GEORGE HORNE, BISHOP OF NORWICH, 1790-1792

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SUMMARY

George Horne was one of the greatest of 18th-century Anglicans. He was held in the highest regard as an academic, writer and preacher when he became the fifty-ninth bishop of Norwich in March 1790. Deteriorating health curtailed the impact that this most distinguished of churchmen was able to make on the diocese before his death in January 1792.

One of the most impressive monuments in Norwich cathedral commemorates one of the briefest episcopal lives. Placed above the stalls on the north side of the choir, it consists of a chaste late 18th-century wall memorial surmounted by a mitre in gold leaf and, at the base, the arms of the see of Norwich impaled with the personal crest of the holder. This impressive tablet commemorates Dr George Horne, the fifty-ninth bishop of the diocese, who held the see from March 1790 to January 1792. One of the most eminent and respected high churchmen of his day, Horne arrived at Norwich with an established reputation as an academic, a controversialist, a versatile preacher¹, and the author of a best selling Commentary on the Psalms². Contemporaries can only have expected him to build on that reputation following the award of a mitre. But poor health and low spirits limited the impact he could make on the diocese, and an episcopate prematurely curtailed left his clergy bemoaning the loss of, in the fulsome but heartfelt claims of the cathedral epitaph, a man 'In whose character, depth of learning, brightness and imagination, sanctity of manners and sweetness of temper were united beyond the usual lot of mortality'.

Horne was on the verge of his sixtieth birthday when he was offered the see of Norwich by William Pitt the Younger, coming as the culmination of a distinguished clerical career. He was a son of the parsonage. His father, Samuel, was vicar of Otham near Maidstone in Kent and it was from him that the young George absorbed the Tory high churchmanship which was to remain with him throughout his adult life. He was surrounded by likeminded undergraduates and academics when he went up to University College, Oxford, in 1748 and such principles made it hard for Horne to make headway in the wider world as the Whig governments of the last years of George II remained suspicious of the links between Tories and Jacobitism³. The obstacles in Horne's way to preferment were compounded by his reputation as a follower of John Hutchinson (1674-1748), the physico-theologian, well known for almost a century after his death as the enemy of Newtonian science and the theology associated with it, which he believed had relegated revelation to the margins of faith⁴.

But Horne was never more than a moderate Hutchinsonian, and within the University it could not imperil his progress when set against conspicuous gifts both in the pulpit and with the pen as a defender of religious orthodoxy. He was elected a Fellow of Magdalen College in 1751, ordained in 1753, and chosen Junior Proctor in 1757. Outside Oxford, two developments allowed this talented young academic clergyman to come in from the cold: the translation of Thomas Secker, Bishop of Oxford and Dean of St. Paul's to the Primacy in 1758, and the accession of George III to the throne two years later. Both men were willing to look favourably on Tory churchmen and Horne was one of the beneficiaries of the softer political climate of the new reign. In 1768 he was elected President of Magdalen College, Oxford, and served as Vice-Chancellor of the University at the height of the American War of Independence from 1775 to 1780.

His prominence in the University and his loyalty to the government brought him to the notice of the Prime Minister, Lord North, who also happened to be Chancellor of Oxford. Horne, however, was no mere time-server. He was an astringent polemical writer intent on challenging the proponents of false belief and scepticism, most notably Voltaire and David Hume⁵. His performances in this role were justification enough for North's award to him of a Deanery in 1781. The talk was originally of Bristol but it was in fact Canterbury which came to him, as something of a consolation prize for being passed over for the vacant see of Lichfield⁶. Horne had to wait a further nine years for a mitre. He was hard-headed enough to realise that there was always the distinct possibility he would at some point be offered a bishopric by, as he drolly put it, 'the folks above', and in the summer of 1788 he seriously entertained the possibility of succeeding to Oxford when news reached him that Bishop John Butler was dying⁷. Never mind that the Oxford diocese was financially poor. It might well be possible for Horne to supplement its income by retaining the Presidency of Magdalen and the promotion would enable his family to keep their familiar circle of Oxford's academic and clerical society.

Horne's plans came to nothing. Bishop Butler recovered and, though he was forthwith translated to Hereford, his replacement at Oxford was Bishop Edward Smallwell of St. David's. That see went to another controversialist, Samuel Horsley, archdeacon of St. Albans and foremost challenger of the Unitarian scientist, Joseph Priestley⁸. Even if Horne had been offered St. David's, it would have been difficult to uproot his family to anywhere like the West of Wales. Mrs Felicia Horne - 'Filly' - was no Mrs. Proudie; as her husband oddly reminded his colleague at Canterbury, George Berkeley, she was not 'the most ambitious woman in the world'⁹. In fact she had a highly nervous disposition and much of her husband's domestic life was passed calming her fears¹⁰. He himself, though only in his late fifties, had to cope with failing health from 1788 and he could not risk putting himself beyond the reach of physicians and sea bathing resorts like Brighton and Ramsgate¹¹.

These factors between them seriously reduced the scope of Horne's episcopal eligibility. He had to wait until March 1790 when he was offered the see of Norwich on the translation to St. Asaph of Bishop Lewis Bagot. Yet again Horne was not the first-choice candidate. The *Norwich Mercury* reported that Bishop Frederick Cornwallis of Lichfield (brother of Earl Cornwallis, the current Governor-General of Bengal) was most talked of at Norwich as the likely choice¹². In fact it was Richard Farmer, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge and a leading Tory in that University as well as a fellow member of the Canterbury Chapter, who was given and duly made first refusal¹³. That brought Horne to the front of the field. The first inkling he had that Downing Street was at last ready to promote him came in the form of a tentative offer not from the Prime Minister but from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. John Moore (Horne's exact contemporary at University College, Oxford). Moore was in effect sounding out an esteemed colleague but he was to find Horne's initial response disappointing. The Dean of Canterbury pondered long and hard over it but twice turned down the honour¹⁴.

One can only speculate on the reasons. Horne's genuine humility makes it unlikely that he suffered much pique from knowing that he was the second preference. More probably, the old difficulties about his health and his wife's doubts about the role she would be called upon to play as the bishop's wife resurfaced. Acceptance would also sever his ties with Oxford society as well as Canterbury's in return for a city where he knew virtually no one apart from the Dean, Dr Philip Lloyd¹⁵.

