

**THE PERFORMANCE OF  
ENGLISH PROVINCIAL PSALMODY  
*c.1690–c.1840***

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for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

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School of Music**

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and that appropriate credit has been given where  
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## **Abstract**

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### **THE PERFORMANCE OF ENGLISH PROVINCIAL PSALMODY c.1690–c.1840**

Submitted in November 2009 for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Provincial English Anglican and nonconformist church music, commonly known as psalmody, underwent profound changes during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In 1700 the music in most parish churches was limited to a few unaccompanied metrical psalm tunes, sung slowly and unrhythmically by an apathetic congregation. Attempts at reform led to the introduction of organs and choirs of charity children in towns, and to the growth of a florid, distinctive style of vernacular music in less affluent rural areas. This was often composed and taught by itinerant singing masters and was performed by a mixed group of singers and instrumentalists. It continued to flourish in country parishes until it was gradually ousted by the Oxford Movement in the mid nineteenth century. Similar developments occurred later in nonconformity, with more congregational participation.

This thesis discusses the available musical and literary sources and places psalmody in its historical and musical context, before tracing developments within the Anglican and nonconformist traditions. The organisation, size and vocal range of choirs is considered, but the main focus is on the use of voices and instruments. The problems of the correct allocation of parts is investigated in some detail, because this has important performance implications and was further complicated when instruments began to be introduced in the later 1700s. The scoring of large-scale instrumental pieces is also analysed. Finally, the didactic introductions of psalmody tune books are examined since, until the mid eighteenth century, they provided essential performance instructions on tempi, dynamics, ornamentation and voice production.

The main purpose of this dissertation is to gain a better understanding of psalmody during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in order to inform modern performance and to provide evidence that will stimulate further research.

A music anthology and two CDs containing music recordings and a database are included.

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2	All people that on earth do dwell	Anon., arr. Daniel Purcell	1
3	O thou to whom all creatures bow	?Michael Beesly	3
4	How long wilt thou forget me, Lord	Benjamin West	4
5	My life's a shade	William Knapp	5
6	Praised be the God of love	John Hill	7
7	Psalm ye 96th	Gratrix [?Anthony Greatorex]	8
8	All people that on earth do dwell	Anon., arr. Starling Goodwin	10
9	All people that on earth do dwell	Anon., arr. ?William Seal	12
10	O all ye works of the Lord	Anon.	14
11	O come let us lift up our voice	Thomas Collins	15
12	O God my heart is fix'd	Thomas Arne, arr. Samuel Arnold and John Callcott	25
13	The Lord, th'almighty monarch, spake	Franz Joseph Haydn	27
14	O God my heart is fully bent	John Barwick	28
15	Ye people all, on earth who dwell	Anon., arr. William Gresham	32
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32	Alas! and did my Saviour die?	Richard Taylor	94
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- |        |  |                                       |
|--------|--|---------------------------------------|
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| 2      | The 100 Psalm Tune 'All people that on earth do dwell'               | Anon., arr. Daniel Purcell            |
| 3      | The 100 Psalm Proper Tune: Interludes 1, 2 and 3                     | Starling Goodwin                      |
| 4      | Psalm the 100 'All people that on earth do dwell'                    | Anon., arr. ?William Seal             |
| 5      | Psalm 100 'Ye people all, on earth who dwell'                        | Anon., arr. William Gresham           |
| 6      | Psalm 8 'While shepherds watched their flocks by night'              | ?Michael Beesly                       |
| 7      | Psalm XIII Watford Tune 'How long wilt thou forget me, Lord?'        | Benjamin West                         |
| 8      | Funeral Hymn 'My life's a shade'                                     | William Knapp                         |
| 9      | Psalm 50 'The Lord th'almighty monarch, spake'                       | Franz Joseph Haydn                    |
| 10, 11 | Psalm 47 Old Version 'While shepherds watched their flocks by night' | John Foster                           |
| 12     | Anthem for Christmas Day 'Behold I bring you glad tidings'           | Israel Holdroyd, arr. ?Joseph Kempson |
| 13     | A Christmas Carol 'Let an anthem of praise'                          | William Knapp, arr. Caleb Ashworth    |
| 14     | Westminster 'Love divine, all loves excelling'                       | Henry Purcell, arr. Anon.             |
| 15     | Birmingham 'This is the day the Lord hath made'                      | Greatrix [?Anthony Greatorex]         |
| 16     | Crucifixion 'Alas! and did my Saviour bleed?'                        | Richard Taylor                        |
| 17     | Cranbrook 'While shepherds watched their flocks by night'            | Thomas Clark                          |
| 18     | 'Come and taste along with me'                                       | William Sanders                       |
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| 21     | The Fall of Babylon 'In Gabriel's hand a mighty stone'               | John Beaumont                         |
| 22     | unidentified Cornish carol [text unintelligible]                     |                                       |
| 23     | unidentified anthem [text unintelligible]                            |                                       |



## Abbreviations

(Based mainly on those used in GMO and RISM)

### Bibliographical

<i>EM</i>	<i>Early Music</i>
<i>GMO</i>	<i>Grove Music Online</i>
<i>GSJ</i>	<i>Galpin Society Journal</i>
Higson MS	Oldham Local Studies and Archives, C.E. Higson MS, vol. H46, v, 1–68: E. Hall, 'The Oldham Singers', [1716].
<i>HTI</i>	Temperley, N., <i>The Hymn Tune Index</i> , 3 vols (Oxford, 1998).
<i>IGI</i>	<i>International Genealogical Index</i>
<i>JRMA</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Musical Association</i>
<i>MEPC</i>	Temperley, N., <i>The Music of the English Parish Church</i> , 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1979).
<i>MT</i>	<i>The Musical Times</i>
NV	Tate, N., and N. Brady, <i>A New Version of the Psalms of David, fitted to Tunes used in Churches</i> (London, 1696).
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
OV	Sternhold, T., J. Hopkins, and others, <i>The Whole Booke of Psalmes</i> (London, 1562).
<i>PMA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Musical Association</i>
RISM	Répertoire International des Sources Musicales
RCM	Royal College of Music
<i>RMARC</i>	<i>Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle</i>
RSCM	Royal School of Church Music
SPCK	The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
WGMA	The West Gallery Music Association

### Library Sigla

GB-Cu	Cambridge, University Library
GB-Cwc	Cambridge, Westminster College
GB-GLr	Gloucester, Gloucestershire Archives
GB-Lbl	London, British Library
GB-Lcs	London, Vaughan Williams Memorial Library
GB-Lbl	London, British Library
GB-Mch	Manchester, Chetham's Library
GB-Mp	Manchester, Central Library
GB-Mr	Manchester, John Rylands Library, Deansgate
RCM	Royal College of Music
RSCM	Royal School of Church Music

## Note to the Reader

All quotations retain the original spelling, but italic and roman fonts are reversed without further comment in quotations from books which were printed almost exclusively in italics. However, the accuracy of quotations from primary sources which are no longer extant but which have been quoted by other authors cannot be verified. Tune names of hymns and metrical psalms are in small capitals to distinguish them from the text and may not originally have been printed in this format.

Musical examples in the thesis reproduce the originals as closely as possible. Emendations in the music anthology (MA) are marked in the score or recorded in the Critical Commentary (MA, 134). The music CD is compiled from a variety of sources. Performance styles and recording quality differ and may not exactly match examples in the music anthology, but any changes are also noted in the Critical Commentary. The CD database (DCD) is a late addition and has been restricted by some technical problems. Where necessary, search terms have been included in the main text.

General abbreviations are as in *GMO*.

Note pitch is indicated according to the Helmholtz system:

Fig. 0.1. Helmholtz's system of pitch notation.



Old currency: pounds (£), shillings (s.), and pence (d.) were replaced with decimal money in 1971. There were twelve pence to the shilling, and twenty shillings to the pound. A guinea equalled £1 1s. 0d. and was regarded as a more gentlemanly amount of payment.

Sections of this dissertation are partly based on previously published material:

- S. Drage, 'Performance Practice in 18th-century Georgian Psalmody', *The Gallery Tradition: Aspects of Georgian Psalmody*, Papers from the International Conference organised by The Colchester Institute, August 1995, ed. C. Turner (Ketton, 1997), 35–41.
- S. Drage, 'Richard Taylor of Chester (1758-1827): His Music, Life and Times', *Georgian Psalmody 2: The Interaction between Urban and Rural Practice*, Papers from the Second International Conference organised by the Colchester Institute, ed. C. Turner (Corby Glen, 1999), 13–21.
- S. Drage, 'A Reappraisal of Provincial Church Music', *Music in Eighteenth Century Britain*, ed. D.W. Jones (Aldershot, 2000), 172–190.

- S. Drage, 'Elias Hall, 'the Faithful Chronicler' of Oldham Psalmody', *Early Music*, 28 (2000), 621–34.
- S. Drage, 'Beesly, Michael', *GMO*, ed. L. Macy, (2001).
- S. Drage, 'John Fawcett of Bolton: The Changing Face of Psalmody', *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*, ii, ed. J. Dibble and B. Zon (Aldershot, 2002), 59–79.
- S. Drage, 'James Leach, *bap.*1761, *d.*1798) *ODNB Online*, ed. L. Goldman (2004).
- S. Drage, 'The Larks of Dean: Amateur Musicians in Northern England', *Music in the British Provinces, 1690–1914*, ed. R. Cowgill and P. Holman (Aldershot, 2007), 195–221.
- S. Drage, 'Methodist Anthems: The Set Piece in English Psalmody (1750–1850)', *Music and the Wesleys*, ed. N. Temperley and S. Banfield (pending: University of Illinois Press, 2010).



# Introduction

## Research Statement

The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate the performance of English provincial psalmody between 1690 and 1840, to consider whether performance instructions were adhered to in practice and to establish whether there were denominational, chronological and geographical differences in performance methods. In order to reach a conclusion it is necessary to consider where, when and how psalmody was performed by examining printed and manuscript music, together with contemporary textual sources. These include the didactic introductions to early printed tune books, church records, diaries, religious tracts and sermons.

## Definitions

### a. Psalmody

Psalmody was an integral part of Christian worship throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The *OED* defines it as either the ‘action, practice, or art of singing psalms (or sacred vocal music in general, including hymns and anthems), esp[ecially] in public worship; an act of psalm-singing’, or as the ‘arrangement of psalms for singing or recitation; psalms and hymns so arranged collectively. Also, a particular arrangement of psalms and hymns’. Both definitions were first used around 1450.<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Temperley, in the index to *The Music of the English Parish Church*, gave a brief explanation of psalmody as ‘music for a voluntary church choir without professional guidance’,<sup>2</sup> but this is perhaps unsatisfactory because it does not acknowledge the

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Psalmody’, *OED Online*, ed. J. Simpson (1989).

<sup>2</sup> N. Temperley, *MEPC*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1979), I, 438.



possibility of congregational singing, and because choirs might be trained by professionals, or at least by those who considered themselves to be so. The *New Grove*

*Dictionary of Music and Musicians* provides a more detailed definition:

A general term for music sung in Protestant churches in England and America from the 17th century to the early 19th. Following traditional practices of the Roman Catholic Church, the term was first associated with the chanting of psalms and later with the singing of metrical psalms, but as these were gradually replaced by hymns the term was retained to cover all kinds of music sung by amateur choirs. With the decline of the older type of parish choir in England the term fell into disuse, but it survived in America. It is now the most appropriate term to describe a body of music that, after long neglect, has recently attracted musicological attention.<sup>3</sup>

'Psalmody' became the accepted designation for all non-cathedral church music during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Two early uses are Luke Milbourne's *Psalmody Recommended in a Sermon Preached to the Company of Parish-Clerks* of 1712,<sup>4</sup> and Ely Stansfield's collection of psalm tunes, *Psalmody Epitomiz'd*, of 1714.<sup>5</sup> By 1723 the term was well established and it was included in the title of three out of the five tune books thought to be published in England in that year: Robert and John Barber, *A Book of Psalmody*; John Church, *An Introduction to Psalmody*; and Matthew Wilkins, *A Book of Psalmody*.<sup>6</sup>

Some researchers use the phrase 'west gallery music' to refer to this repertory, in particular its more rural elements, but this is an imprecise definition and was invented in 1881 by Thomas Hardy. In *A Laodicean* he describes the tune 'New Sabbath' as belonging to the 'old west-gallery period of church-music, anterior to the great choral reformation and the rule of Monk — that old time when the repetition of a word, or

<sup>3</sup> N. Temperley, 'Psalmody (ii)', *GMO*, ed. L. Macy (2001).

<sup>4</sup> (London, 1713).

<sup>5</sup> (York, 1714).

<sup>6</sup> (London, 1723); (London, [1723]); (Great Milton, [c.1723]).

half-line of a verse, was not considered a disgrace to an ecclesiastical choir'.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps also because of Hardy's earlier tale of country church musicians in *Under the Greenwood Tree*,<sup>8</sup> 'west gallery' may evoke an image of musically-challenged rustics which, although no doubt true in some cases, is patronising and is not the whole story. In the preface to a later edition of *Under the Greenwood Tree*, Hardy regretted that his description of the Mellstock musicians was 'penned so lightly, even so farcically and flippantly at times'.<sup>9</sup> Many Anglican singers and instrumentalists did claim west galleries as their own particular territory but, as will be discussed, a singers' pew could also be located elsewhere in a church, and galleries could be built at other compass points or be privately owned. In most nonconformist denominations the singing involved the whole congregation, wherever they might be seated, and if there was a separate group of musicians, it was more likely to occupy a special singing pew rather than a gallery.

The phrase 'sacred folk song' is also not strictly accurate,<sup>10</sup> although it could be used to describe some psalmody compositions, and 'folk' is another emotive term with misleading implications.<sup>11</sup> Much of the psalmody repertory could perhaps be described as 'vernacular' as opposed to 'art', in the same way that architects distinguish between simple domestic homes and grand stately mansions, but it might be more accurate and less controversial to regard it as a separate genre, which absorbed stylistic elements of both traditional and mainstream art music.<sup>12</sup> To categorise it as art or traditional and to prescribe a matching performing style only succeeds in raising the hackles of one or other camp.

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<sup>7</sup> T. Hardy, *A Laodicean, or The Castle of the de Stancys, a Tale of Today* (London, 1881), 15.

