken place in the city of York over the last five hundred years or so. Most of this history is recorded here for the first time, and answers have been given to the questions that were asked in the Introduction and light thrown on some of the ways in which people in York have used music during the last half millenium. This chapter will attempt to draw together some of the chronological threads from the foregoing account, to indicate what further work could be done in this and closely related fields, and to bring the work to a conclusion.

Until the early eighteenth century there were no public concerts in York and music was heard mainly in the churches, at civic functions, the houses of wealthy individuals, at guild meetings, in the alehouses, and in the street. This music, at least of a concerted kind, was most often provided by the city waits and the Minster choir and organist, who between them accounted for almost all of the professional musicians living in the city before 1700 or so; there is no evidence to suggest that there were any other resident

institutional musicians. In addition to the provision of music for civil and ecclesiastical observance there emerged in the eighteenth century, with the establishment of regular series of concerts, the provision of music solely for the pleasure and aesthetic gratification of the listener.

Since the start of regular concerts in York in 1729 or 1730 there have been very few years in which public performances have not been carried on by one institution or another. In the period from 1729 to 1852 (in which latter year the York Philharmonic Society ceased activities) the price of the subscription concerts reflected the social exclusiveness of this form of entertainment; and in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, if not throughout, people attending the concerts were required to wear formal dress. The prices of tickets for concerts by the York Choral Society, founded in 1833, were much cheaper than those for the subscription concerts mentioned above; and even cheaper were those for concerts given by the York People's Musical Union between 1856 and 1871 and by the People's Entertainment Society between 1882 and 1895, which were aimed specifically at members of the working classes. In the twentieth century, especially in its second half, whatever constraints affect York people's attendances at concerts, for the most part they are not financial.

There was a steady decline in the concert life of the city from 1776, reaching a low point in 1826 when there were no subscription concerts for the first time in almost a hundred years. This was followed by a period of seventy-five years of steady but unspectacular growth of institutional music-making in York (as in the country as a whole), which included the rise and fall of the York Choral Society, the York Philharmonic Society, the York Choral Union, and the York

People's Musical Union. By the turn of the century, in addition to the York Musical Society and the York Symphony Orchestra, several brass bands had been formed and there were many church and chapel choirs. The level of musical activity established by 1900 remained fairly constant throughout the first half of this century but in the second half the number of people singing in church and chapel choirs has greatly diminished. Compensating for this decline, the founding of the University of York has provided a spur to musical activity in the city of York, and the city's reputation as one of the country's great tourist attractions helps to create paying audiences for many of its musical activities.

The importance of individual musicians in the music-making of the various institutions discussed has, of course, been vital throughout. Until very recently the Minster organist occupied the most prestigious musical post in the city, and his influence was great in most matters musical. At least from the 1740s successive Minster organists were performers in the subscription concerts and from 1822 to 1842 John Camidge junior was a joint and then sole promoter of these concerts. Following a period of some fifty years in which the Minster organists were not involved to any great extent in other aspects of the city's musical life, they have from 1892 to the present day - except for the four-year period of Canon Hudson's occupancy between 1896 and 1900 and the years of the Second World War - been the conductors of the York Musical Society. Minster songmen acted as parish clerks in York churches in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and as organists and choir masters in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The waits, as the only group of professional instrumentalists resident in the city until this century, were active in several areas of music-making. Besides attending to their civic duties, they played in the Minster on various occasions during the seventeenth century, while in the next century they formed the nucleus of the band which performed in the subscription concerts, especially in the first half of the century; they also performed regularly at the theatre. In the nineteenth century individual military musicians, stationed in York, frequently gave assistance to various York orchestras, in addition to the concerts they gave collectively with their own regimental bands. Since the second half of the nineteenth century teachers and students at various educational establishments in York have contributed widely to the music-making of other institutions in addition to their own. And finally, the contribution of the music dealers and instrument builders in York to the city's music-making, particularly in the period between 1750 and 1900 should not be underestimated. The facility of having printed music widely available, music copied and arranged, and instruments repaired and maintained became more and more a sine qua non during this period.

The city within the walls is not now as well provided with concert halls as it was in the nineteenth century, when concerts were held in the Assembly Rooms, the Festival Concert Rooms, the halls of the Merchant Adventurers and the Merchant Taylors, respectively, St. Anthony's Hall, the Theatre Royal, and, after its completion in 1879, the Exhibition Hall. Following the demolition of the Exhibition Hall and the Festival Concert Rooms during the course of this century, the absence of a suitable concert hall in the city has been compensated for to some degree by the availability of various city churches and

the Guildhall for the holding of concerts. The Central Hall and the Sir Jack Lyons Concert Hall, both in the University of York, are widely used for concerts; but there is no doubt that the concert life of twentieth-century York, at least in the period since the Second World War, has been impeded by the lack of a suitable concert hall. It remains to be seen how far this lack will be met by the hall of the leisure centre now under construction.

The broad outlines of institutional musical activity in the city of York have been established, but further work is needed to fill in some of the detail. A study of the lives of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century York musicians, in so far as these can be pieced together from various documentary sources, would throw more light on the work of the institutions with which they were associated. The York waits - particularly those living between the Restoration and their demise in 1836 - could be profitably studied in this way, as could the songmen and organists of York Minster. There remains the lack of histories of music-making in other towns and cities, especially those of cathedral cities such as Canterbury, Exeter, Gloucester, and Winchester, whose music histories one would expect to be broadly similar to that of York; only when these are available can York's position as a 'musical place of the first quality' be fully assessed.

The objectives of this thesis, as set out in the Introduction, namely,

- (1) to attempt to illustrate the role played by various institutions, both sacred and secular, in the music-making of the city over the last five to six-hundred years, and
- (2) to enable certain questions connected with this music-making to be answered

have now been met, and it is clear that the range of musical activity in York over this period has been much wider than could be determined from previous writings. One would earlier have looked in vain for accounts of concerts in eighteenth-century York; of the history of the present-day York Musical Society; of the nineteenth-century musical festivals in York; and of many other subjects concerned with the city's music-making. This study of the musical life of York complements writings on other aspects of the city's history, and - however imperfectly - fills a striking gap in York's historiography. On a wider level the material set out here contributes to the stock of knowledge on provincial music-making in England, and goes a little way to undermine Blom's contention (and one still widely held) that a history of music in England is little more than a history of music in London.

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545	Easter song of praise	Riemann	267	Judge me, O God	Mendelssohn
769	Enemy said	E. A. Dicks	187	King of love	H. R. Shelley
247	Enter not into Judgment	T. Attwood	596	Kyrie (12th Mass)	Mozart
37*	Evening Hymn	M. Hauptmann	1035	Lamb of God	Palestrina-Smith
574	Evening Hymn "God who madest"	Dudley Buck	105	Lead, kindly light	Dudley Buck
390	Evening and morning	H. S. Oakley	637	Lead, kindly light	P. A. Schneckner
1124	Evening Hymn	Purcell-Markham-Lee	510	Lead me, Lord	S. S. Wesley
1327*	Fair, waved the golden	A. Bull	1068	Lead thou and guide me	Palestrina-Smith
354	Father of Heaven	T. A. Walmisley	169	Let the earth	C. Darnton
114	Fear not, O land	J. Goss	709	Let thy merciful kindness	J. Barnby
337	Fixed in His	Handel	828	Let thy merciful ears	W. Williams

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