It was, moreover, a large diocese which could be expected to drain an ailing man's limited reserves of energy and, as Horne's daughter put it, a 'troublesome' one¹⁶, on account of the

problems Bishop Bagot had encountered in relations with his clergy. St. Asaph, with its reputation as 'the snuggest of all the Welch bishoprics' (as the *Norwich Mercury* quaintly expressed it) afforded Bagot an attractive retreat¹⁷. The paper noted a strange reversal of fortunes in the last four decades: 'in 1748 Norwich was so much better than St. Asaph as to be thought an object for translation, whereas St. Asaph is now supposed to be so much better, as to have the honour of receiving a Bishop from Norwich'¹⁸. None of this was lost on Horne. Nor did the relative poverty of the see judged by contemporary standards encourage him, though it was worth more than Oxford. He accordingly declined the offer.

This decision took Archbishop Moore by surprise but he knew his man and persisted. There came a concerned reply from Lambeth Palace urging the Dean of Canterbury to reconsider, and Moore emphasised that this offer came on the highest authority since Pitt had returned to London and been informed of developments. Moore paid special attention to overcoming Horne's doubts about assuming the government of the Norwich diocese in the light of Bishop Bagot's difficulties. He diplomatically expressed his confidence in Horne's ability to handle his priests. Bagot, Moore opined, had '... got into difficulties by hastily following intemperate advice; & he was, tho' a very worthy & excellent man, of nerves too irritable to admit of that calm consideration which would easily have extricated him'. But Horne had a 'mild temper & conciliatory manner' which would ensure his 'respect & happiness'¹⁹.

This renewed appeal had the desired effect and, at the beginning of April 1790, Horne made the critical decision to accept²⁰. In the last analysis, he felt that he could do more good as a bishop²¹ and accordingly kissed the king's hands for the see on the 3rd²². Rumours of the offer had been spreading since at least mid-March. Nevertheless, Horne's in-laws, the Burtons, resident in Hatton Gardens, seemed uncertain of whether he intended to accept the vacancy when a family friend, Lady Juliana Penn, called in early April. But Lady Juliana was exultant, talking to Mrs Horne of 'our bishop' and predicting what 'a shining light' her husband would be to the bench of bishops²³. Felicia Horne's views were, of course, crucial in her husband's acceptance. Friends hastened to reassure her that social life in Norwich, even as the bishop's wife, would be very quiet. She was undoubtedly relieved to hear from someone who knew the Bagots' episcopal regime that there was no precedent of card parties. It would, Mrs. Horne was informed, be possible to live like them, 'pretty much without interruption from the City' except for about four 'Public Days and a few tea drinkings', and rely on dining company from outside the city. And she need not worry about the standard of accommodation in Norwich - the bishop's house was 'in very good order'²⁴.

With Mrs. Horne satisfied on both counts (and no doubt under pressure from her daughters not to stand in the way), the news of her husband's promotion was confirmed by the middle of April, at about the time Bagot did homage for St. Asaph²⁵. Having waited until the palace at St. Asaph had been made ready for his household, Bagot preached in Norwich cathedral for the last time on Easter Day 1790²⁶. His successor had little to do but gracefully accept the plaudits and await the completion of the legal processes. On 12 May he called at Lambeth to finalise arrangements with archbishop Moore and the *congé d'elire* was duly dispatched to Norwich three days later²⁷. He was 'elected' by the Dean and Chapter of Norwich on 21 May²⁸, did homage on 2 June, and had his 'election' confirmed by the Crown two days before consecration at Lambeth Palace Chapel on Sunday, 6 June²⁹. In the background the bishop-designate bustled about with a dozen calls on his time and dosed himself with bark for support, complaining to George Berkeley, the Vice-Dean of Canterbury, of 'The hurry and muddle I am in, about horses, servants, liveries, carriages, removal of goods & c. is great, and the weather is hot'³⁰.

It was his old friend, Berkeley, whom Horne asked to preach the sermon at his consecration, but there was uncertainty until the last moment that Berkeley would recover from a serious putrid disorder and another member of his intimate circle, William Jones, perpetual curate of Nayland, Suffolk, was instructed to be ready to deputise should the need arise³¹. All was well as it transpired, with Berkeley offering a timely defence of episcopacy against the background of the threat posed to the principle of good ecclesiastical order in revolutionary France by the nationalisation of Church lands and the Civil Constitution of the Clergy³². Horne followed precedent by giving the preacher of his ordination sermon a dinner at Lambeth prepared by the archbishop's cook for which he was charged the princely sum of £20!³³.

The authority of bishops was by no means universally accepted in 18th-century Norwich. It had a population of 40,000 and was accurately referred to by one family friend as 'a large manufacturing city' whose well-off merchants and manufacturers enjoyed spending money on fash-ionable clothing³⁴. Many of them belonged to well-established dissenting congregations like the Octagon Chapel, who asked no more than to worship without hindrance according to their different lights³⁵; in the county as a whole, dissenting congregations were expanding, with over 2000 bishop's certificates issued for the use of meeting houses in rural parishes between 1760 and 1835³⁶. They had no cause to expect favours from the new bishop (a vigorous opponent of the recent campaigns for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts³⁷) beyond preserving the existing mutual respect of Norfolk churchmen and dissenters³⁸. And his dislike of the French Revolution, expressed quite unambiguously in some of his last sermons in Canterbury cathedral, could not endear him to its many supporters in Norwich.

Horne, however, would have more immediate concerns as bishop than supervising the activities of the dissenting minority. This ailing sixty-year-old had taken on pastoral responsibility for the two counties of Norfolk and Suffolk without any suffragan assistance, a total of well over a thousand parishes (660 in Norfolk, 557 in Suffolk) making up the second largest diocese in England. It was a momentous undertaking given that a bishop's multifarious duties in and beyond his diocese required above all, as Dr W. H. Jacob has aptly expressed it, 'the power of physical endurance'³⁹. No wonder, then, that rumours of Horne's feeble physical state caused ripples of apprehension locally, and had to be denied in both the local papers, with the *Norfolk Chronicle* insisting ingenuously that it had arisen from confusion over the declining health of Dean Lloyd⁴⁰.