<sup>8</sup> T. Hardy, *Under the Greenwood Tree, a Rural Painting of the Dutch School*, 2 vols (London, 1872).

<sup>9</sup> T. Hardy, *Under the Greenwood Tree, or the Mellstock Quire* (London, 1912), x.

<sup>10</sup> C. Pearce, 'English Sacred Folk Song of the West Gallery Period (c.1695–1820)', *PRMA*, 48 (1921–22), 1–27.

<sup>11</sup> G. Boyes, *The Imagined Village* (Manchester, 1993), 1–18.

'Psalmody', therefore, refers principally to the sacred music used in parish churches and nonconformist chapels and meeting houses, which was often composed specifically for the limited resources and capabilities of non-professional choirs and congregations. As the term implies, metrical psalms (strophic texts based directly on the biblical Psalms of David, which were central to Anglican parish church worship) lie at the heart of its repertory. It also contains hymns (strophic metrical religious texts, used particularly in nonconformist worship); anthems (through-composed prose texts, generally Anglican); set pieces (through-composed metrical texts, usually nonconformist); canticles (liturgical texts such as Te Deum or Magnificat from the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer*, which may be in metre or prose); and carols (Christmas metrical texts which may have traditional roots). It does not include the high art music of Anglican cathedrals, collegiate chapels and the Roman Catholic embassy chapels, since the singers were usually professional, unless pieces from these repertoires were appropriated for amateur use. Provincial Roman Catholic music is also omitted because it was generally limited to plainsong at the period under discussion. Psalmody was sung and played domestically, but evidence of this type of performance is sparse, so the main focus of the dissertation is on the use of music in public places of worship.

There is an enormous variety in the range of music, although staple homophonic psalm and hymn tunes were never totally replaced by later innovations. There is some overlap of repertory between denominations. Anglican church music can be divided into two distinctive styles. Country psalmody was sung unaccompanied until wind and stringed instruments were gradually introduced in the later 1700s. It includes verse anthems, complex fuguing tunes, psalm tunes with short instrumental symphonies, canons and rhythmically chanted prose canticles. In town and city churches the singing

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<sup>12</sup> S. Drage, 'A Reappraisal of Provincial Church Music', *Music in Eighteenth Century Britain*, ed. D. Jones (Aldershot, 2000), 172-190 (p.172).



was often led by charity children accompanied by an organ, so some psalm settings begin with an elaborate ‘giving-out’ and may have interludes between verses. A number of hymns and short anthems were composed for children to sing at special services, for instance charity sermons, which were preached to raise money for philanthropic projects such as hospitals and schools. Methodist psalmody, which was later imitated by other nonconformists, includes ‘parody’ hymn tunes based on popular airs, three-part settings in the fashionable *galant* manner of the period, ‘repeating’ tunes with built-in dynamic contrasts, and Handelian set pieces with orchestral accompaniment written for particular occasions. Some dual-purpose publications were designed for devotional use in both homes and churches, and there are also solo pieces with keyboard accompaniment composed for domestic use.

The choice and function of church music has always been a subject for debate. As worship is reformed or reinterpreted to maintain its relevance, new texts and tunes are created, whereas others lose their resonance and are discarded. Music may be an integral part of a service, a common experience in which all can participate, or it may be performed by a select group, who inspire or irritate congregations depending on their musical skill. Such issues were as much part of psalmody as they are of church music today, and influenced both its development and its decline. In this thesis congregational participation will be considered as another aspect of performance.

## **b. Performance**

Performance is the manner in which any type of music is sung or played. The main elements that will be discussed are the use of voices and instruments, part allocation, tempi, pitching, dynamics and ornamentation. Although the conventions used at the time a work was first written are usually regarded as most valid, performances of the



same music at a later date may also be informative if new stylistic elements such as alterations to tempi, dynamics, voices or instrumentation are introduced.

The most assiduous research into performing practice is always likely to be incomplete. Some details may never have been included in the music or in theoretical treatises because they were regarded as common knowledge, and there are other nuances of performance which cannot be adequately expressed in musical notation. In psalmody, as in the secular art music of the period and as in traditional music up to the present day, some improvisation would have been routine; the choice of tempi, dynamics, articulation and ornamentation was regarded as the responsibility of the performer and so might differ in each performance. Performers, perhaps more particularly if they sang or played by ear, might also improvise harmony or create completely new parts. Also, the only purely instrumental line in many psalmody books was a figured bass, and where a church had an organ the player would have been expected to improvise a chordal accompaniment to support the singing.

The performance of psalmody was inevitably influenced by the skill of singers and instrumentalists. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, contemporary accounts describe poor performing standards and make suggestions for its improvement. Many musicians, at least in rural areas, may have had only rudimentary musical skills and criticism of their performance standards may have been justified. However, it is also possible that commentators could have been intentionally biased. Accusations of poor musicianship may have been used as propaganda to regain control of the psalmody, particularly when there were also concerns that musicians were too independent and chose tunes which made congregational participation impossible. One must consider whether such derogatory descriptions are representative of most performances; they may have been exceptional for them to be considered noteworthy.

The wider philosophical debate on performance, which questions whether modern-day performers should conform to a composer's original intentions (if they can be interpreted), or to the actual practice of the period, or to a more idealised level of performance, is particularly relevant when considering the psalmody repertory. Today, composers whose work is published are protected by copyright laws and expect their music to be reproduced exactly as they originally intended, but we should question whether eighteenth-century psalmodists had the same expectations. Many were peripatetic singing teachers, who sold their books to pupils. Some, such as Michael Beesly and Michael Broome, engraved and printed their own music,<sup>13</sup> or paid to have their music published. 'For the Author' is a common addition to many title-pages,<sup>14</sup> but composers and compilers must have realised that the cost of printed books meant that their music would soon be disseminated in manuscript. Lydia Goehr has argued that the concept of the fixed identity of a musical work did not exist until about 1800,<sup>15</sup> and certainly complaints from psalmody composers that their work had been altered by others do not seem to exist before the late eighteenth century. In 1789, James Leach requested that his tunes and harmony should be copied 'in their present form', and wrote:

It is a common practise to be making perpetual alterations in tunes (which is very unjust as well as unkind to the authors thereof), insomuch that it has introduced great confusion, and one set of singers have been, as it were, barbarians to another choir, almost in the next parish.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Hunter, 'English Country Psalmody', *JRMA* (1990), 220–39 (pp.222–25).

<sup>14</sup> W. East, *The Sacred Melody* (Waltham, 1754); W. Lonsdale, *Twenty Five Psalm or Hymn Tunes* (Manchester, [?1825]); T. Sims, *Fifty Original Psalm and Hymn Tunes* (London, [?1835]).

<sup>15</sup> L. Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (Oxford, 1994), 99–101.

<sup>16</sup> J. Leach, *A New Sett of Hymns and Psalm Tunes* (London, [1789]), [i–ii].

Leach's appeal that his music should be copied exactly as printed may not have been heeded. In the preface to his second psalmody collection he remarked that anyone who altered another's compositions should be made to wear a hat labelled 'Assassin'.<sup>17</sup>

The skills of psalmody composers varied from lowly amateur to highly professional, but all must have known how they would prefer their work to be played and have hoped that musicians would do it justice, even though performance standards may also have been wide-ranging. However, composers would not have expected a work to have always sounded the same. Every performance was a separate entity which varied according to a range of factors, including the types of voices and instruments, the number of performers and their fidelity to the music.

There has been a growing interest in psalmody in recent years, particularly because of the pioneering work of the West Gallery Music Association, founded in 1990, which has been influential in reviving the performance of this repertory. Not all researchers agree on how the music should be performed, for example, whether musicians should adopt approaches derived from traditional or art music, and whether keyboard accompaniment is appropriate. Where there is no continuous performance tradition, a revival may also inadvertently become a reinvention. Even when a repertory such as that of Sacred Harp shape-note singing in the southern states of the USA is still current, it is difficult to know how close modern performances are to those of the nineteenth century. Undocumented change may well have occurred before recordings were made; later musicians may have been influenced by such recordings and may have adapted their own performances to conform with what they have heard. There are many modern recordings of the thriving local carolling tradition from around Sheffield, which

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<sup>17</sup> J. Leach, *A Second Sett of Hymns and Psalm Tunes* (London, [c.1794]). Quoted in J. Leach, *Psalmody [...] Harmonised in compressed Score by J. Butterworth, with a sketch of the Composer's Life and Work by Thomas Newbigging* (London, [1884]), xii.



provide evidence of present-day performance,<sup>18</sup> but although the repertory remains distinctive, few groups still sing in the open air and most have moved into the comfort of local pubs. This has inevitably altered performances to some extent, not least because they may now be accompanied by an electric organ (CD 11). There is also a BBC recording of a group of traditional carol singers from Wool in Dorset made in 1948, which may provide some evidence of a continuous performing tradition (CD 22).<sup>19</sup>

### c. Part names

In most psalmody sources the highest part of the music is described as the ‘treble’, whether it was sung by women, children or even men in falsetto. I have kept the same designation, but I have used the conventional SATB to identify parts. The alto was normally sung by men or perhaps boys. In his ‘*brief Explanation of all the useful Terms*’, John Arnold called it the ‘Second Tenor’ but gave alternatives: ‘Contra, or Contra Tenor, or Cantus, or Altus, or Alto, or Haut-Contra, or Mean, or Medius, or Second Treble’.<sup>20</sup> I have limited my description to the standard ‘countertenor’. According to Stephen Addington, the ‘medius’ is ‘much the same as the Treble, but adapted to Men’s Voices’.<sup>21</sup>

### d. Methodism

Methodism remained part of the evangelical revival within the Church of England until 1795, when it became an independent denomination. I have discussed Methodist psalmody separately because it developed along different lines from Anglican music and because it was more distinctive than the music of other nonconformists.

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<sup>18</sup> [www.villagecarols.org.uk](http://www.villagecarols.org.uk).

<sup>19</sup> British Library, BBC Archive 14661-2.

<sup>20</sup> J. Arnold, *The Compleat Psalmist* (London, 1741), 32.

<sup>21</sup> S. Addington, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes for Publick Worship* ([Market Harborough], 2/1778), iii. No copy of the first edition (1777) is known.



### e. Dating

Exact dating of sources can be difficult so I have referred to both the British Library Integrated Catalogue and to the web version of the *Hymn Tune Index*,<sup>22</sup> which contains some more recent information, as well as to Smith and Humphries.<sup>23</sup> Where there is still some doubt I have given the latest date.

### Methodology

My main intention during my Ph.D. was to study sources systematically. I paid particular attention to the didactic introductions to tune books, working through them chronologically, and compared my findings with evidence from the actual music. I then aimed to support and expand my results by examining other contemporary textual sources.

I decided to focus on the psalmody of provincial England because many important developments occurred away from London and the larger cities, where cathedral music predominated. I omitted other areas of Britain, partly because of the large amount of English material available, but also because of the language problems associated with Welsh psalmody, and because religious conservatism in Scotland and Ireland meant that significant growth in their psalmody was slower and usually followed English developments. For instance, Thomas Moore, a psalmody teacher and compiler from Manchester, was head-hunted by the magistrates and town council of Glasgow in 1755 to 'encourage and promote the improvement of church music', and became precentor of Blackfriars church.<sup>24</sup> With hindsight, it might have been easier to manage material if I had limited my research to a smaller geographical area, but

<sup>22</sup> <http://blpc.bl.uk/catalogues/listings.html>; <http://hymntune.library.uiuc.edu/>.

<sup>23</sup> C. Humphries and W. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles* (Oxford, 1970).

<sup>24</sup> H. Farmer, *A History of Music in Scotland* (London, 1947), 268.

psalmody resources for my home county of Cheshire are poor and the main elements of performing practice are not necessarily restricted to one particular region.

My thesis dates, c.1690 to c.1840, were chosen to reflect the years when provincial psalmody was an integral part of worship, from the development of the first choirs in the last decade of the seventeenth century to the rise of the Oxford Movement in the 1830s.

## Sources

### a. Availability and Choice

The enormous size of the psalmody repertory and the spread of material throughout Britain have made it impossible for me to examine every source, although I have looked at most tune books published between 1690 and 1820. This has been facilitated by the *Hymn Tune Index* which lists the majority of sources from 1535 to 1820,<sup>25</sup> except for a few publications which contain only anthems or service music such as John Alcock's *Six New Anthems* and William Dixon's *Four Services in Score*.<sup>26</sup> The *HTI* does not claim to be comprehensive, though it aims to be,<sup>27</sup> and as new sources are discovered they are gradually being added to the online version. The cut-off date of 1820 for the *HTI* was arbitrary, but it was influenced by the growing number of publications and the decreasing bibliographical control. Therefore, post 1820 is largely uncharted territory and it is more difficult to define the exact number of published psalmody books. I cannot be sure that I have considered every important source, although I have used the chronological lists of hymns and psalms from the published *British Library Catalogue*

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<sup>25</sup> N. Temperley, *HTI*, 3 vols, (Oxford, 1998), I, 108–352.

<sup>26</sup> J. Alcock, *Six New Anthems for Two, Three and Four Voices with Two Hautboys and a Bassoon* (London, [?1795]); W. Dixon, *Four Services in Score* [...] *with Accompaniments for Flutes and Oboes, a Bassoon or Violoncello* (London, [1792]).

<sup>27</sup> Temperley, *HTI* (1998), I, 76.

*of Printed Music*.<sup>28</sup> These lists have been superseded by the online British Library Integrated Catalogue,<sup>29</sup> which includes material acquired since catalogue digitalisation, but which unfortunately does not distinguish such sources and does not have the facility to list large selections of books in chronological order.

A British union catalogue of post-1800 music, perhaps in an online version, is a much-needed resource, otherwise irreplaceable books may disappear before their importance has even been realised. In some cases it is already too late. A number of publications by John Fawcett of Kendal and Bolton, who was one of the most prolific psalmody composers of the early nineteenth century, are no longer extant and, more worryingly, even existing books may not be safe.<sup>30</sup> Liverpool Central Library discarded much of its older music stock including rare local volumes, Chester Archives lost a unique collection of pieces by Richard and Thomas Taylor during its amalgamation with Cheshire Record Office and Bury St Edmunds Archives had no idea that a rare volume of psalmody by Robert Catchpole had been taken from the open shelves, because the card had also been removed from the filing system.