What of the compensatory benefits for taking on this onerous responsibility that would be his for the remainder of his natural life unless he was further translated? By his appointment as bishop, Horne at once became a member of Parliament as one of the Lords spiritual with the immense contemporary status and prestige which was attached to that office⁴¹, symbolised by the merger of his own coat of arms with that of the diocese. But in terms of powers of appointing his clergy Horne's leverage was minimal, and private patrons were entrenched: that had been an important factor behind Bagot's move to St. Asaph⁴². A mere thirty-eight livings were in the bishop's gift in 1786⁴³, even less than the forty-six belonging to the Norwich Chapter. By way of contrast, almost 400 were in the possession of laymen⁴⁴. Nor would holding Norwich make Horne a wealthy man. It generated an income that left it somewhere towards the lower end of the middle-ranking bishoprics of the Church of England⁴⁵. Bishop Bagot had told Archbishop Moore that the income of the see was £2,000 annually and rising, a point which Moore did not fail to make vigorously to Horne himself⁴⁶. Accommodation too, at Norwich, was not palatial but more than comfortable, as a family friend assured Mrs. Horne before they had agreed to the move⁴⁷:

'The Palace at Norwich is a very old, but not an uncheerful building... In an airy part of the

city, and you may soon get out of the city for riding or walking. The two rooms which the Bishop and Mrs Bagot made their living rooms are very, very large. One a library, not cold, and very cheerful. The other an eating room, not warm and somewhat dull (there is another smaller eating room if you please). Their own apartments exceedingly convenient with a good sized pleasant dressing room for her, and a private study for his business. A complete Chaplain's apartment, and the rest of the house rambling and spacious for family and company. Furniture some old, some fine'.

Mrs. Kennicott's references to the Bagots at home suggested that Horne's predecessor had made the same emphatic impact on the palace as he had on the diocese - and that in an episcopate of only seven years. Bagot had spent more time in his diocese than any other 18th-century bishop⁴⁸, and he had been the most energetic episcopal reformer since Charles Trimnell (1708-23)⁴⁹. His overhaul of administration in the Norwich charity schools commanded wide approval but the establishment of a Court of Audience as a means of disciplining clergy was generally less popular⁵⁰, particularly when it was accompanied by a drive against pluralism and non-residence⁵¹. Bagot was vigorous and well-intentioned but his failure to win over the clergy was one of the reasons which made him seek translation. Bagot's would be a hard act for Horne to follow but Lambeth undoubtedly hoped that the new man could combine reforming zeal with a more emollient approach to clergy relations.

And for the first few months of his episcopate at least, with his reputation as a spiritually minded churchman going before him, Horne might expect to be the recipient of considerable goodwill from the parsons of Norfolk and Suffolk, relieved that they had seen the back of their former bustling bishop⁵². Large numbers of them at any rate packed into Norwich on 23 June 1790 to celebrate George Horne's enthronement and installation⁵³, followed the next day by a new Dean, with both events coming in the middle of the 1790 General Election. Enthronement as bishop in the 18th century was invariably undertaken by proxy and the procedure was an interesting one⁵⁴. Horne's commission was taken to Norwich by the Venerable John Lynch, Archdeacon of Canterbury⁵⁵, who was received at the great west door by the whole Chapter, with the Vice-Dean, John Pretyman, acting on Horne's behalf⁵⁶. The Archbishop's mandate having been read, the proxy knocked three times on the doors for admittance. They were opened by the sub-sacrist and Pretyman was received by two vergers, ten choristers, eight lay clerks, eight minor canons, and the prebend in residence, George Anguish⁵⁷. They advanced singing in procession with the proxy at the head to the bishop's throne where a circle was formed. The Chapter's notary public, Richard Moss, administered the oaths and Anguish then conducted the proxy by hand to the throne where he invested him with all episcopal rights and dignities58.

The formalities at last completed, the Hornes were free to move to Norwich. Sending on servants and sheets in advance, the new bishop, his wife Filly and their three daughters, Felicia, Maria, and Sarah (known as Sally to them all) arrived in the city on the evening of 2 July attended from Eaton by many clergy, and Horne first went to the cathedral two days later⁵⁹. Those initial few days were very gloomy and they made a profound impact on his daughter, Sally⁶⁰:

'Never shall I forget the distress of his mind on our first arriving at Norwich. As he sat at breakfast on the morning after our arrival, his countenance expressed the greatest anxiety & uneasiness, & having been for a long time silent, looking at the dark dismal wall of the garden, he rose up & exclaimed, "This is banishment indeed".

In fact, the Hornes adjusted quickly to their new surroundings. Felicia Horne agreed to set aside Thursday afternoon each week for she and the bishop to receive company⁶¹ and the

sweets of Oxford were forgotten as they made the acquaintance of the local clergy and their wives, among them some old friends. There was William Jones - 'a gentleman well known in the literary world' - whom Horne appointed as one of his chaplains in late August⁶², and also the Revd. Charles Poyntz at North Creake, a man highly popular in fashionable society, holder of the wealthiest living in the diocese⁶³, and an occasional correspondent of Horne's since their Oxford days ⁶⁴. The Hornes knew few of the leading county figures and this may explain why Sally complained that the families around Norwich were 'high & stately'⁶⁵. Their warmest acquaintances in East Anglia lived some distance away, the Freres at Finningham, Suffolk, and the Gooches at Benacre south of Lowestoft. At least, the family enjoyed the wider Norwich social round. They received an early complimentary visit from the Mayor and Court of Aldermen⁶⁶ and were determined to become involved in city life. Thus they patronised the city's 'Grand Musical Festival' and were spotted by Parson Woodforde at a Handel concert in St. Peter Mancroft on 10 September 1790 featuring music from the 'Messiah' and 'Joshua'⁶⁷.

After this promising start, the autumn brought disturbing signs that Horne's health was not up to the strains imposed on it. Soon after reaching his lodgings in Ely Place, London, in November, he suffered a stroke. His doctors thereupon scotched his plan of being introduced into the House of Lords on the first meeting of the new Parliament (25 November) and attending sittings through to the Christmas recess⁶⁸. He informed one of his clergy on 30 November that he was only gradually recovering his health69 but he was at least able to go on to Magdalen College and in a distinctly shaky hand tell the Berkeley family that he planned to remain there until February⁷⁰. From Oxford he moved to Bath, from where early in the New Year Horne's long-standing friend, William Stevens, informed an anxious Archbishop Moore that the bishop's health was definitely on the mend⁷¹. Horne himself admitted to feeling better. He noted that the waters were having a salutary effect on his system, so that his legs were no longer swollen from gout and his body was much less bloated⁷². In February 1791 he resumed his lodgings in the West End of London, travelling again to Bath at the end of April. It was five months since Horne had been at home in Norwich and his ability to bear the full weight of pastoral responsibility was already seriously in question. At least it was plain that retention of the Magdalen Presidency was impractical, despite the drop in income which he would incur. Horne reluctantly resigned it in April 1791, observing to the Vice-President that 'vain would be any attempt to discharge the duties of them (both) to the satisfaction of myself, or of those committed to my care'73.

As well as his duties in the diocese itself, Horne had taken on important political responsibilities as a peer of Parliament, and contemporaries gave the discharge of episcopal duties in the House of Lords a very high priority⁷⁴. Parliament usually sat from November to May and he would be expected to attend sittings regularly by ministers and Archbishop Moore. Having once postponed his introduction to the House, he was conscious that it could not be indefinitely delayed, whatever the reservations of his physicians who 'advise quiet, composure & ye company of a few friends as necessary to repair my strength, & recruit my spirits – & I am coming into hurry & bustle, in town & country!⁷⁵. This was written on the day Horne actually took his seat in the Lords, Monday, 14 February 1791⁷⁶. He attended Parliament every day it was sitting until 15 April except for 29 March⁷⁷. He was often the only bishop present and as junior bishop invariably conducted prayers at the beginning of business. Horne played his part in the work of committees examining private bills, but did not participate in debates on the key topics of the hour, such as the threat of war with Russia or events in France. Nevertheless, he found his seat useful as a means of fighting effectively behind the scenes on behalf of Scottish Episcopalians for a full legal toleration⁷⁸. He assured Bishop Skinner of Aberdeen in February 1791 that he

would do all in his power to overcome government delays but died before he had the chance to see legal relief granted⁷⁹. He admitted to finding the session a strain, and looked forward to his 'cool garden' at Norwich, and even as far ahead as another visit to Bath to see him through the next winter⁸⁰. His family joined him in London and spent the first six months of 1791 in 'a noisy street' in Westminster. It was impossible for them to ignore how exhausted his duties left him because of the household strains that followed. As Sally Horne recalled, 'his disorder made him irritable - & his daughters!'⁸¹.

Horne persisted with his Parliamentary work until his precarious health necessitated a withdrawal and prevented his return before prorogation on 10 June 1791⁸². At no point, however, did he use his infirmity as an excuse for neglecting the more sacerdotal duties of a Father-in-God which were within his grasp. In drawing up the list of 'Norfolk Preachers' for the cathedral services in September 1790, he scheduled Christmas, Easter, and Whitsun for himself⁸³, and he was ready to summon up his strength and go into the city churches for special occasions. On 22 August 1790, he preached at a special evening service at St. Peter Mancroft attended by the Mayor and Corporation and the cathedral choir in aid of the city's Charity Schools⁸⁴, and spoke for the same cause again days before his departure for London in November⁸⁵. Another pastoral concern dear to his heart was the nascent Sunday School movement, and in October he visited schools in the parishes of St. Stephen, St. Michael at Thorn, and All Saints, and was pleased at the progress and behaviour of their pupils⁸⁶.

Bishop Bagot had possessed an exemplary diligence in the conduct or ordinations, visitations and confirmations⁸⁷, and though Horne lacked the stamina to contemplate extended travelling through the diocese on confirmation tours, the carrying out of ordinations was feasible. Horne conducted no less than seven such services (the first on 25 July 1790, the last on 25 September 1791)⁸⁸, and laid hands in total on 51 deacons and 30 priests, an impressive display of energy for an ailing man. Bagot had begun to hold ordinations in the cathedral as opposed to the chapel of his palace⁸⁹, but Horne reverted to previous practice. Five out of seven ordinations took place in the palace chapel, one in St. James's church, Piccadilly on 20 March 1791 near his London lodgings in South Street while he was attending Parliament, and only one in Norwich cathedral (8 August 1790)⁹⁰. Like most contemporary bishops, he was required to exercise great watchfulness over those presenting themselves for admission to holy orders. Very early in his episcopate he refused ordination to two candidates whose *bona fides* he suspected, and he insisted that his decision was final⁹¹.

Relations with his clergy were necessarily conducted from a distance, and Horne was not permitted the time or the good health to become much involved at a local level. A notable exception directly involved him with the founder of Methodism. One of John Wesley's last preaching trips coincided with Horne's first few weeks in the Norwich diocese, and he was called on to indicate the extent to which the great evangelist was welcome in his jurisdiction. This was at a time when a decision on the question of formal separation from the Church of England could not much longer be avoided by Methodists. It had been debated by preachers at the English Conference of 1789, but little could be done so long as Wesley continued to proclaim his steadfast loyalty to the established Church⁹². He was loth to jeopardise the respect accorded him by fellow clergy which it had taken him a lifetime to build up. In October 1790, Welsley arrived in King's Lynn and the local clergy received him most warmly⁹³. He moved south-east across Norfolk to very similar receptions and, on arrival at Diss, he applied to the rector to preach in the parish church there.

The rector, the Rev. William Manning⁹⁴, hesitated, understandably since Bishop Horne was

staying a few miles away at Finningham with the antiquary John Frere (1740-1807)⁹⁵. Manning was almost certainly aware that in 1761 Horne had been one of those clergy who had attacked Methodism with a sermon called 'Justification by Works' preached before Oxford University⁹⁶. But whereas Horne thirty years on was not minded to revive old controversies, he and William Jones still thought it inexpedient for the new bishop to come into personal contact with Wesley. When Horne was asked if he had any objections to Wesley preaching in Diss church he simply said 'none at all', noting Wesley's credentials as an Anglican minister⁹⁷. Nonetheless Horne's misgivings about some of Wesley's recent conduct were genuine enough, and articulated in his Charge to the clergy of 1791. There he singled out for criticism Wesley's ordinations for America in 1784 undertaken without a bishop⁹⁸. Politeness was one matter, the sanctioning of a breach in the historic order of the Church quite another.

Horne made clear his own firm attachment to the formularies and traditions of the national Church in the Charge he issued to the clergy of the Norwich diocese to accompany the Primary Visitation carried out in 1791. Charges could be on matters of practical concern for the clergy or on theological issues⁹⁹. Horne attempted a combination of both. Writing the Charge provided the new bishop with an unparalleled opportunity to reach out to every parsonage in Norfolk and Suffolk and he seized the chance. Horne alerted his clergy to what he considered were the related distempers of unbelief and Socinianism at home and the impact of the French Revolution abroad, a conjunction that could be fatal to the Church unless she maintained her watch¹⁰⁰. He advocated a renewed emphasis on Catechetical instruction and Sunday School teaching of orthodox Christianity as a means of countering the growth of infidelity¹⁰¹.