Of necessity, much of my work has been based in the north of England, and the large and eclectic collection in the Henry Watson Music Library in Manchester Central Library has been invaluable. Visits to other repositories, including the British Library; the Bodleian Library; Westminster College, Cambridge; and the Royal College of Music (where the Royal School of Church Music's collection is housed); have provided further insight into the wide variety of printed psalmody. Also, local record offices and archives have supplied access to church documents and a number of manuscript books.

The internet is a rapidly expanding source of information. The Copac National,

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<sup>28</sup> *The Catalogue of Printed Music in the British Library to 1980*, ed. L. Baillie (London, 1981), 123-42, 211-36.

<sup>29</sup> <http://blpc.bl.uk/catalogues/listings.html>.



Academic and Specialist Libraries Catalogue is excellent and the Access to Archives site lists documents from 414 archives throughout England, which are regularly updated and easily searched.<sup>31</sup> Many primary printed sources are now available through participating libraries at Early English Books Online, Eighteenth Century Collections Online and Google Book Search.<sup>32</sup> Unfortunately, many pre-1900 music scores in important collections such as the Bodleian Library, the Henry Watson Music Library in Manchester and the Euing Collection at Glasgow University are still not digitally catalogued.

My choice of music for research has been based largely upon my general knowledge of the repertory. I have paid particular attention to books with didactic introductions, to those which contain new music and to those composed for provincial choirs, especially if they include instrumental parts. Any bias towards northern or midland sources should not necessarily be attributed merely to their accessibility in local libraries and archives; these areas were of particular importance in the early growth of both Anglican and nonconformist psalmody. Some sources have had to be omitted solely because they are inaccessible. For instance, the only extant copy of *A Collection of Tunes usually Sung in Divine Worship* compiled by John Upfold of Tooting is held at the Library of Congress, Washington.<sup>33</sup>

## **b. Music**

The musical scores are of primary importance. They may contain evidence of the part allocation of voices and instruments, tempo indications from time signatures, tempo markings and metronome speeds, dynamic markings and ornamentation. The repertory

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<sup>30</sup> These include three sets of psalm and hymn tunes (4, 5 and 6), and 27 anthems from *The Voice of Harmony* (London, [c.1858]).

<sup>31</sup> <http://copac.ac.uk/>; <http://www.a2a.org.uk/>.

<sup>32</sup> <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>; <http://www.gale.com/EighteenthCentury/>; <http://books.google.co.uk/>.

<sup>33</sup> J. Upfold, *A Collection of Tunes usually Sung in Divine Worship* ([?Tooting], [-1798]); Temperley, *HTI* (1998), I, 335.



is vast. Over a 1000 books of psalmody were published between 1700 and 1850, and there are also at least 100 known manuscripts. The printed version of the *Hymn Tune Index* lists 91,736 metrical psalm and hymn tunes published in England between 1535 and 1820, 12,558 of which were new printings.<sup>34</sup> In addition there are hundreds of anthems and set pieces which still need comprehensive cataloguing.

Modifications in subsequent editions by the original composer or compiler, or arrangements by later editors may provide information on changing styles, as may manuscript additions to printed sources. Pieces in manuscript may be original or may be transcribed either directly from a print or from another manuscript source; where possible, any intentional changes need to be distinguished from copying errors. Dave Townsend has identified three types of manuscripts: 'rough general notebooks', 'master-copy books' and 'part-books'.<sup>35</sup> Of these, 'rough' books are most rare and few part-books survive as these would have had most use, but 'master' books are more common. They would have been treated with greater care and may also have been preserved because they are often in beautiful hand-writing, representing many hours of painstaking work. Their contents vary considerably but it is noticeable that there is little distinction between pieces by amateur and professional composers. It seems that if musicians liked a piece they copied it out, whether it was by Purcell or by the local schoolmaster or parish clerk.<sup>36</sup> Unfortunately, as with published music, there is little evidence (except perhaps well-thumbed pages) to suggest which pieces were actually performed, although repeated printings and copyings do give some indication of

<sup>34</sup> Temperley, *HTI* (1998), I, 59–60.

<sup>35</sup> D. Townsend, 'Processes of Transmission in the Country Psalmody Tradition', *The Gallery Tradition: Aspects of Georgian Psalmody*, Papers from the International Conference organised by The Colchester Institute, August 1995, ed. C. Turner (Ketton, 1997), 27–34 (pp.29–30).

<sup>36</sup> William Pocklington's Lincolnshire manuscript book (1773), author's collection, includes anthems by Purcell, Blow, Clark[e] and Croft, together with pieces by 'Costal' and 'R. Catchpole'. William Costall was schoolmaster and parish clerk at Caythorp in Lincolnshire. Robert Catchpole, schoolmaster and parish clerk at Bury St Edmunds, composed *A Choice Collection of Church Music* (Bury, 1761), and *A Coronation Anthem [...] for the Use of Country Choirs* (London, [1761]).

popularity. The Hymn Tune Index could be used to produce a core repertory of the most popular strophic tunes but anthems and set pieces would be more difficult to assess. (It is possible. Richard Crawford has compiled a core repertory of 101 pieces of American psalmody from 1698 to 1810, which includes a few anthems and set pieces.)<sup>37</sup>

### c. Introductions to Psalmody Tune Books

Treatises on music can be traced back to the Renaissance; it was traditional to quote earlier sources, perhaps to add an aura of respectability. Thomas Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* of 1597 is written as questions and answers between pupil and master, a format copied by psalmodists such as Robert Barber and William Knapp.<sup>38</sup> Morley's *Introduction* was republished in 1771 and the last and ninth edition of Christopher Simpson's *Compendium* of 1775 was still in use at the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>39</sup> The obituary of the Lancashire psalmody composer John Fawcett described it as a 'blind book for a young composer' and noted that he fared better with Joseph Corfe's *Thorough Bass Simplified*.<sup>40</sup> In 1686 an earlier psalmody compiler, William Rogers, included an example of 6/4 time out of 'Mr. Simpson's *Compendium*',<sup>41</sup> and Elias Hall recorded in 1712 that his detractors could only quote Morley whereas he followed Simpson and Playford's 'Compleat Psalmody'.<sup>42</sup> He may have meant Playford's *Whole Book of Psalms*,<sup>43</sup> or, because this does not contain a theoretical introduction, possibly *A Breefe Introduction to the Skill of Musick*. The latter was first published in 1654 and in 18 further editions up to 1730. It contains, depending

<sup>37</sup> *The Core Repertory of Early American Psalmody*, ed. R. Crawford (Madison, 1984).

<sup>38</sup> R. Barber, *The Psalm Singer's Choice Companion: or a Plain and Easy Introduction to Musick* (London, 1727), [5]–17; W. Knapp, *A Sett of New Psalm-Tunes and Anthems* (London, 2/1741), 1–32; also 3rd to 8th editions (1747–[1770]).

<sup>39</sup> T. Morley, *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music [...] as Printed in the year 1597* (London, 1771); C. Simpson, *A Compendium, or Introduction to Practical Music* (London, 9/[?1775]).

<sup>40</sup> 'Death of Mr John Fawcett', *Bolton Chronicle*, 2 November 1867; (London, [?1805]).

<sup>41</sup> [W. Rogers], *A New and Easie Method* (London, 1686), 52. The British Library copy, 1042.d.13, has an unusual musical pedigree. It is inscribed 'J. C. Pepusch' and 'Presented by S<sup>r</sup> John Hawkins, May 30 1778'. After Pepusch's death in 1752 it presumably belonged to Sir John Hawkins, who donated a collection of treatises to the British Museum.

<sup>42</sup> Higson MS, 44 (DCD Elias Hall MS).

<sup>43</sup> J. Playford, *The Whole Book of Psalms [...] Compos'd in Three Parts*, (London, 1677); also ten further editions to 1712 and eight after.



on the edition, extracts from Thomas Campion, Simpson, Edward Lowe and, in translation, from Caccini.<sup>44</sup> In turn, the didactic introductions of early psalmody tune books were commonly based on Playford. Two compilers, Daniel Warner and Henry Hunt (who revised Warner's book), included very few instructions, suggesting instead that singers should use Playford's *Introduction* which, since it was the same size, could be bound with their tune books.<sup>45</sup> It is possible that psalmodists copied from Playford's third edition of 1658 which, for the first time, contained psalm tunes together with brief instructions on how to pitch them 'without *Squeaking* above, or *grumbling* below',<sup>46</sup> a phrase repeated in the introductions to numerous later tune books. Playford's psalm tunes comprise five 'Short HYMNS and PLALMS [sic] fit for the practise of young Learners' in two parts (which were not reprinted in later editions), and 18 'TUNES of the PSALMES As they are commonly Sung in *PARISH-CHURCHES*. With the *Bass* set under each *Tune*, By which they may be Play'd and Sung to the *Organ*, *Virginals*, *Theorbo-Lute*, or *BASS-VIOL*'. Playford selected these 18 tunes for 'those *Parish-Clerks* which live in *Countrey Towns* and *Villages*, where their *Skill* is as small as their *Wages*', because they were better known and so were more likely to be sung by congregations.

The didactic introductions which preface many psalmody tune books before c.1750 were designed to give amateur singers elementary instruction in music theory. They are particularly common in books by singing masters such as William Tans'ur and John Barrow, who sold their own collections to pupils and who, once they had trained singers in a church for a few months, would often move on to another area and leave the new choir to its own devices. The singers would then have to rely on these basic theoretical instructions until the master returned or a new one visited the parish. In

<sup>44</sup> Full details of these editions are given in L. Ruff, 'A Survey of John Playford's "Introduction to the Skill of Musick"', *The Consort*, 22 (1965), 36-48, and R. Herissone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 2000), 251-70.

<sup>45</sup> D. Warner, *A Collection of some Verses out of the Psalms of David* (London, 1694), vi. The claim that this was 'Revised by Mr. Henry Purcell' has not been substantiated; H. Hunt, *A Collection of some Verses out of the Psalms of David* (London, 1698), vi.

Oldham, the psalmody teacher Abraham Hurst started singing classes at the parish church in December 1695 and stayed until about July 1696, when the number of pupils, and consequently his income, began to decline. Before he left the singers were allowed to copy some of his music, which was in manuscript, but they were only able to acquire his theoretical rules by copying them out after they had got him too drunk to notice.<sup>47</sup>

The standard format includes information on how to read music, usually by four-note sol-fa (which abbreviated Guidonian solmization to fa, sol, la, and mi), note lengths, key-signatures, time signatures and their different speeds, the realisation of ornaments and voice production. Other content may include a dictionary of musical terms, advice on how to compose, or a preface giving Biblical and historical reasons for the use of music in church, emphasising the Christian duty and moral advantages of godly singing. Unacknowledged plagiarism, both textual and musical, was common. The preface from John Chetham's *Book of Psalmody* was paraphrased a few years later by Robert and John Barber in their *Book of Psalmody*.<sup>48</sup> They repeated Chetham's didactic introduction almost word for word and most of his diagrams were reproduced exactly. However, to give the Barber brothers their due, this duplication could have been introduced to save time or money by the printer William Pearson, who was responsible for both books.

Most psalmody compilers included some practical instructions in their introductions, but the extent to which this theoretical advice was actually followed is unclear. Many singers and instrumentalists never had access to a printed book, and copies of didactic introductions are rarely included in manuscript tune books. Even if musicians did read the instructions they may have chosen to ignore them, perhaps partly

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<sup>46</sup> J. Playford, *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (London, 3/1658), 44–63.

<sup>47</sup> Higson MS, 6 (DCD Elias Hall MS).

<sup>48</sup> J. Chetham, *A Book of Psalmody* (London, [1717]); R. and J. Barber, *A Book of Psalmody* (London, 1723).



because they were not always easily understood. Consequently, any evidence of performing practice from these introductions needs to be considered in conjunction with other sources.

#### **d. Church Documents**

It is impossible to find full information on the development of provincial psalmody during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Data, including payments to singing teachers and musicians, rules of societies of singers, and the purchase of instruments, strings and reeds, does exist in Anglican churchwardens' accounts (which record yearly expenditure and receipts), vestry minutes (which contain resolutions on church policy) and other church papers, but many documents are now lost. Even if it were possible to examine every extant collection of church records, the evidence would still be incomplete. Detailed documentation may not mention psalmody, perhaps because a church never made discernable changes, or because any alterations were not considered important enough to record for posterity. When musical issues were discussed it was often because problems needed resolving, a circumstance which does not necessarily give a balanced view of the overall situation. Also, the total number of choirs and instrumentalists will never be known. Churches may have relied solely on the parish clerk to lead the singing, and although some required musicians to sign articles, others may have used ad hoc singers and instrumentalists whose participation was never formally ratified.

Most of this archival material is Anglican in origin, partly because there were fewer nonconformist churches in the Georgian period, but also because they were not necessarily obliged to keep detailed records, and any extant documents may not have been deposited systematically. However, some nonconformist material is held at specialist archives such as the Centre for Dissenting Studies at Dr Williams's Library in

London and the Methodist Archives and Research Centre at the John Rylands University Library in Manchester.

### e. Other Primary Documentary Evidence

Diaries and memoirs, especially those written by clergymen or church musicians, may contain valuable descriptions of the state of the psalmody in their own churches. Elias Hall's remarkable account of the growth of the music at St Mary's, Oldham in the early years of the eighteenth century is of particular value.<sup>49</sup> Hall, who compiled *The Psalm Singer's Compleat Companion* in 1708,<sup>50</sup> and who taught psalmody throughout south Lancashire and in parts of Cheshire and Yorkshire, provided detailed information of the foundation and development of the society of singers, as well as of the later problems he encountered. Regrettably, the original document is now apparently lost. Charles Higson, an amateur antiquarian who transcribed it in the late nineteenth century, chose to copy only the parts which referred directly to Oldham, although two more sources which contain quotations from the original are extant: a short typewritten article on church music in Saddleworth,<sup>51</sup> and a mid nineteenth-century collection of transcripts from Lancashire manuscripts by Francis Raines, which includes further details about psalmody in Oldham and Rochdale and two poems by Hall.<sup>52</sup>

Some composers, including Edward Miller, David Ford and William Cole, wrote specifically on psalmody;<sup>53</sup> the latter has proved to be a particularly fruitful source of information on nonconformist practice. Also, the journals of mainstream musicians such as the gentleman composer, John Marsh and the physician Claver Morris, provide

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<sup>49</sup> Higson MS, 1–68 (DCD Elias Hall MS).