Horne was too weak to undertake the Visitation personally, despite early hopes to the contrary, and he had to inform his clergy that because of 'the bodily indisposition we at present labour under we are hindered from executing our said pious Intention'¹⁰². Instead, with the friendly endorsement of Archbishop Moore, the task fell on the Vicar General in Spirituals and Official Principal of the Episcopal Consistory Court, Dr George Sandby¹⁰³, who started the Visitation at Newmarket on 25 May and was back in Norwich on 7 July¹⁰⁴. Visitation days were for most parochial clergy, to quote Dr Jacob, 'very great occasions'¹⁰⁵, and they could look forward to a good dinner as well as a long sermon when they came in to the local centre of their deanery, as Woodforde did at Norwich on 15 June, dining afterwards with fellow clergy, one bottle for every two of them, courtesy of Horne¹⁰⁶.

Horne's protracted stay at Bath from April onwards¹⁰⁷ while the Visitation was in progress caused the rumours about his infirmities to fly about the diocese again and led to a remarkable statement in the local press contradicting the alarmists by announcing well in advance that his return to the palace at Norwich was definitely scheduled for mid-July 1791108. When he eventually resumed residence in the city, Horne made fresh efforts to meet the forty or so priests living in Norwich, and those in the Close particularly. He tried from the beginning to promote close and cordial relations with all his clergy, especially the younger men, but the response disappointed him. He found, despite his best efforts, they were 'shy & distant with him - afraid to speak', when he wanted them ' to feel quite at their ease in his company'109. Horne again participated in some of the highlights of the city's social calendar in 1791. In December he joined Bishop Bagot as one of the officers of the Society of Universal Good, a charitable organisation which met at the White Swan, St. Peter's, every St. Andrew's day¹¹⁰. It was fair recognition of the effort he had made on behalf of local causes during his second summer there¹¹¹, most notably preaching the annual Charity sermon for the Norfolk & Norwich Hospital on 19 August in the cathedral taking as his text 'Blessed is he that considereth the poor'112; £111..16..2d was collected in church, £34..2..6d at the dinner afterwards, a much higher contri-

bution than usual. The service was a success for Horne personally, who gave a vintage performance in the pulpit, causing the *Norfolk Chronicle* to observe that 'The best eulogium can add nothing to his Lordship's established reputation as a Divine and a writer¹¹³.

The service included selections from Handel, including the Dettingen Te Deum, a Coronation anthem 'Let thy hand be strengthened', and the final part of the Messiah.¹¹⁴ This would have pleased Horne who always enjoyed the cathedral music. He was delighted to find there, as Minor Canon and Precentor, the Rev. Peter Hansell, who had moved himself from Magdalen College to take up his position in 1786 at the invitation of Dean Lloyd. Another Magdalen man in residence serving in the choir as a Minor Canon was Charles Millard, who became one of the new bishop's chaplains¹¹⁵. The new bishop also began his duties at the same time as a new dean, Dr Joseph Turner, Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge since 1784 and former tutor of the Prime Minister, William Pitt¹¹⁶. Like Horne, Turner had served (and indeed would serve again) as Vice-Chancellor of his University and there are indications that the two of them got on well enough, with William Jones asking for his compliments to be presented to 'the good Dean' in October 1791¹¹⁷.

In time Horne came to enjoy residence at the Palace. One of his favourite habits while in residence was to take an early morning stroll in its gardens on the advice of chaplain Jones 'that the air of the morning was a dram to the mind, so he used to run and take his dram as he said'118. He was not alone in his family in suffering from indifferent health. The deaths occurred during 1791 of both the bishop's in-laws. These glum events were only partially compensated for by the marriage of the Bishop's eldest daughter, Felicia, on 18 May 1791, to the Revd. Robert Hele Selby, fellow of Exeter College, Oxford¹¹⁹. It was not a happy match and Sally Horne well remembered the distress it caused her parents¹²⁰. The marriage marked the beginning of Horne's last summer when his health seemed to have benefited to some extent from the last stay in Bath. He felt well enough to take two ordination services in Norwich in September before going to spend a short holiday with William Jones and his family. Horne and Jones parted for what would be the last time at Loddon in October 1791121. Jones was not ready for the blow which soon followed, as his friend's health seemed so much on the mend. With Parliament not due to reassemble until January 1792, Horne left Norwich on 29 November for London¹²² and then went on to Bath for the Christmas holiday, intending to take the waters and refresh his spirits. In fact it turned out to be the last journey he ever made. He suffered a second paralytic stroke en route to the spa town and died there on 17 January 1792 after a short period of suffering¹²³.

So ended the brief but not undistinguished episcopate of one of the greatest of 18th-century Anglicans. The mourning in his own diocese was wide and heartfelt by all who had either known him personally or taken satisfaction at having as their bishop the author of one of the century's most popular commentaries on the book of Psalms and had formed 'some estimate of the rank he possessed in one of the finest Universities in Europe'¹²⁴. At Norwich, it was said 'his stay was but short, yet sufficient to convince his clergy, and all who had obtained his acquaintance of how much pleasure and advantage they were deprived in his loss'¹²⁵. This was so despite 'having seen him only in affliction, they are but half acquainted with those graces and virtues which would have shone forth amongst them, had it pleased the Almighty to have restored him to health¹²⁶. Horne had never lost sight of his primary responsibilities as a pastor and he was deeply affected by the regard of his clergy, particularly as he knew he could be only of limited service to them, observing in the preface to his 'Charge':¹²⁷

'They have my thanks for the many instances of their kindness, and whether living or dying, I pray God to bless them in every good word and work'.

Sally Horne's teenage estimation that her father 'was very miserable' at Norwich seems well wide of the mark¹²⁸. The fact was that Horne came to the diocese and the city too ill to show his paces, and it was uphill work which he could not sustain. As one obituary notice put it: '... at Canterbury he appeared like himself, and was in the highest estimation: at Norwich he was a Setting Sun'¹²⁹. Waning perhaps, but not so far gone that writings like the Charge of 1791 can fail to give us a sense of his Christian priorities or the letters of his friends afford a glimpse of the deep respect and affection in which George Horne was held as a private man. Combining holiness and humour as few bishops can, gifted as a satirist, a teacher, an administrator, a father and a friend, George Horne may have had but a short span in Norwich but the diocese can take great pride in numbering one of the most distinguished Churchmen of his age as one of its pastors.