<sup>50</sup> E. Hall, *The Psalm-Singer's Compleat Companion* (London, 1708).

<sup>51</sup> Oldham Local Studies and Archives, YR:F2, loose typescript: 'Saddleworth Musicians and Singers', attributed to Miss Harpur of Woodbrook, ?early 20th century.

<sup>52</sup> GB-Mch, The Raines Bequest, vol. 36: Lancashire Manuscripts, mid-19th century.

<sup>53</sup> E. Miller, *Thoughts on the Present Performance of Psalmody* (London, 1791); D. Ford, *Observations on Psalmody by a Composer* (London, 1827); W. Cole, *A View of Modern Psalmody, being an Attempt to Reform the Practice of Singing in the Worship of God* (Colchester, 1819).

valuable insight into the musical activities of accomplished amateurs.<sup>54</sup> Further information, especially when there was conflict between the musicians and the church authorities, can be found in the diaries of Anglican clergymen such as William Cole of Bletchley, Buckinghamshire;<sup>55</sup> William Holland, of Over Stowey and Monkton Farley near Bath;<sup>56</sup> John Skinner of Camerton, also in Somerset;<sup>57</sup> and Parson James Woodforde of Castle Cary, Somerset and later of Weston Longeville, Norfolk.<sup>58</sup> The most complete Methodist source is John Wesley's journal, in which he recorded performances of psalmody, whether or not he approved.<sup>59</sup> In general, however, nonconformist diarists do not seem to have been particularly concerned with church music. There are two notable exceptions, both dating from the beginning of the twentieth century. Isaac Smith, a Baptist church musician and farmer, who played the violin for services until 1902, described sixty years of music in village chapels around Hugglescote, Leicestershire, in 'My Fiddle and I'.<sup>60</sup> 'My Life and Times' is by Moses Heap from Rawtenstall in Lancashire, who knew the last generation of an informal society of Baptist musicians, the Larks of Dean.<sup>61</sup> They flourished in Rossendale, Lancashire, between about 1740 and 1870, and Heap also transcribed a large collection of their music.<sup>62</sup>

From the late seventeenth century numerous sermons were preached on the lawfulness and benefits of church music, particularly during the Three Choirs Festival at

<sup>54</sup> *The John Marsh Journals: The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer (1752-1828)* ed. B. Robins (Stuyvesant NY, 1998); *The Diary of a West Country Physician, AD 1684-1726*, ed. E. Hobhouse (London, 1934).

<sup>55</sup> *The Blecheley Diary of the Rev. William Cole 1765-67*, ed. F. Stokes (London, 1931).

<sup>56</sup> *Paupers and Pig Killers. The Diary of William Holland, A Somerset Parson 1799-1818*, ed. J. Ayres (Harmondsworth, 1986).

<sup>57</sup> *Journal of a Somerset Rector, 1803-1834*, ed. H. and P. Coombs (Bath, 1971).

<sup>58</sup> *The Diary of a Country Parson 1758-1802*, ed. J. Beresford (Oxford, 1978).

<sup>59</sup> *The Works of John Wesley (1765-85)*, ed. W. Ward and R. Heitzenrater, 24 vols (Nashville, 1988-2003).

<sup>60</sup> I. Smith, 'My Fiddle and I', 1903, unpaginated transcript, author's collection. The whereabouts of the original unknown, but is thought to be in private ownership in America.

<sup>61</sup> Rawtenstall Library, RC 942 ROS: M. Heap, 'My Life and Times', 1904, typescript, 1961.

<sup>62</sup> Rossendale Museum, SM-10: M. Heap, '255 Tunes as sung by the Deighn Layrocks', c.1880-94.



Gloucester, Hereford or Worcester. Most of these naturally concentrated more on the quality of cathedral music,<sup>63</sup> but sermons in support of instrumental music were also preached in parish churches. These include John Newte's defence of the organ when, after ten years, he managed to get one installed at Tiverton, and William Jones's *The Nature and Excellence of Music* preached at the opening of a new organ at Nayland in 1787.<sup>64</sup> Other clergymen such as William Vincent, later Dean of Westminster, and William Romaine, a leading Evangelical, attempted to reform psalmody by writing tracts, whereas John Antes Latrobe, son of the composer Christian Ignatius Latrobe, produced a complete treatise.<sup>65</sup>

#### f. Subsidiary Evidence

Possible iconographical evidence can be found in a number of drawings and paintings of choirs, although these may only give a general indication of circumstances. Caricatures are usually distorted and accuracy may be subject to aesthetic considerations (DCD choir caricature). Examples include a drawing of singers and instrumentalists in the gallery of Dorking church in 1788 by John Nixon (DCD 'Dorking choir'; Thomas Webster's well-known painting, 'A village choir', c.1840, which is thought to depict the choir at Bow Brickhill in Buckinghamshire (DCD Webster painting); George Clarke's watercolour of Lamport church choir in about 1850; and a cartoon of Yetminster church choir in 1835.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> H. Abbot, *The Use and Benefit of Church-Musick [...] preach'd in the Cathedral-Church of Gloucester* (London, 1724); G. Lavington, *The Influence of Church-Music, a Sermon preach'd in the Cathedral Church of Worcester* (London, 1725).

<sup>64</sup> J. Newte, *The Lawfulness and Use of Organs in the Christian Church* (London, 1696); W. Jones, *The Nature and Excellence of Music* (London, 1787).

<sup>65</sup> W. Vincent, *Considerations on Parochial Music* (London, 1787); W. Romaine, *An Essay on Psalmody* (London, 1775); J. Latrobe, *The Music of the Church* (London, 1831).

<sup>66</sup> Private collection. Illustration in N. Temperley, 'Psalms, Metrical, III', *GMO*, ed. L. Macy (2001); Victoria and Albert Museum; Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire; Dorset County Record Office, PE/YET/IN 4/1.



References to psalmody also occur in literature. Some of these were discussed by Gillian Warson in a paper given at the first Georgian Psalmody conference in 1995.<sup>67</sup> She credits them with the same validity as non-fictional sources such as diaries, and does not consider that the satirical descriptions of rustic musicians by William Cowper and Washington Irving, and even the more gentle stories of Thomas Hardy need to be treated with some caution as they may be stereotypical or exaggerated.<sup>68</sup> Other authors who mention Anglican village church music include Thomas Hughes, who, to illustrate the 'great church-music question', derided the gallery musicians and contrasted them with the choir of children who sang the 'liveliest chant in their collection'; Samuel Butler, who, in *The Way of all Flesh*, told of the replacement of the band by a harmonium as in Hardy's *Under the Greenwood Tree*; and Charlotte Yonge, who ironically headed the tenth chapter of *Chantry House* 'Our Tuneful Choir'.<sup>69</sup>

Nonconformist church music is also mentioned in novels. There is a vivid account of an open-air camp meeting in George Borrow's largely-autobiographical *Lavengro* and in *Shirley*, Charlotte Bronte described a Wesleyan prayer-meeting which nearly raised the roof.<sup>70</sup> Further descriptions are included in the works of George Eliot and Elizabeth Gaskell, although the humorous portrayal of the Church of the Quivering Brethren in Stella Gibbons's *Cold Comfort Farm* can probably be disregarded.<sup>71</sup> Stories in Lancashire dialect became fashionable in the late-nineteenth century and a surprising

<sup>67</sup> G. Warson, 'The English Choir-Band in Literature' *The Gallery Tradition*, ed. Turner (1997), 9-15.

<sup>68</sup> 'Letter from Mr. Village', *The Works of William Cowper*, ed. R. Southey, 8 vols (London, 1854), IV, 380-84; W. Irving, *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.* (New York, 1819-20); T. Hardy, 'Old Andrey's Experience as a Musician'; 'Absent-mindedness in a Parish Choir', *Life's Little Ironies: a Set of Tales with some Colloquial Sketches entitled a Few Crusted Characters* (London, 1894), 223-237; 238-242.

<sup>69</sup> T. Hughes, *Tom Brown at Oxford* (Cambridge, 1861; New York and London, 1897), 173-77; S. Butler, *The Way of All Flesh* (London, 1903; New York, 2004), 48-49; C. Yonge, *Chantry House* (London, 1886; London and New York, 1889), 73-81.

<sup>70</sup> G. Borrow, *Lavengro; the Scholar, the Gypsy, the Priest* (London, 1851), 161-63; C. Bronte, *Shirley* (London, 1849), 158-160.

<sup>71</sup> G. Eliot, *Scenes of Clerical Life* (Edinburgh and London, 1858); *Adam Bede* (Edinburgh and London, 1859); E. Gaskell, *Ruth* (London, 1853); S. Gibbons, *Cold Comfort Farm* (London, 1932; Harmondsworth, 1995), 95-97.

number contain references to psalmody, including ‘Clogden sing’ by John Clegg, which describes a singing rehearsal for an anniversary service, and ‘Heaw we sung th’ Kesmas hymn in the olden time’ by Ben Brierley, which is a Lancastrian version of *Under the Greenwood Tree*.<sup>72</sup>

## Literature Review

Towards the end of the nineteenth century a few musicologists such as Francis Galpin and John Curwen began to investigate the last remaining country choirs and bands before they died out completely.<sup>73</sup> Curwen had already written a comprehensive history of English, Scottish and New England psalmody in his *Studies in Worship Music*, which is notable for its description of the use of music in London churches of all denominations and also for a bibliography of nearly 700 titles in the second edition.<sup>74</sup> The work of Curwen and Galpin was continued by other researchers including Percy Scholes, who wrote endearingly of both English and American psalmody in his *Oxford Companion to Music*; Charles Pearce, who seems to have been the first person after Hardy to use the term ‘west gallery’; and Kenneth MacDermott, who does not always give references, in *Sussex Church Music in the Past* and *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels*.<sup>75</sup> (These can usually be found in his scrapbook collections which were the basis for his books.)<sup>76</sup>

<sup>72</sup> J. Clegg (‘Th’Owd Weaver’), ‘Clogden Sing’, *Sketches and Rhymes in the Rochdale District* (Rochdale, 1895), 421–34; B. Brierley, ‘Heaw we Sung th’ Kesmas Hymn in the Olden Time’, “*Ab-o’th’-Yate*” *Sketches and Other Short Stories*, 3 vols (Oldham 1896), I, 242–51.

<sup>73</sup> F. Galpin, ‘The Village Church Band, an Interesting Survival’, *Musical News*, 5 (1893), 31–32, 56–58; J. Curwen, ‘The Old Village Musicians’, *Strand Musical Magazine*, 3 (1897), 137–39.

<sup>74</sup> 1st series (London, 2/[1888]).

<sup>75</sup> (Oxford, 1938); C. Pearce, ‘English Sacred Folk Song’, *PMA* (1921–22), 1–27; (Chichester, 1922); (London, 1948).

<sup>76</sup> GB-Lbl, Add. 47775A–B: K.H. MacDermott, ‘The Old Church Gallery Minstrels’, 2 vols, 1934–52; Sussex Archaeological Society Library, Barbican House, Mis. 6 (1–2): K.H. MacDermott, ‘Sussex church music in the past’, scrapbook, 2 vols, c.1910–30.

The newsletter and website of the West Gallery Music Association contain some useful articles and the organisation has published a worthwhile summary of the genre for modern performing groups.<sup>77</sup> Another book in a similar style is Harry Woodhouse's *Face the Music: Church and Chapel Bands in Cornwall*, which includes a great deal of local information and which was written to 'get people interested in the church gallery minstrels' and to redress the impression given by MacDermott that they were more prevalent in Sussex than anywhere else.<sup>78</sup> Information on instruments used in psalmody can be found in Boston and Langwill's *Church and Chamber Barrel-Organs*, which documents the replacement of church bands with barrel organs and includes a gazetteer of extant instruments, both band and barrel, together with fourteen barrel tune lists.<sup>79</sup>

There has also been some research into the theoretical introductions to tune books. At a meeting of the Royal Musical Association in 1900, Sir John Stainer read a paper in which he concentrated almost exclusively on the various methods of sol-fa, with the majority of his examples taken from before 1700.<sup>80</sup> The teaching methods used by psalmodists, which are beyond the scope of this thesis, were considered by Bernarr Rainbow in *English Psalmody Prefaces: popular methods of teaching 1562–1835*.<sup>81</sup> His work is limited because it only examines seven Anglican sources, though it does provide a basic overview of the use of sol-fa. Further discussion on early didactic introductions can be found in Rebecca Herissone's extensive study, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England*, which deals primarily with the theory of composition but also contains some information on the notation of time and pitch.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>77</sup> [www.wgma.org.uk](http://www.wgma.org.uk); R. Woods, *Good Singing Still: A Handbook of West Gallery Music* (Ironbridge, 1995).

<sup>78</sup> (St Austell, 1997), vii.

<sup>79</sup> N. Boston and L. Langwill, *Church and Chamber Barrel-Organs: Their Origin, Makers, Music and Location. A Chapter in English Church Music* (Edinburgh, 1967).

<sup>80</sup> J. Stainer, 'On the Musical Introductions found in certain Metrical Psalters', *PMA*, 27th Sess. (1900–1901), 1–50.

<sup>81</sup> (Kilkenny, 1982).

<sup>82</sup> (Oxford, 2000).



Apart from the distinguished pioneering work of Nicholas Temperley, serious academic research into English psalmody is still uncommon. Whereas Americans have studied their church music in great detail and have produced a large body of literature, English musicologists have generally dismissed psalmody as unworthy of serious consideration. Indeed, one of the first books to examine it in depth was written by two American academics.<sup>83</sup> Christopher Dearnley is an exception as he did include a chapter on “Parochial Musick” in *English Church Music 1650-1750*, in which he discussed the concerns about poor performing standards and noted that the results of Temperley’s researches were soon to be published.<sup>84</sup> More typically, Kenneth Long’s history of *The Music of the English Church* of 1972, which covers the period from the Reformation to the twentieth century, devotes a mere eleven pages out of 420 to eighteenth and early-nineteenth parish church music. In most of these he is disparaging, although he does admit that ‘Our knowledge is not very detailed and considerable research remains to be done’.<sup>85</sup> Seven years later, Temperley addressed this gap. His ground-breaking book, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, is still the only comprehensive secondary source of information on Anglican church music from 1534 to the 1970s,<sup>86</sup> and his many subsequent journal articles and later writings have expanded issues raised in this book.<sup>87</sup> His work is so important that any later writer on the same subject must, from necessity, cover much of the same material, although perhaps not in the same detail or lucid prose. However, Ruth Wilson’s history of Anglican chant does incorporate new research into the liturgical use of chant in both town and country parish churches.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> E. Wienandt and R. Young, *The Anthem in America and England* (New York and London, 1970).

<sup>84</sup> C. Dearnley, *English Church Music 1650–1750, in Royal Chapel, Cathedral and Parish Church* (London, 1970), 143.

<sup>85</sup> (London, 1972), 231–34, 325–31.

<sup>86</sup> Temperley, *MEPC*, 2 vols (1979).

<sup>87</sup> N. Temperley, ‘The Origins of the Fuging Tune’, *RMARC*, 17 (1981), 1–32; ‘The Lock Hospital and its Music’, *JRMA*, 118 (1993), 44–72.

<sup>88</sup> R. Wilson, *Anglican Chant and Chanting in England, Scotland, and America, 1660–1820* (Oxford, 1996).

Other commentators include Hugh Keyte and Andrew Parrott, who, in *The New Oxford Book of Christmas Carols*, provided editorial notes to twelve 'gallery' carols together with substantial appendices.<sup>89</sup> David Hunter has unravelled some of the bibliographical problems caused by itinerant singing teachers who compiled and sold their own collections, but retained the same title while changing the contents.<sup>90</sup>

At present, there is no comparable work on nonconformist music, although Carlton Young has compiled a comprehensive anthology of early Methodist sources,<sup>91</sup> and Temperley's 'Historical Introduction' to the *HTI*, and his many articles in *New Grove*, provide an excellent summary.<sup>92</sup> James Lightwood's books on Methodist hymnology contain helpful insights, as does his more general *Hymn-Tunes and their Story*, but he tends to dwell on anecdotes, which frustrates later researchers because there is a lack of source references.<sup>93</sup>

University theses on psalmody are rare. Vic Gammon was concerned principally with the social history of music making, but he did discuss the changing style of church music,<sup>94</sup> and his recent online article 'Problems in the Performance and Historiography of English Popular Church Music' raises some pertinent issues which will be discussed later.<sup>95</sup> Stephen Weston's dissertation is a broad study of local composers and the development of instrumental use in Northamptonshire, together with transcripts of

<sup>89</sup> (Oxford, 1992).

<sup>90</sup> D. Hunter, 'English Country Psalmody and their Publications 1700–1760', *JRMA*, 115 (1990), 220–39.

<sup>91</sup> C. Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* (Carol Stream IL., 1995)

<sup>92</sup> Temperley, *HTI* (Oxford, 1998), I, 14–22; N. Temperley, 'Music of the Congregational Church'; 'Methodist Church Music'; 'Psalms, Metrical, I, III, V', *GMO*, ed. L. Macy (2001).

<sup>93</sup> J. Lightwood, *Methodist Music in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1927); *Stories of Methodist Music* (London, 1928); *The Music of the Methodist Hymn-Book* (London, 1935); (London, [1905]).

<sup>94</sup> V. Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society: Sussex 1815–1914', Ph.D. thesis (University of Sussex, 1985).

<sup>95</sup> *Radical Musicology*, 1 (2006), [www.radical-musicology.org.uk/](http://www.radical-musicology.org.uk/).



churchwardens' accounts.<sup>96</sup> Inevitably, there is some information in common with Temperley. Much of the same material has also been researched independently by Hilary Davidson, whose *Choirs, Bands and Organs A History of Church Music in Northamptonshire and Rutland* has a wider timespan and includes details on organs up to the present day, but does not discuss churches which never had an organ.<sup>97</sup> Methodist psalmody has also attracted academic research. Janet Morgan's M.Mus. examines an important early tune book, Thomas Butts's *Harmonia Sacra*, and Martin Clarke's recent Ph.D. analyzes the theological and aesthetic implications of eighteenth-century Methodist music in comparison with John Wesley's musical and theological values.<sup>98</sup>

The doctoral dissertations of Bennett Zon and Thomas Muir provide significant insight into eighteenth and nineteenth English Roman Catholic music, but this is outside the scope of my research.<sup>99</sup> Fenella Bazin, and more especially Francis Roads, have both written theses which cover Manx psalmody.<sup>100</sup> Again, I have not referred to these because the Isle of Man is beyond my chosen geographical boundaries.

There are also at least three Ph.D. theses in progress on eighteenth and nineteenth church music. At Nottingham University Kate Holland is working on the social history of Anglican choir bands in the east midlands, Blaise Compton is researching eighteenth-century psalmody anthems at the Open University and Shelagh

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<sup>96</sup> S. Weston, 'The Instrumentation and Music of the Church Choir-Band in Eastern England, with Particular Reference to Northamptonshire, during the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', Ph.D. thesis (University of Leicester, 1995).

<sup>97</sup> (Oxford, 2003).

<sup>98</sup> J. Morgan, 'The Sources of *Harmonia-Sacra* c.1760', M.Mus. thesis (University of Manchester, 2003); M. Clarke, 'John Wesley and Methodist Music in the Eighteenth Century: Principles and Practice', Ph.D. thesis (University of Durham, 2008).

<sup>99</sup> B. Zon, 'Plainchant in the eighteenth-century Roman Catholic Church in England (1737–1834): an examination of surviving printed and manuscript sources; with particular reference to the work of John F. Wade', D. Phil. thesis (University of Oxford, 1993); T. Muir, 'Full in the Panting Heart of Rome': Roman Catholic Church Music in England: 1850–1962', Ph.D. thesis (University of Durham, 2004).

<sup>100</sup> F. Bazin, 'Music in the Isle of Man up to 1896', Ph.D. thesis (University of Liverpool, 1995); F. Roads, 'The Colby Manuscripts: West Gallery Church Music from the Southern Isle of Man.', Ph.D. thesis (University of Liverpool, 2002).



Noden has just begun to study Roman Catholic music in nineteenth century Scotland at the University of Aberdeen.

Psalmody is also acquiring some respectability as a topic for conference papers, and to date there have been two conferences devoted solely to 'Georgian Psalmody' organised by the Colchester Institute in 1995 and 1997.<sup>101</sup> The conflicting views of researchers on psalmody versus west gallery music have already been mentioned, and the two sets of papers from these conferences provide particular insight into different approaches to the performance of this repertory.<sup>102</sup>

There is no specific book dedicated to the performance practice of English music in the eighteenth-century. Robert Toft describes the vocal performance of art music, and Clive Brown considers the broader performance spectrum of European music,<sup>103</sup> but the work of both these authors, though of value to musicologists and performers alike, focuses on the interpretation of mainstream art music, a sophisticated style which would have been over the heads of most psalmody practitioners. Of more general value is Robert Donington's handbook, which is a practical guide to stylistic references in original sources.<sup>104</sup>

This literature review is not exhaustive. There are numerous references to psalmody (although few describe it as such) in histories of the church,<sup>105</sup> and church music;<sup>106</sup> in social studies of English music;<sup>107</sup> and in books on local music and

<sup>101</sup> *The Gallery Tradition*, ed. C. Turner (1997); *Georgian Psalmody 2: The Interaction Between Urban and Rural Practice*, Papers from the Second International Conference organised by The Colchester Institute, ed. C. Turner (Corby Glen, 1999).

<sup>102</sup> S. Drage, 'Performance Practice in 18th-century Georgian Psalmody'; V. Gammon, 'The Performance Style of West Gallery Music', *The Gallery Tradition* ed. Turner (1997), 35-41; 43-51.

<sup>103</sup> R. Toft, *Heart to Heart: Expressive Singing in England, 1780-1830* (Oxford, 2000); C. Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice, 1750-1900* (Oxford, 1999).

<sup>104</sup> R. Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music* (London, 6/1974).

<sup>105</sup> C. Abbey and J. Overton, *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols (London, 1878); H. Davies *Worship and Theology in England from Watts and Wesley to Maurice, 1690-1850* (Princeton and Oxford, 1961); O. Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, 2 vols (London, 1966, 1970); D. Speath, *The Church in an Age of Danger: Parsons and Parishioners, 1660-1740* (Cambridge, 2000).

<sup>106</sup> D. Adelman, *The Contribution of Cambridge Ecclesiologists to the Revival of Anglican Choral Worship 1839-62* (Aldershot, 1998).

musicians.<sup>108</sup> There are also many journal articles on the history of English church music and its composers,<sup>109</sup> and on hymnology, especially by Nicholas Temperley and Maurice Frost.<sup>110</sup>

## The Current State of Research

The size of the psalmody repertory is remarkable and, despite the extent of the *HTI*, new sources from before 1820 are still being discovered. (I recently found a previously unknown book in the University of Leeds Brotherton Library online catalogue.)<sup>111</sup> The total number of post-1820 psalmody volumes is unidentified, although an extension to the *HTI* is at the final planning stage. Printed sources are generally more accessible than manuscripts because larger libraries, such as the Bodleian, the British Library and the Henry Watson Music Library in Manchester all hold substantial collections, and online access to sources has improved enormously.<sup>112</sup> Consequently, it is becoming easier to gain a clear overview of the contents of published sources and to begin to study them in greater detail, although more facsimiles would still be useful. Unlike America, where psalmody research has been academically acceptable for much longer, we have only just

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<sup>107</sup> E. Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music* (London and Toronto, 1964); R. Nettel, *The Englishman Makes Music* (London, 1951).

<sup>108</sup> R. Elbourne, *Music and Tradition in Early Industrial Lancashire 1780–1840* (Woodbridge, 1980); F. Fowler, *Edward Miller, Organist of Doncaster: His Life and Times* (Doncaster, 1979); R. McGrady, *Music and Musicians in Early Nineteenth-Century Cornwall* (Exeter, 1991); R. Wylie, *Old Hymn Tunes: Local Composers and their Story* ([Accrington], 1924).

<sup>109</sup> E. Axon, 'John Chetham, of Chetham's Psalmody', *Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 33 (1916), 201–04; G. Townsend, 'A Devonshire Worthy: William Jackson, of Exeter', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 14 (1882), 695–701; W. Shaw, 'English Parish Church Music', *MT*, 121 (1980), 314–16; P. Young, 'A Village Choir in the Age of Reform, 1848–58', *MT*, 128 (1987), 225–29.

<sup>110</sup> N. Temperley, 'Kindred and Affinity in Hymn Tunes', *MT*, 113 (1972), 905–09; 'The Old Way of Singing', *MT*, 120 (1979), 943–47. M. Frost, 'A Bibliographical Question of Interest: Matthew Wilkin's Book of Psalmody', *The Hymn Society Bulletin*, 1 (1945), 6–7; 'Harmonia-Sacra by Thomas Butts', 2 pts. *The Hymn Society Bulletin*, 3 (1952), 67–71; 3 (1953), 73–79.

<sup>111</sup> W. Langhorne, *Psalmody* ([?Boston?, [1733]).

<sup>112</sup> <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>; <http://www.gale.com/EighteenthCentury/>.

begun to make critical editions. Hopefully, the recent *Musica Britannica* volume of eighteenth-century psalmody will be only the first of other equally extensive editions.<sup>113</sup>

Manuscripts are more complicated. It is perhaps less easy to judge their overall importance, and it is definitely impossible to identify their contents until printed sources are thoroughly understood. Access to manuscript sources can be problematic, because although diligent searching of most record office and archive catalogues usually results in the discovery of one or two books, the listing is often unclear, and it may not be possible to acquire copies for further research. At present Lincolnshire is the only county archive to add any psalmody books to the Cecilia database, which includes music collections in British and Irish archives, libraries and museums.<sup>114</sup> Some manuscripts are catalogued on the Access to Archives website, but this is difficult to search using general terms, because descriptions of sources vary according to individual repositories.<sup>115</sup> The coverage of manuscripts in RISM is also incomplete; it does not have a separate category for psalmody and stops at 1800.<sup>116</sup>

Research into psalmody has still only skimmed the surface. There are few scholarly works and many uncharted areas, but hopefully its growing academic credibility will soon increase the depth of our knowledge.

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<sup>113</sup> N. Temperley and S. Drage, *Eighteenth-Century Psalmody*, *Musica Britannica*, 85 (London, 2007).

<sup>114</sup> <http://www.cecilia-uk.org/html/>.

<sup>115</sup> <http://www.a2a.org.uk/>.

<sup>116</sup> <http://www.rism.org.uk/>.



## Chapter 1: Psalmody: The Historical and Social Context

### Introduction

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries developments in psalmody would mirror social and religious change. Roy Porter has commented that ‘Georgian piety [...] ambled along with society’ and that while Anglicanism was the squirearchy at prayer, Methodism and ‘New Dissent’ recruited ‘down the social order [...] winning artisans in fast-growing industrial areas’.<sup>1</sup>

England in the late seventeenth century was still a rural society. Only about a fifth of the population lived in towns, and the majority worked in agriculture or cottage industries. Apart from London, there were few large regional centres, and most market towns had no more than one or two thousand inhabitants. Village parish churches were often poorly attended, and many clergy, who were usually of a considerably higher social status than their parishioners and far better educated, were pluralists or absentees. In many churches worship had become superficial and even irreverent, and the standard of psalm singing was extremely low.

A high-church clergyman Thomas Bray noted that ‘the ill singing of our Psalms in Country-Churches, makes the better sort of People indeed nauseate it, and all to despise it’,<sup>2</sup> and Temperley has commented that most English gentlemen preferred to have nothing to do with parish church music. It had an ‘unsavoury odour of democracy’, and so they left the singing to their inferiors. Once the clergy began to share this ‘aristocratic indifference’, it was the ‘decisive factor that led to the almost

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<sup>1</sup> R. Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (Harmondsworth, 1982), 182–83.