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- 1. According to the cathedral epitaph, 'With his discourses from the pulpit, his Hearers whether of the University, the City or the Country Parish were edified and delighted'.
- 2. 'I suppose the best that ever was wrote. Yet I could not comprehend his aggrandizing the Psalms, it seems, even above the New Testament'. ed. Nehemiah Curnock, *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley*, (8 vols., London, 1909-16), VI. 402, 27 April 1783.
- 3. Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727-1783*, (Oxford, 1989), 195-6, 203, 207; J.C.D. Clark, *English Society 1688-1832*, (Cambridge, 1985), 182-4, 194.
- 4. See C.B. Wilde, 'Hutchinsonianism, Natural Philosophy, and Religious Controversy in eighteenth century Britain', *History of Science*, 18 (1980), 1-24; Albert J. Kuhn, 'Glory or Gravity: Hutchinson v. Newton', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 22 (1961), 303-22.
- 5. Nigel Aston, 'Horne and heterodoxy: the defence of Anglican beliefs in the late Enlightenment', *English Historical Review*, 108 (1993). 895-919.
- 6. Mrs Kennicott to Mrs Horne, from [Cressingham], Norfolk, Sept. 1781, Magdalen College, Oxford, Ms. 471, f. 71.
- 7. To George Berkeley, 13 Oct. 1788, British Library, Add. Mss. 39312, f. 79. For the importance of Horne's patron and friend Charles Jenkinson (created Lord Hawkesbury in 1786) in helping him to obtain a bishopric see James J. Sack *From Jacobite to Conservative Reaction and Orthodoxy in Britain c. 1760-1832* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 76.
- 8. See F.C. Mather, *High Church Prophet, Bishop Samuel Horsley (1733- 1806) and the Caroline Tradition in the Later Georgian Church,* (Oxford, 1992), 55-63.
- 9. To Berkeley, 13 Oct. 1788, B.L. Add. Mss. 39312, f. 79.
- 10. See his letter of 1787 urging her not to worry about her children, Cambridge University Library, Add. Mss. 8134/N/3.
- 11. William Jones, *Memoirs of the Life, Studies and Writings of the Rt. Rev. George Horne, D.D., late Lord Bishop of Norwich*, (London, 1795), 168.
- 12. Norwich Mercury, 13 Mar. 1790, no. 2037.
- Richard Farmer (1735-97), FSA, student of Shakespeare, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 1775-d. Vice-Chancellor, 1775-76, 1787-88; University Librarian, 1778-d; Chancellor of Lichfield, 1780; prebendary of Canterbury, 1782-88; prebendary of St Paul's cathedral, 1788-d. Horne claimed to have been told the news of the initial offer to Farmer on good authority. To G. Berkeley, 1 May 1790. B.L. Add. Mss. 39312, f.110.
- 14. Jones, 169.
- 15. Philip Lloyd (1729-1790), BA 1749, MA 1752, Ch. Ch., Oxf., BD & DD, 1763; vicar of Puddletown, Dorset, 1765; preb. of Westm., 1763-65; dean of Norwich, 1765-31 May 1790. Horne had met his old university friend and his wife for the first time in ten years at morning service in Canterbury cathedral in October 1788, on their return from nine months on the continent. The chance of rekindling their association may have played its part in inducing Horne to accept the see of Norwich. To Berkeley, 13 Oct. 1788, B.L. Add. Mss. 39312, f. 79.
- 16. Magd. Coll. Mss. 1028, f.7.
- 17. Norwich Mercury, 13 Mar. 1790, no. 2037.
- 18. Ibid; St. Asaph was 'in the third class of Bishopricks', snorted the Norfolk Chronicle, 13 Mar. 1790. no. 985.

- 19. Archbishop Moore to Horne, 23 Mar. 1790, Magd. Coll. Mss. 471, f.24.
- 20. Horne's speculation as to conduct when offered preferment is insightful: 'A man modest, & humble, & judging truly of himself, thinks he is not fit for such a particular situation. This he thinks before it is offered him. But let it once be offered, and he becomes fit immediately. What alteration has happened in him? None, but that, when he formed his first opinion, he had no prospect of its ever being offered him: it was not *near* enough to melt down his scruples. What a series of fallacies & illusions is human life & human conduct'. C.U.L. Add. Mss. B/7/11-12.
- 21. According to Sally Horne, Magd. Coll. Mss. 1028, p. 6.
- 22. C.U.L. Add. Mss. 8134/B8/154; the Norwich Mercury, 3 Apr. 1790, no.2040, gives 1 Apr.
- 23. Lady J. Penn to Mrs Horne, 6 Apr. 1790, Magd. Coll. Mss. 471, f.62.
- 24. Mrs Kennicott to Mrs Horne, Eton College, 16 Mar. 1790, Magd. Coll. Mss. 471, f.87.
- 25. Norwich Mercury, 17 Apr., no. 2042.
- 26. Norfolk Chronicle, 10 Apr. no. 989.
- 27. C.U.L. Add. Mss. 8134/B8/155; Norfolk Record Office DCN 30/5.
- 28. N.R.O. DCN 24/5, 21 May 1790; Norwich Mercury, 22 May, no. 2047.
- 29. N.R.O. DCN Reg/24 31, p.236; C.U.L. Add. Mss. 8134/B8/155; Jones, 48; Norfolk Chronicle, 12 June 1790, no. 1011.
- 30. Eltham, 28 May 1790, B.L. Add. Mss. 39312, f. 113.
- 31. William Jones to Charles Poyntz, 17 May 1790, B.L. Althorp Papers, E. 17.
- 32. An Inquiry into the Origin of Episcopacy, in a discourse preached at the consecration of George Horne, D.D., later bishop of Norwich, (London, 1795).
- 33. Eltham, 28 May 1790, B.L. Add. Mss. 39312, f.113.
- Mrs Kennicott to Mrs Horne, Eton College, 16 Mar. 1790, Magd. Coll. Mss. 471, f.87. For a useful overview see C.B. Jewson, *The Jacobin City, a Portrait of Norwich in its Reaction to the French Revolution, 1788-1802*, (Glasgow & London, 1975), 1-11; B.D. Hayes, *Politics in Norfolk, 1750-1832*, (unpub. Univ. of Cambridge Ph. D., 1957), chap. 2, 55 ff.
- 35. For the congregation of the Octagon see Warren Derry, *Dr. Parr. A Portrait of the Whig Dr. Johnson*, (Oxford, 1966), 67-8.
- 36. Full details in Jewson, Jacobin City, 9-10, 136-41; N.R.O. DIS 1/746.
- 37. See Horne's own anonymous *Observations on the case of the Protestant Dissenters with Reference to the Corporation and Test Acts*, (Oxford, 1790).
- 38. Trevor Fawcett, 'Measuring the Provincial Enlightenment: The Case of Norwich', *Eighteenth Century Life*, 8 (1982), 13-27, at 23; Hayes, 75.
- 39. W.M. Jacob, Clergy and Society in Norfolk, 1707-1806, (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Exeter, 1982), 196.
- 40. Norfolk Chronicle, 5 June 1790, no. 1010; Norwich Mercury, 6 June, no. 2049.
- 41. Sykes, *Church and State in England in the Eighteenth Century*, (Cambridge, 1934), 94-5; Stephen Taylor, 'The Bishops at Westminster in the mid-Eighteenth Century', in ed. Clyve Jones, *A Pillar of the Constitution. The House of Lords in British Politics*, 1640-1784, (London, 1989), 137-63.
- 42. Norfolk Chronicle, 13 Mar. 1790, no. 985.
- 43. Peter W. Whitfield, *Change and Continuity in the Rural Church: Norfolk 1760-1840*, (unpub. St. Andrews Ph. D., 1977), 96, puts the late C18 figure at 41.

- 45. Sykes, 61.
- 46. Abp. Moore to Horne, 23 Mar. 1790, Magd. Coll. Mss. 471, f.24.
- Mrs Kennicott to Mrs Horne, Eton College, 16 Mar. 1790, Magd. Coll. Mss. 471, f. 87. For improvements to the palace by Bps. Trimnell and Gooch in the C18 see R.S. Rait, *English Episcopal Palaces*, (2 vols., London, 1910-11), II. 247-8.

- 49. *Ibid.*, 196, 199, 313, 451. His vigour in administration makes very dubious Dr. Whitfield's broad claim that 'The eighteenth century bishops of Norwich were political and academic figures who made little impact on their dioceses' (39). Augustus Jessop ,writing a century ago, has the prize for magnificent condescension: 'The Georgian era in the diocese of Norwich was a period of such deadness as had never been known before, and which we may well pray may never be known again'. *Diocesan Histories, Norwich*, (London, 1884), 224.
- 50. Jacob, 213.
- 51. N.R.O. N.D.R. V.I.S. 28. The 1806 Visitation Returns suggest that Bishop Bagot's campaign against these practices made little difference.
- 52. Horne was by no means well known to all his clergy. Jones mentions one of them, having disclaimed real claims to familiarity as a Cambridge graduate, observe that, "is currently reported at Norwich that he's (Horne) a

^{44.} Jacob, 192.

^{48.} Jacob, 196.

Methodist – The same clergyman, when he became acquainted with his Bishop, was much delighted with him; and afterwards lamented his death as a great loss to the Christian Church in general, and to the Diocese of Norwich in particular'. Jones, 169n.

- 53. Norwich Mercury, 26 June, no. 2052.
- 54. *Norfolk Chronicle*, 3 July, no. 1014. See also NRO DCN 29/4, Liber Misc. 4 (30), Form of installing a Bishop of Norwich, n.d. Cf. DCN 39/48.
- 55. John Lynch (1735-1803). Ch. Ch. Oxf., BA, 1757; MA, 1760; DCL, 1765; Rector, All Hallows, Bread St., 1761, and St. Dionis Backchurch, 1782; preb. of Canterbury, 1782; archdeacon, 1783-d.
- 56. John Pretyman (1752-1817), younger brother of Bishop of Lincoln. MA and Fellow of Pembroke Coll., Camb., 1778-79; rector of Shotley, 1784-1817; preb. of Norwich, 1786. Subsequent livings.
- 57. George Anguish (b. 1764). Caius Coll., Camb., BA 1786; MA 1789. Vicar of Moulton, Norfolk, with Tunstall, 1788-1813; vicar of Potter Heigham, 1789-1803; preb. of Norwich, 1790-1820; subsequent livings.
- 58. Jones, 236-8; C.U.L. Add. Mss. 8134/B8/155.
- 59. C.U.L. Add. Mss. 8134/B8/156; Norwich Mercury, 3 July, no. 2053; Norfolk Chronicle, 3 July, no. 1014.
- 60. Magd. Coll. Mss. 1028, ff. 6-7.
- 61. Norwich Mercury, 17 July, no. 2055.
- 62. Norfolk Chronicle, 28 Aug., no. 1020.
- 63. North Creake was worth £300 in 1786 when the average benefice value was £100.6. By 1835 it had slipped to third highest in the county despite offering its holder £1,152 p.a. Whitfield, App. III; Dawson Turner, *Norfolk Benefices*, (Norwich, 1847), 37.
- 64. Sit John Maclean, An Historical and Genealogical Memoir of the Family of Poyntz, (Exeter, 1886).
- 65. Magd. Coll. Mss. 1028, f.7.
- 66. Norfolk Chronicle, 10 July, no. 1011.
- 67. ed. John Beresford, *The Diary of a Country Parson. The Rev. James Woodforde*, (1788-92), III. 212-13. The Festival lasted from 8-10 Sept., with concerts at the New Hall, St. Andrews, as well as St. Peter Mancroft.
- 68. Horne to the Bursar of Magdalen College, 30 Oct. 1790, quoted in *Presidents of S.M. Magdalen*, 253. This letter announced his hope of leaving on 16 Nov., but in fact he ordained in Norwich on the 21st. NRO ORR 3/2/167. See also *Norwich Mercury*, 13 Nov. 1790, no. 2072.
- 69. Horne to Charles Poyntz, 30 Nov. 1790, B.L. Althorp Papers, E. 18.
- 70. Horne to Berkeley, 11 Dec. 1790, B.L. Add. Mss. 39312, f. 120.
- 71. Stevens to Moore, 5 Jan. 1791, Locker-Lampson Mss., Boucher Papers, E. Sussex R.O., B/3/47.
- 72. C.U.L. Add. Mss. 8134/A/4/1.
- 73. Horne to the Vice-President of Magdalen College, 12 Apr. 1791, quoted in *The Presidents of S.M. Magdalen College*, II. 298. See also G.V. Cox, *Recollections of Oxford*, (London, 1868), 6; R.D. Middleton, *Dr. Routh*, (Oxford, 1938), 155; *Norfolk Chronicle*, 23 Apr. 1791, no. 1056; *Norwich Mercury*, 23 Apr., no. 2095.
- 74. In practice, episcopal attendance rates fluctuated considerably. See W.C. Lowe, 'Bishops and Scottish representative peers in the House of Lords, 1760-1775', *Journal of British Studies*, 18 (1978), 86-106.
- 75. 14 Feb. 1791, C.U.L. Add. Mss. 8134/A/4 (6).
- 76. House of Lords Journals, XXXIX. 46; Norfolk Chronicle, 19 Feb. 1791, no. 1047.
- 77. House of Lords Journals, XXXIX. 46-121.
- 78. F.C. Mather, 'Church, Parliament and penal laws: some Anglo-Scottish interactions in the eighteenth century', *E.H.R.* xcii (1977), 540-72.
- 79. Jones, 150.
- 80. To Berkeley, 9 Apr. 1791, B.L. Add. Mss. 39312, f. 130.
- 81. Magd. Coll. Mss. 1028, f. 7.
- 82. Norfolk Chronicle, 18 June, no. 1064.
- 83. Norwich Mercury, 11 Sept., no. 2063, listed preachers from Oct. 1790 to Trinity 1791.
- 84. Ibid., 14 and 22 Aug., nos. 2059/60.
- 85. Ibid., 27 Nov. no. 2074.
- 86. Norfolk Chronicle, 30 Oct., no. 1029.
- 87. Jacob, 313.
- 88. Norfolk Chronicle, 6 Aug., no. 1071.
- 89. Jacob, 197.
- 90. For details see NRO ORR 3/2/167.
- 91. Horne to Poyntz, Bath, 17 Jan. 1791, B.L. Althorp Papers, E. 17.
- 92. Frank Baker, John Wesley and the Church of England, (London, 1970), 314, 319-20.
- 93. 'They are all prejudiced in favour of the Methodists'. wrote Wesley in his Journal, 19 Oct. 1790, VIII. 108.