<sup>2</sup> T. Bray, *An Appendix to the Discourse upon the Doctrine of our Baptismal Covenant* (London, 1699), [vi–vii].

complete separation of psalmody from cultivating influences, including that of art music'.<sup>3</sup>

As always, there are quite a few exceptions. In 1695 at St Nicholas, Liverpool, the psalm singers who wished to sit together included 'several gentlemen',<sup>4</sup> and at Cuckfield in 1699, at least three 'Esq.'s paid to sing in the new gallery.<sup>5</sup> There was also one 'gentleman' in the choir at Oldbury-on-Seven in 1742,<sup>6</sup> and at least one singer at Rushton Spencer, near Leek in Staffordshire, was apparently of higher standing. The initials 'W. A. Esq.' and 'W. A. Esqr' appear among those on seats in the singers' gallery. It is possible that the singer concerned moved seats, or that there were two 'W. A. Esqr's who may have been related. Nigel Tringham suggests that the initials belonged to William Arnett, who was sheriff of Staffordshire in 1764 and lived in the neighbouring village of Heaton.<sup>7</sup>

Perhaps more surprisingly, two or three 'gentlewomen', the Miss Tetlows from Middleton, Lancashire learnt to sing there in 1695, although there is no record of an actual choir at the church. Elias Hall noted that they were 'excellent players on instruments, having learned psalmody at Middleton, before we began at Oldham'. Presumably they were taught by the itinerant psalmodist Abraham Hurst who had trained singers at Bolton and Middleton, before he arrived at Oldham in December, 1695.<sup>8</sup> When Edmund Tetlow, 'gentleman, of Fog Lane', died in 1716, he was survived

<sup>3</sup> N. Temperley, *MEPC*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1979), I, 87.

<sup>4</sup> H. Peet, 'St Nicholas's Church, Liverpool: Its Architectural History', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 65 (1913), 12-46 (p.23).

<sup>5</sup> 'Timothy Burrell, Esq.' and 'Wm Board, Esq.' are noted in MacDermott's extracts from the gallery rules, and Burrell and 'Charles Sergison, Esq.' are listed in W. V. Cooper, *A History of the Parish of Cuckfield* (Haywards Heath, 1912), 55.

<sup>6</sup> GB-GLr, D4764 2/1: Oldbury Singers' Agreement, 1742.

<sup>7</sup> N.J. Tringham, 'The Psalm Singers of Rushton Spencer', *Staffordshire Studies*, 10 (1998), 49-57.

<sup>8</sup> Higson MS, 4, 5, 21 (DCD Elias Hall MS).

by three daughters, Anne, Mary and Elizabeth,<sup>9</sup> but nothing further is known of their musical activities.

## General Background

### a. Religion

From the start of the Civil War in 1642 to the Glorious Revolution and the accession of William and Mary in 1688-89, England had been involved in a period of considerable political and religious upheaval, and it was difficult for ordinary people to know how they were expected to worship. In 1644 the Puritan Assembly of Divines at Westminster prescribed a Presbyterian religious system. At least on paper, this banned the Church of England and Roman Catholicism, and abolished the *Book of Common Prayer* and the celebration of Christmas and Easter. Charles II at first attempted to reform the Church of England and make it acceptable to the more moderate Puritans, but eventually he assented to the Act of Uniformity in 1662. All clergy had to take an oath of allegiance to the King and accept the complete *Book of Common Prayer*. Consequently, more than two thousand ministers refused and lost their livings. His brother, James II, a Roman Catholic, failed to persuade Parliament to grant equal status to Catholics but did issue a Declaration of Indulgence in an attempt to win support from dissenters. They, however, were unimpressed and supported William of Orange, who at last granted them some statutory security in 1689. The Toleration Act allowed all nonconformist ministers to conduct services in licensed places of worship, providing they agreed with the basic doctrines set out in the Thirty-nine Articles. Also, as Temperley has noted, the decision of four hundred high-church non-jurors not to sign

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<sup>9</sup> J.D. Tetlow, *The Tetlows of Hollinwood, Oldham, in the County of Lancaster. An Excursion into Family History* (?Dinas Powys, 1989), 12.



the oath of allegiance meant that 'the Church was purged of conscientious extremists at either end, and came to a time of broad agreement and toleration in religious matters, which was reflected in the relative stability of worship practice during the eighteenth century'.<sup>10</sup>

### b. Secular Music

Eighteenth-century England is no longer regarded as a 'land without music', nor as dependent on the musical skills of foreigners.<sup>11</sup> With a stable government and growing international trade, London became a centre of culture, which attracted foreign musicians such as J. C. Bach, Geminiani and, of course, Handel. There was a new middle class that had money and leisure to attend operas and concerts, and to study music for pleasure. Music and dancing masters can be found in many trade directories, and the large number of music and instrumental tutors published for amateur use suggests that private music making flourished. Series of subscription concerts were held in many larger provincial towns and cities including Salisbury, Norwich, Leicester, Sheffield and Newcastle upon Tyne, and, at least in East Anglia, small towns, such as Beccles, Fakenham, Swaffham, and Wymondham also supported concert series.<sup>12</sup>

Occasionally, important concerts even occurred in villages. At Great Warley in Essex, the psalmody composer John Arnold opened a 'New Music-Assembly-Room' where on 27 October 1763 the installation of a 'fine new Organ' was celebrated with a 'grand Morning-Concert of Musick by some of the best Performers from London'.<sup>13</sup>

Thirty-one years later to the day at Sheen, Staffordshire, the opening of an organ was advertised with a 'Festival of Music' by Handel, at which the 'Orchestra will consist of

<sup>10</sup> Temperley, *MEPC* (1979), I, 85.

<sup>11</sup> P. Holman, 'Eighteenth-Century English Music: Past, Present, Future', *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. D. Jones (Aldershot, 2000), 1-13; *The Eighteenth Century*, The Blackwell History of Music in Britain, ed. H. Johnstone and R. Fiske, 6 vols (Oxford, 1990), IV.

<sup>12</sup> S. Sadie, 'Concert Life in Eighteenth Century England', *PRMA*, 85 (1958-59), 17-30 (p.22).

a numerous Company, from the Best Country Choirs' (DCD Sheen advertisement).<sup>14</sup> However, it is possible that this never took place, or the organ may only have been a short-term measure. There is no reference to an organist or an organ blower in the churchwardens' accounts, although William Higginbottom was paid a guinea a year for playing the bass viol from 1786 until 1801, and in 1829 the Sheen singers signed an agreement stating that the violoncello, violin and clarinet, which had been purchased from funds 'provided by Christmas collections', belonged to churchwardens and not to the singers, either individually or collectively.<sup>15</sup>

There were also many secular musical societies for amateurs, such as the 'Society for Musicians; Vocal and Instrumental' formed in Derby in 1764.<sup>16</sup> The Cecilia Society at Lichfield, which had begun as the Musical Club in 1739,<sup>17</sup> later subscribed to publications such as Edward Miller's *Elegies, Songs, and an Ode of Mr Pope's*, John Stafford Smith's *A Collection of English Songs*, and John Alcock's *Harmonia Festi*.<sup>18</sup> Only societies that were wealthy enough to purchase new music can be found in subscription lists, and many more must have copied music into manuscript or bought it second-hand.

As with church societies of singers, it is probable that there were far more secular musical societies in England than existing evidence suggests, as records could be lost, or groups may never have been formally established. Peter Clark has observed that during the 1700s there may have been over 130 different types of clubs and

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<sup>13</sup> *Ipswich Journal*, 15 October 1763. Quoted in *English History from Essex Sources 1750–1800*, ed. A. Brown (Chelmsford, 1952), 164.

<sup>14</sup> Staffordshire Record Office, D5523/2/1: Sheen Festival of Music 1794. Printed advertisement loose in Sheen Churchwardens' Parish Book, 1720–1803.

<sup>15</sup> Staffordshire Record Office, D5523/2/1: Sheen Churchwardens' Parish Book, 1720–1803; D5523/2/2: Sheen Singers' Agreement 1829. Added at the back of Sheen Churchwardens' Parish book 1803–38.

<sup>16</sup> Derby Local Studies Library, 8672: 'Articles for the Society of Musicians; Vocal and Instrumental' (Derby, 1764).

<sup>17</sup> William Salt Library, Stafford, S.MS.24 (iv): Lichfield Music Club rules etc., 1739–48.

<sup>18</sup> E. Miller, *Elegies, Songs, and an Ode of Mr Pope's* (London, [?1770]); J. Smith, *A Collection of English Songs* (London, [1779]); J. Alcock, *Harmonia Festi* (Lichfield, 1791).

societies in Britain, and up to 25,000 in the English-speaking world. Some were musical, but they covered every possible activity from gambling to horticulture, and were mostly urban-based. A few societies were mixed or for females only, but they were usually male-dominated, and there was a wide age-range and a variety of social classes.<sup>19</sup>

Joseph Bennett, music critic of the *Daily Telegraph* and a prolific contributor to journals such as the *Musical Times*, in his youth played the viola with an orchestra at Thornbury. Every week they accompanied meetings of the local choral society, which mostly sang Handel oratorios, as well as holding their own practice. He recalled that 'social and religious distinctions' between players were ignored but that one member was a gentleman and so had experience of the 'best works and performances of the day'. Bennett also commented that the subsequent decline in amateur orchestral societies could be attributed to the replacement of church bands with harmoniums and organs.<sup>20</sup>

Some societies may have had a dual secular and sacred function, or at least shared the same rehearsal venue. The Oldham Musical Society, which flourished for over a hundred years, was formed in 1764 by the landlord of an inn, later known as the Old Mess House. The choir of St Peter's church, which was founded in 1756, still rehearsed there until the 1940s.<sup>21</sup>

It is likely that church musicians also belonged to village and military bands, although evidence is sparse. The Methodist composer John Fawcett led the Kendal militia band and played the E flat clarinet,<sup>22</sup> and a secular and sacred manuscript collection compiled by a Shropshire farmer John Clews in the 1830s includes a drawing of a band of four instrumentalists (violin, flute, clarinet and violoncello) wearing

<sup>19</sup> P. Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580–1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford, 2002), 4–5.

<sup>20</sup> J. Bennett, 'Some Recollections. III. A Musical Tramp', *MT*, 39 (1898), 586–88.

<sup>21</sup> 'The Jacksons of Oldham', *Oldham Chronicle*, 29 May 1942.



military-style hats (DCD village band).<sup>23</sup> The extent to which instrumentalists from local music societies and bands participated in church services on special occasions also needs further study. One small piece of primary documentation from 1788 can be found in the papers of Captain Matthew Rugeley of the Bedfordshire Volunteer Corps. A printed copy of anthems 'To be sung at St Ives Church, on Whitsun-Tuesday' states that the performance was to be 'Assisted by several gentlemen and the Militia Band'.<sup>24</sup>

Certainly, church musicians also played at more temporal events such as village dances, and a number of manuscript books include a mixture of sacred and secular music. One of the Larks of Dean, John Hargreaves, compiled a manuscript book dated 1822, which contains a number of psalm and hymn tunes as well as some instrumental marches,<sup>25</sup> and a manuscript book dated 1839, belonging to John Moore from Wellington in Shropshire, includes both hymn tunes and country dances.<sup>26</sup> Most village instrumentalists would have had few opportunities to participate in performances of art music, and would generally have played traditional music at local celebrations. There are references in church accounts to instruments which were not to be used elsewhere. For instance, in 1834 a violoncello 'belonging to the Township of Grindleton' now in Lancashire was 'bought solely for the use of Grindleton Chapel'.<sup>27</sup> It was not to be played at 'any Fairs or pastimes', and its player was not to behave 'in any ways Disorderly either by licker or any other bad Conduck'.<sup>28</sup> At St Luke's, Endon, in Staffordshire a violoncello bought in 1843 for £4 10s. 0d. was to be kept in a special place, and not to be used outside the chapel.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> 'Death of Mr John Fawcett', *Bolton Chronicle*, 2 November 1867.

<sup>23</sup> Private collection.

<sup>24</sup> Bedfordshire Archives: Matthew Rugeley Collection X202/17.

<sup>25</sup> Lancashire Record Office, DDX 1468 Acc. 4986: Larks of Dean MSS, John Hargreaves' Book, 1822.

<sup>26</sup> GB-Lcs, MS 4495: John Moore's Book, 1839.

<sup>27</sup> Grindleton was part of the West Riding of Yorkshire until county boundaries were changed in 1974.

<sup>28</sup> Lancashire Record Office, PR3038/7/8: Papers relating to a bass viol and musical instruments played in St Ambrose's, Grindleton, Lancashire, 1844–1852.

<sup>29</sup> Staffordshire Record Office, D.4302/5/1: Endon Chapelwardens' Accounts, 1802–58.

The involvement of provincial church singers in secular music requires further research. The Essex psalmodist John Arnold compiled two collections of the 'most celebrated Songs and Catches' in the 1760s.<sup>30</sup> The preface to the second volume recommended the contents as a 'means of greatly improving several Country Choirs in their Knowledge of Musick',<sup>31</sup> which would seem to imply that church choirs may also have sung secular pieces. A manuscript collection of music that belonged to the choir at Romford in Essex supports this, since it includes a book of catches and glees as well as psalmody.<sup>32</sup> Brian Robins has commented that provincial catch and glee clubs were founded in the later eighteenth century in cathedral cities such as Canterbury, Salisbury, Chichester, Norwich, and York, and also in flourishing industrial towns such as Manchester and Nottingham. However, the complete number remains unknown because they were private clubs and so there is a 'lack of newspaper advertising and reporting'.<sup>33</sup>

Some psalmody singers probably belonged to informal tavern catch clubs but they were unlikely to join the more upper-class clubs, though they might have been paid to sing. The Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, founded in 1761, offered prizes of ten guineas for the 'best Catch, Canon and Glee' and, despite the inclusion of 'Professors of Music' as privileged members, still resolved in 1766 to hire singers to learn the competition entries so that they could be 'better performed'.<sup>34</sup> Singers trained to sing psalmody may have been more proficient than other amateurs. According to John Hawkins, when John Immyns, an attorney and member of the Academy of Ancient Music, formed the Madrigal Society in 1741, he recruited a 'few persons who had spent their lives in the practice of psalmody', and who were 'mostly mechanics; some,

<sup>30</sup> J. Arnold, *The Essex Harmony: being a Choice Collection of the most Celebrated Songs and Catches*, 2 vols (London, 1767–69), title-page.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, II, [ii].

<sup>32</sup> Private collection.

<sup>33</sup> B. Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, 2006), 89–90.

<sup>34</sup> H. Gladstone, 'The Story of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club', *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club; Three Essays towards its History* (London, 1996), 11–60 (pp.14–15).

weavers from Spitalfields, [and] others of various trades and occupations'. As 'many of them were very expert' in 'ordinary solmization' (i.e. sol-fa), they were 'soon able to sing, almost at sight, a part in an English, or even an Italian madrigal'.<sup>35</sup>

Psalmody singers may also have taken part in provincial concerts and music festivals, but although soloists are named the chorus is usually anonymous. However, Brian Pritchard, who identified many festivals promoted by the Ashley family, observed that the chorus was frequently made up of singers from the Ancient Concerts, the Chapel Royal, and local cathedral choirs, but that the 'Lancashire chorus singers' performed at the York and Newcastle festivals of 1791.<sup>36</sup> Surprisingly, their participation at these specific festivals is not mentioned in the programmes listed in the *RMA Research Chronicle* by Pritchard and Douglas Reid, although it is noted that they sang elsewhere. At Newcastle in 1778 they were referred to as the 'celebrated Men and Women Chorus Singers from Lancashire'; then as 'Chorus singers from Hey and Shaw Chapels' (near Oldham) in 1781; and as a 'complete Set of Chorus Singers from Lancashire' in 1796. At Derby in 1810 and at Liverpool in 1816, they were again described as 'celebrated', as were the Lancashire women singers at Birmingham in 1778, although this epithet had not been used when they sang there in 1774.<sup>37</sup> Not all local festivals have been properly recorded. The psalmody composer John Fawcett was involved in local festivals, and took part in three which do not seem to have been documented elsewhere. His obituary describes how he and nine other singers were engaged by Charles Ashley to sing the chorus parts at Whitehaven and at a three-day festival at Kendal, both in 1815, and at Preston in 1816. The programme at Whitehaven

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<sup>35</sup> J. Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 2 vols (London, 1776; London, 3/1853; repr. New York, 1963), II, 886–87.

<sup>36</sup> B. Pritchard, 'The Provincial Festivals of the Ashley Family', *GSJ*, 22 (1969), 58–77 (p.64); R. Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot, 2006), 133.

<sup>37</sup> B. Pritchard, 'Some Festival Programmes of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: 3. Liverpool and Manchester', *RMARC*, 7 (1969), 1–27. B. Pritchard and D. J. Reid, 'Some Festival Programmes of the



and Kendal consisted of '*Messiah*, part of *Creation*, *Mount of Olives* and *Israel in Egypt, &c.*'<sup>38</sup>

Performances of Handel's oratorios to support charitable institutions, to celebrate the opening of a new church organ, or at a benefit concert for musicians became common after his death in 1759, and his music was especially popular in northern England. Giles Shaw lists at least 31 performances of Handel's oratorios around the north of Manchester in a twelve-year period from 1765 to 1777, as well as various other concerts.<sup>39</sup> Many included the famous singers from Hey, Shaw and also Oldham, whose proficiency may perhaps be linked to Elias Hall's early efforts to improve singing in that part of Lancashire. According to Jenny Burchell, the subscription lists for thirteen Handel oratorios show that the majority of music and singing societies that purchased copies were from east Lancashire and west Yorkshire, including Hay [Hey], Oldham and Shaw, as well as Blackburn, Ecclesfield, Halifax, Kirkheaton, Mosley [probably Mossley, near Ashton under Lyne], Ossett, Saddleworth, Sheffield and Wigan.<sup>40</sup> Also, the extensive collection of music which belonged to the Baptist musicians, the Larks of Dean, includes full scores of Handel's *Esther*, *Jeptha*, *Joshua*, *Messiah*, *The Occasional Oratorio*, *Samson* and *Saul*, together with extracts in manuscript.<sup>41</sup> Societies may have bought copies for private use, or in order to take part in public performances. Many provincial musicians would have had little access to art music except Handel, so it is unsurprising that his style was imitated by so many psalmody composers, especially nonconformists, such as Richard Taylor of Chester. Although John Fawcett would also have known choral music by Haydn and Beethoven

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Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: 4. Birmingham, Derby, Newcastle upon Tyne and York', *RMARC*, 8 (1970), 1-33.

<sup>38</sup> 'Death of Mr John Fawcett', *Bolton Chronicle*, 2 November 1867.

<sup>39</sup> *Annals of Oldham and District*, ed. G. Shaw, 2 vols (Oldham, 1904), II, 141-239.

<sup>40</sup> J. Burchell, 'Musical Societies in Subscription Lists: an Overlooked Source', *Handbook for Studies in 18th-century English Music*, ed. M. Burden and I. Chelij, 18 vols (Oxford, 1998), IX, 6-42.

from singing at music festivals, he may have preferred to write Handelian choral music because of its wider popularity.

### c. Sacred Music

Congregational psalm-singing became popular after the Reformation, when services were first held in English. Metrical psalms were set to well-known ballad tunes, which if the nicknames ‘Hopkin’s Jiggs’<sup>42</sup> or ‘Geneva Jig’<sup>43</sup> are descriptive, were originally sung at quite a lively speed. But they were usually unaccompanied so, in echoing buildings with no means of keeping a steady beat, each generation would learn by ear from the previous one, picking up the tune more and more slowly, with a gradual disappearance of any rhythmic interest. Main notes remained on the beat, but ‘fishing’ for the next meant that new passing-notes and unexpected flourishes were introduced, in a pedantic style that became known as the ‘old way of singing’.<sup>44</sup> Elias Hall described the singing of congregations in ‘most *Churches* and *Chappels* round *Lancashire*’ with characteristic hyperbole:

Then out the People yawl an hundred Parts,  
Some roar, some whine, some creak like Wheels of Carts;  
Such Notes the *Gam-ut* yet did never know,  
Nor num’rous Keys of Harps’cals in a row.  
Their Heights or Depths cou’d ever comprehend,  
Now below double *A re* some descend:  
‘Bove *E la* squealing now ten Notes some fly,  
Streight then as if they knew they were too high  
With headlong hast down Stairs they again tumble,  
Discords and Concords, O how thick they jumble;  
Like untam’d Horses, tearing with their Throats  
One wretched Stave into an hundred Notes.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Lancashire Record Office, DDX 1468/9/3; DDX 1468 Acc. 4986; DDX 1468 Acc. 6709: Larks of Dean manuscripts and printed scores.

<sup>42</sup> J. Walker, *An Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England [...] who were Sequester’d* (London, 1714), 82.

<sup>43</sup> [J. Cleveland], *The Character of a London-Diurnall: with Several Select Poems* ([London], 1647), 53.

<sup>44</sup> N. Temperley, ‘The Old Way of Singing’, *MT*, 122 (1979), 943–47.

<sup>45</sup> E. Hall, *The Psalm-Singer’s Compleat Companion* (London, 1708), 1–2.

Despite Hall's jumbled 'Discords and Concords', any harmonisation was probably incidental, and 'an hundred Parts' may only be an exaggerated description of singers' problems in finding the next note. As this was an oral tradition only a few attempts were made to notate it (Ch.6, Ex.6.1) but Temperley has suggested that these provide possible evidence of improvised descant in which some tune notes were altered by either a third above or below, and which occasionally mutated into separate tunes.<sup>46</sup>

The Puritans supported plain psalm singing but objected to more elaborate church music. Polyphonic anthems obscured the meaning of the text and antiphonal singing was described as tossing psalms like 'tennis balls'.<sup>47</sup> Organs were thought to be popish, and in 1644 Parliament decreed that all organs in cathedrals, parish churches and chapels should be speedily demolished together with 'Images, and all Manner of Superstitious Monuments'.<sup>48</sup> Also, when further recommendations of the 1644 Assembly became law, metrical psalm singing had an official place in worship for the first and only time in English history. A new order of service, similar to the typical nonconformist pattern of today, was introduced which contained two psalms, of which one was optional. Precise instructions were given for psalm singing:

It is the duty of Christians to praise God publicly by singing of Psalmes together in the Congregation, and also privately in the Family.

In singing of Psalmes the voice is to be tunably and gravely ordered: But the chief care must be, to sing with understanding, and with Grace in the heart, making melody unto the Lord.

That the whole Congregation may joyn herein, every one that can read is to have a Psalm-Book, and all others, not disabled by age or otherwise, are to be exhorted to learn to read. But for the present, where many in the Congregation cannot read, it is convenient that the Minister or some other fit person appointed

<sup>46</sup> Temperley, *MEPC* (1979), I, 74, 96.

<sup>47</sup> B. Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547–1603* (Aldershot, 2008), 261.

<sup>48</sup> *Two Ordinances of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament for the speedy Demolishing of all Organs, Images, and all Manner of Superstitious Monuments in all Cathedrall Parish-Churches and Chappels, throughout the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales* (London, 1644).



by him and the other Ruling Officers, do read the Psalm line by line, before the singing thereof.<sup>49</sup>

Although it was introduced as a temporary measure, reading a metrical psalm 'line by line' had a lasting influence on congregational singing. One or two lines of text at a time were spoken aloud or perhaps intoned on one note by the clergyman or the parish clerk, before they were sung by the congregation. There is no evidence that this lining out was used prior to 1645, but once established it remained a necessary part of Anglican worship in some churches until at least the end of the eighteenth century, and it is still used today in some Gaelic congregations in Scotland and among southern Baptists in the United States.

Some churches continued to use lining out because people were illiterate, or because the purchase of psalm texts, which were bound into the back of the *Book of Common Prayer*, was too costly. Even if texts were not lined out, the constant repetition of metrical psalms during the Church year probably meant that some members of congregations knew them by heart, especially as those who did not read may have had a stronger aural memory. Lining out was of particular use at outdoor meetings where it was impractical to provide hymn books for worshippers, whatever their level of literacy.

Reading the text between each line of music must have had a profound effect on psalm singing, slowing it down still further and making it even more difficult to find the note at the beginning of the next line. The parish clerk usually lined out the psalms and led the singing, even if he had little or no musical expertise. Edmund Ireland had a low opinion of their talents: 'most Parish Clerks understand the Keys of the Church-doors

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<sup>49</sup> 'January 1645: An Ordinance for taking away the Book of Common Prayer, and for establishing and putting in execution of the Directory for the publique worship of God', *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–1660*, ed. C. Firth and R. Rait (London, 1911), 582–607. British History Online: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/>.

much better than they do the Keys of Musick',<sup>50</sup> but perhaps, as Abraham Barber, parish clerk of Wakefield, suggested, congregational singing would soon improve if clerks were paid a better salary.<sup>51</sup> Even if a clerk were musically competent he might not be able to prevail against poor singers in the congregation. In 1677, John Playford, clerk to the Temple church in London, was probably writing from personal experience when he described how:

this uncouth mixture of reading, doth much obstruct the Tune by such long pauses, whereby the Ayre and Harmony thereof is lost; and many times, if the Clerk should chance to skip a line, (they being not all of a measure) there would be either too many or too few Syllables for the Tune: This may occasion such a confusion, that the Clerk will be obliged either to begin that again, or appoint another *Psalm*. The like may happen where there is an Organ, if the Clerk omits but a line. Also, when the Clerk has given out the Tune, and comes to read the second line, if an untunable Voice near him, before he hath done reading, shall begin the next part of the Tune, and sing quite contrary, it will put the Congregation into a confusion.<sup>52</sup>

If the words were the only concern, a very slow speed and even lining out did not necessarily obscure the meaning of the text, but if the music was also important it would seem that some changes in performance were needed. Temperley, however, made a valid point when he suggested that although educated people disapproved of lining out and the old way of singing, once psalmody was reformed there was no 'genuinely congregational singing' until a 'second wave' of popular parody tunes was introduced by Methodists.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>50</sup> E. Ireland, *The Most Useful Tunes of the Psalms* (York, 2/1713), 10. The first edition of 1699 has not been examined because the only known copy is in the USA.

<sup>51</sup> A. Barber, *A Book of Psalm Tunes in Four Parts* (York, 7/1715), 4.

<sup>52</sup> J. Playford, *The Whole Book of Psalms* (London, 1677), [v].

<sup>53</sup> Temperley, *MEPC* (1979), 1, 99.

## Developments

### a. The Beginning of Psalmody Reform within the Church of England

Reform can be straightforward. A desire for improvement results in the introduction of new measures which have the required effect. Alternatively, once these measures have been implemented, future developments may move in a totally different direction and may even counteract the original ideals. Towards the end of the seventeenth century the clergy encouraged the formation of choirs to lead the congregation, hoping that better singing would be mirrored by a general improvement in worship. Had they foreseen the results, they might have proceeded with more caution and kept tighter control of subsequent events.

A few parish choirs were in existence before the end of the seventeenth century (as will be discussed later) and change, if required, was already in progress. In 1687 Abraham Barber noted that there were already ‘excellent song-men’ in Almondbury and in ‘neighbouring parishes’,<sup>54</sup> although he does not specifically mention whether they belonged to choirs. There were certainly teachers of psalmody in various parts of the country before 1700. Daniel Warner, from Ewelme in Oxfordshire, compiled a tune book ‘*for the Use of his Scholars, and such as delight in Psalmody*’ in 1694,<sup>55</sup> and Abraham Hurst had already taught at Bolton and Middleton before starting a psalmody class at Oldham in 1695.<sup>56</sup> The first known description of a parish choir occurs in 1686 in *A New and Easie Method to Learn to Sing by Book [...] Design’d chiefly for [...] the promoting of PSALMODY*. The compiler, who also published the book, has been

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<sup>54</sup> A. Barber, *A Book of Psalme Tunes in Four Parts* (York, 1687), [no pagination].

<sup>55</sup> D. Warner, *A Collection of some Verses out of the Psalms of David* (London, 1694), title-page.