- 94. William Manning, (1733-1810). BA, Sidney Sussex Coll., Camb., 1755. Vicar of Loddon, Norfolk, 1759-78; Rector of Brome, 1760-1810; Rector and Patron of Diss, 1778-1810. I am grateful to Mr Robert Manning for his assistance on his ancestor's career.
- 95. Dictionary of National Biography, XX. 267.
- 96. Wesley called it 'ingenious'. Journal, 8 Mar. 1762, IV. 490; Baker, 180.

- 98. Horne, A Charge Intended to have been delivered to the Clergy of Norwich at the Primary Visitation of George, Lord Bishop of that Diocese, (Norwich, 1791), 23-4; Baker, 256-82.
- 99. Jacob, 258.
- 100. Horne, A Charge, 5. Shortly before appointment to Norwich Horne published pseudononymously A Second Letter to Dr. Joseph Priestley, occasioned by Mr. Courtenay's Philosophical Reflections on the Revolution in France, [Solomon De A.R.], (Oxford, 1790), in which he attacked Courtenay's favourable views on the French Revolution and Priestley's well-known sympathy for them.
- 101. Horne, A Charge, 12-13, 17, 39.
- 102. 30 Apr. 1791, NRO VSB/9, Visitation Book 1791.
- George Sandby, BA, 1737; MA, 1740, Merton Coll., Oxon. DD, Magd. Coll., Camb., 1760 (Master, 1760), V.-C., Camb., 1760. Rector, Denton, Norfolk, 1750 and of Skeyton. Chancellor of Norwich diocese, 1768-1807.
- 104. For details see NRO VSB/9.
- 105. Jacob, 255. See NRO VSB/9 for details of the 1791 Visitation.
- 106. Woodforde, *Diary of a Country Parson*, III. 276-77. The course of the Primary Visitation is listed by Deanery with preachers given in *Norwich Mercury*, 19 Mar., no. 2090.
- 107. He was reported there on 4 June, Norwich Mercury, no. 2101.
- 108. *Norfolk Chronicle*, 9 July 1791, no. 1067; *Norwich Mercury*, 9 July, no. 2106. In fact Horne only reached Norwich at the very end of July 1791 after eight months' absence. *Ibid.*, 6 Aug., no. 1071.
- 109. Magd. Coll. Mss. 1028, f. 22.
- 110. Norfolk Chronicle, 3 Dec. 1791, no. 1088; Norwich Mercury, 4 Dec. 1790, no. 2075.
- 111. He was already a subscriber to the Benevolent Association for the relief of Decayed Tradesmen, Widows and Orphans. *Norwich Mercury*, 6 Nov. 1790, no. 2071.
- George Stevens to Abp. Moore, 25 Aug. 1791, Locker-Lampson Mss., Boucher Papers, E. Sussex R.O., B/3/55. Horne had managed to preach only once between June 1790 and Apr. 1791. See Horne to Berkeley, 9 Apr. 1791, B.L. Add. Mss. 39312, f. 130, and *supra*, 14.
- 113. Norfolk Chronicle, 27 Aug., no. 1074.
- 114. Ibid.; Norwich Mercury, 6 Aug., no. 2110.
- 115. NRO ORR 3/2/167; Cox, *Recollections of Oxford*, 6.
 Hansell (1763-1841), had been a chorister at Magdalen from 1777 to 1783. In addition to his duties at the cathedral he was also priest-in-charge of St. John de Sepulchre.
 Charles Millard (d. 1814), matric. 1766, aged 18; chorister, clerk, and minor canon of Norwich from 1771; Chancellor of the diocese, 1809-14.
- Joseph Turner. BA (Senior Wrangler) 1767, Pemb. Coll., Camb., MA, 1770, DD, 1785. Fellow, Master, 1784-1828; V.-C., 1785-86, 1805-6. Rector of Sudbourne and Orford, 1787-1828; Dean of Norwich, 1790-1828.
- 117. Jones to Horne, 20 Oct. 1791, Magd. Coll. Mss. 471, f. 32.
- 118. Jones, 169.
- 119. Robert Hele Selby, Exeter Coll. Oxf., BA, 1788; MA, 1789; Fellow 1785-91. Chaplain-in-Ordinary to Prince of Wales, 1789. Rector of Colmworth, Beds., 1790, and Brede, Sussex, d. 1839.
- 120. Magd. Coll. Mss. 1028, f. 7.
- 121. Jones to Horne, 20 Oct. 1791, Magd. Coll. Mss. 471, f. 32.
- 122. Norwich Mercury, 3 Dec. 1791, no. 2117.
- 123. Jones, 169-70. His last days were recorded in detail by his wife, C.U.L. Add. Mss. N/5. I shall be treating his deathbed more extensively elsewhere.
- 124. Norfolk Chronicle, 21 Jan. 1792, no. 1147.
- 125. The Presidents of S.M. Magdalen College, Vol. II, p. 208.
- 126. Norfolk Chronicle, 21 Jan. 1792, no. 1147.
- 127. 'Advertisement' to A Charge.
- 128. Horne to Poyntz, 17 Jan. 1791, B.L. Althorp Papers, E. 17.
- 129. 'Character of the late Bishop of Norwich by S. Parr', C.U.L. Add. Mss. 8134/N/3.

^{97.} Jones, 154-5.