<sup>56</sup> Higson MS, 5 (DCD Elias Hall MS).



identified as William Rogers.<sup>57</sup> He suggested a plan which later reformers would attempt to adopt:

If Six, Eight, or more, sober young Men that have good Voices, would associate and form themselves into a Quire, seriously and concordantly to sing the Praises of their Creator: A few such in a Congregation (especially if the Clark [sic] make one to lead) might in a little time bring into the Church better Singing than is common, and with more variety of good Tunes, as I have known done.<sup>58</sup>

The general impetus for change came not from a direct wish to improve church music but from a relatively little known high-church movement, which in the late 1600s sought to improve the immorality and lack of piety of the age by providing more spiritual guidance, and by emphasising the devotional elements of worship. In 1678 a group of young men in London formed a religious society under the patronage of Anthony Horneck, the preacher at the Savoy Chapel, meeting for religious education, discussion and private worship.<sup>59</sup> According to Josiah Woodward, minister of Poplar, a hamlet in the parish of Stepney, one result of such societies was that young men took 'greater Pleasure in *Singing of Psalms*, than others can possibly take in their *profane and obscene Songs*'.<sup>60</sup>

In the third edition of *An Account of the Rise and Progress of Religious Societies* Woodward included 'A Letter to a Gentleman in London', written in 1700 by the minister of Old Romney, Kent, who has since been identified as John Deffray.<sup>61</sup> Deffray was concerned about his 'Ignorant and Irreligious' congregation, who neither understood nor attended church services in which psalm singing 'was almost laid aside'.

<sup>57</sup> N. Temperley, *HTI*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1998), I, 165.

<sup>58</sup> [W. Rogers], *A New and Easie Method To Learn to Sing by Book* (London, 1686), [viii–ix].

<sup>59</sup> G.V. Portus, *Caritas Anglicana, or An Historical Inquiry into those Religious and Philanthropical Societies that Flourished in England between the Years 1678 and 1740* (London and Oxford, 1912), 10–12.

<sup>60</sup> J. Woodward, *An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies in the City of London, etc. and of their Endeavours for Reformation of Manners* (London, 3/1701), A4 [vii].

<sup>61</sup> *Georgian Psalmody 2: The Interaction Between Urban and Rural Practice*, Papers from the Second International Conference organised by The Colchester Institute, ed. C. Turner (Corby Glen, 1999), 23.

He started a religious society in about 1690, and began by first teaching '3 or 4 youths the Skill of singing Psalms, orderly, and according to Rules' (i.e. from the music rather than by ear). Their improvement in singing encouraged other young men to join the society, and Deffray described how 'to the joy of Pious Souls, our Shepherds, Ploughmen, and other Labourers at their Work, perfume the Air with the melodious Singing of Psalms', although he emphasised that singing was not the main objective of the society. 'I began to shew them the unacceptableness of their Psalmody to God, yea the odiousness of it to God's infinite Purity, except their Hearts and Lives were upright before him'.<sup>62</sup> These religious societies, which seem to have been exclusively male, soon came under the guidance of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The SPCK worked actively to spread religious societies throughout the provinces, and also founded many charity schools where pupils received a basic education, some elementary instruction in psalm singing, and learnt a useful trade. By the reign of Queen Anne (1702-1714), members of religious societies had begun to participate in church worship, and were particularly active in leading the psalm singing.<sup>63</sup> Consequently, in parishes with religious societies there was a core group of singers with some basic knowledge of musical theory who could support any further psalmody developments.

#### **b. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge**

The work of the SPCK was an important stimulus to psalmody reform in the early years of the eighteenth century. Its main religious purpose was to support the Church of England against Catholics and nonconformists, and membership was limited to a small hierarchy of rich and influential clergy and landed gentry. Such men may have had leisure to pursue musical activities and so have been more aware of the shortcomings of

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<sup>62</sup> Woodward, *An Account* (London, 1701), 41-42.

<sup>63</sup> Temperley, *MEPC* (1979), I, 104.



the psalmody in many churches. Peter Clark has noted that in the 1730s 'numerous members' of the Academy of Ancient Music were also 'active in the SPCK'.<sup>64</sup>

One of its founders, Thomas Bray, promoted psalmody in both England and Maryland, and can now be identified as the compiler of *A Collec[t]ion of Psalms, Proper to be Sung at Churches*,<sup>65</sup> although the 'Ingenious Friend' who supplied the didactic 'Essay to Render Any Psalm Tune Intelligible to the Meanest Capacity', still remains anonymous.<sup>66</sup> Bray included the 'Best Tunes' with a selection from Tate and Brady's 'New Version' of the psalms, mainly to encourage members of religious societies and school children to learn to sing 'by Note', but also to prevent parish clerks from picking 'Psalms of *Imprecation upon Enemies*'.<sup>67</sup> Bray advocated that a psalm should be sung before a service began:

It is truth an Offence and Scandal to see People, as in many Country Churches, industriously delaying till a good part of the Service is over. But a Psalm tuneably Sung would hasten them out of their Houses, and onwards in their way to the House of God, and will probably draw them in from under the Church-walls.<sup>68</sup>

Members of the SPCK valued such improvements to psalmody even though, as gentry, they may not have actively participated in its performance. From its foundation in 1698 the SPCK kept abstracts of all the letters it received, and one particular cause for concern was the lack of respect of congregations, who did not stand to sing. In May 1717 a paragraph of a letter from George Millard, vicar of Box in Wiltshire, 'being on

<sup>64</sup> P. Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580–1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford, 2002), 448.

<sup>65</sup> The preface to *A Collec[t]ion* noted that the compiler had 'publish'd a Pastoral Letter to Foreign Clergy', promoting 'Catechetical Societies'. Bray wrote *The Whole Course of Catechetical Institution* which included 'a Pastoral Letter to the Clergy of Maryland, concerning the same'. Both books were published in the same format in 1704, by W[ill] Hawes, 'at the Rose in Ludgate-street', as was the 1699 edition of his *An Appendix to the Discourse upon the Doctrine of our Baptismal Covenant*. This contains ten tunes set in the same way as *A Collec[t]ion*; six are common to both books, and two also include the same psalm text.

<sup>66</sup> [T. Bray], *A Collec[t]ion of Psalms, Proper to be Sung at Churches* (London, 1704), [x].

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, [ii], [x].



things of Moment' was 'entered Verbatim'. He gave a detailed account of how the psalm singing used to be:

confin'd in my own Church (as indeed it is in most of our Country Churches) to a few Select Persons in the Congregation, and those for the most part plac'd in a Gallery by themselves, or some other apartment in the Church, and all sitting down during the Performance, the rest of the People likewise sit and are silent.

After preaching a few times on the advantages of psalmody, he began to teach the charity children to 'sing Psalms by notes'. By practising for two hours a day they learnt four tunes perfectly in just over a week, and sang them in church 'to the admiration of the whole Congregation then present'. About 160 'young men and maidens and little children of the parish' then also wished to learn to sing, so Millard gave them each a 'little Book for that purpose, pricking down the Tunes for them' (which must have taken considerable application), and arranged rehearsals every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday night for about an hour and a half. Thereafter, two or three psalms were sung to 'only a few tunes, and those the Oldest and most Grave', both before and after the service on a Sunday afternoon, and the entire congregation stood, with most joining in the singing. The congregation also increased in size, and despite building a new aisle to seat another 100, the church was full.<sup>69</sup>

Two months later, Robert Watts of Great Gidding, Huntingdonshire recommended to the Society that they should include the 'Promoting of Psalmody' in their next 'Circular Letter'.<sup>70</sup> This circular letter does not seem to have survived, but it apparently suggested that churches should make a 'Tryal of Psalmody' and generated eighteen reports of individual reforms from the midlands southwards, including one in

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., [iii].

<sup>69</sup> GB-Cu, SPCK.MS D2/12: Letter from Geo. Millard, Box, Wiltshire, SPCK Abstract Letter Book vol. 7, 1716-17, no. 5213, 1 May 1717.

<sup>70</sup> GB-Cu, SPCK.MS D2/13: Letter from Robert Watts, Great Gidding, Huntingdonshire, SPCK Abstract Letter Book vol. 8, 1717-18, no. 5288, 5 July 1717.

Wales. (The geographical spread of these letters may indicate that of the SPCK rather than of the use of psalmody at this date.) Many parishes were already successful in encouraging psalm-singing, usually among the charity school children, and agreed that it was a good way to fill the church. At Loughborough they had 'Psalmody performed in good Perfection',<sup>71</sup> and at Stroud the woollen weavers sang psalms while they worked.<sup>72</sup> A year after his first letter George Millard was pleased to report that the number of singers continued to increase and that 'the greatest part of them are perfect Masters of 30 Tunes'.<sup>73</sup>

### c. The Growth of Anglican Psalmody

At the end of the seventeenth century, most Anglicans sang the 'Old Version' of metrical psalm texts by Sternhold and Hopkins,<sup>74</sup> which, together with a few hymns, was usually bound into the back of the *Book of Common Prayer*. The strophic tunes were homophonic with few if any passing notes, and if they were sung in parts, were usually tenor led.

The eighteenth century marked a divergence in the way psalmody developed in rural and urban churches. Both wished to improve the old way of singing, but country music was often written by local amateur composers, whose lack of formal technique resulted in an idiosyncratic, rather archaic style. This might break accepted theoretical rules with unexpected dissonances and consecutive fifths and octaves. The early repertoire, in particular, has a tendency for open fifths and false relations and was still based on the traditional concept of linear composition in which one line was added at a time. John Arnold noted that when 'Concords were only used Note against Note, they

<sup>71</sup> GB-Cu, SPCK.MS D2/13: Letter from Jo Alleyne, Loughborough, Leicestershire, SPCK Abstract Letter Book vol. 8, 1717-18, no. 5449, 30 November 1717.

<sup>72</sup> GB-Cu, SPCK.MS D2/13: Letter from William Johns, Stroud, Gloucestershire, SPCK Abstract Letter Book vol. 8, 1717-18, no. 5553, 26 March 1718.

<sup>73</sup> GB-Cu, SPCK.MS D2/13: Letter from Geo. Millard, Box, Wiltshire, SPCK Abstract Letter Book vol. 8, 1717-18, no. 5618, 30 May 1718.



always used to compose the Bass first', which could spoil the tenor air. It was better to compose the tenor first because it was 'the leading Part, or Church Tune', though the bass still needed to determine the key and to have 'as much Air as the Tenor will possible admit'. The 'easiest Way, for a young Composer', was to 'carry on the Bass a little behind the Tenor'.<sup>75</sup> Country psalmody remained tenor led throughout the eighteenth century, and was sung unaccompanied until the gradual introduction of wind and stringed instruments in the later 1700s, usually beginning with a bassoon or violoncello.

Town churches were more likely to install an organ and to endow a school for poor children, who could be trained to sing the old tunes in more 'artful', treble-based arrangements, perhaps together with some of the young men who had already learnt basic psalm singing in religious societies. Their singing was a powerful musical attraction, for as Temperley commented, it was 'exactly the kind of music that many less pious worshippers desired', especially since 'material prosperity had induced a satisfaction with life in this world, and a proportionate easing of anxiety about life in the world to come'.<sup>76</sup> However, not many parishes could afford such musical entertainment, because although they might be able to pay for an organ by subscription, there would still be the continuing expense of tuning and repairs, as well as salaries for an organist and organ blower.

At some churches the financial problem might be solved if a benefactor was found, although in 1761, when Sir John Prestwich offered to purchase an organ for St Mary's, Prestwich, parishioners were divided as some still held Puritan prejudices against instruments in churches, and by the time they had decided that an organ was

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<sup>74</sup> T. Sternhold, J. Hopkins, and others, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (London, 1562).

<sup>75</sup> J. Arnold, *The Compleat Psalmist* (London, 1741), 20–21.

<sup>76</sup> Temperley, *MEPC* (1979), I, 104, 100.



acceptable, the offer had been withdrawn.<sup>77</sup> Elsewhere, at least one church is known to have borrowed an organ. In 1790, at Aymestry, Herefordshire, it was agreed that the vicar should have permission to lend the church his organ 'at certain seasons of the year for the purpose of assisting the performers of psalmody', and 'to remove the same whenever he shall think proper without Lett or molestation'.<sup>78</sup> There is no evidence that churches outside London acquired an annuity organ, whereby a speculator would install an organ and organist in return for an annual payment for life.<sup>79</sup>

Many churches hoped to improve their psalmody by forming a society of singers such as William Rogers had suggested, either from scratch or from members of an existing religious society. The usual intention was to place the singers among the congregation to regulate the music and to encourage everyone to participate but, as George Millard commented, they naturally preferred to sit together. It would have been difficult for singers to hold a new tune or to keep to a faster speed if they were spread out among the congregation, and since pews were often high-backed, communication with other singers could have been problematic. As the singers developed their skills through regular rehearsals, they were able to perform more elaborate music and so exclude the congregation. Arthur Bedford, in a sermon of 1733 given before 'Several Members of Such Societies who are Lovers of Psalmody', stated that:

There is indeed, an Abuse, which cannot be concealed, and which hath given great Offence in Parochial Congregations, which is; when a few select Singers meet together in one Part of the Church, and engross the whole Singing to themselves.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>77</sup> H. Bateson, 'The Oldham Church Singers, 1695-1765', *Oldham Chronicle*, 20 October 1945.

<sup>78</sup> Herefordshire Record Office, F71/53, fol.175, Aymestry Parish Book.

<sup>79</sup> D. Dawe, *Organists of the City of London 1666-1850* (Padstow, 1983), 13-17.

<sup>80</sup> A. Bedford, *The Excellency of Divine Musick* (London, [1733]), 28.

Not all clergymen, however, were so concerned. Thomas Watts from Orpington in Kent wrote to the SPCK that he had encouraged psalmody for many years, and that the 'chief Singers set together, and have Seats rais'd for them on purpose'.<sup>81</sup> It seems that the main problem was not where the singers sat but that their choice of music prevented congregational singing rather than supporting it. This enforced silence was exacerbated by itinerant singing masters, such as William Tans'ur and William East, who compiled or composed psalmody collections for the new provincial choirs.<sup>82</sup> Their books usually contained some anthems as well as psalm tunes, some of which may have been taken from earlier sources (MA 23).

Simple parochial anthems for choirs, and also for domestic use, by some of the leading church composers of the day, including Jeremiah Clarke and William Croft, had first been published in the early 1700s,<sup>83</sup> and provincial psalmody composers soon produced their own examples. Temperley has identified the first 'country' anthem as 'Hear my Pray'r', in John and James Green's *A Book of Psalm-Tunes*, of 1713.<sup>84</sup> It is perhaps indicative of the growing competence and ambition of parochial choirs that, whereas the second and third editions of the psalmody collections of John and James Green and the fourth edition of James Green include psalm tunes and anthems, the fifth edition also contains chanting tunes which, like the anthems, would have been sung by choirs alone.<sup>85</sup> By 1729, when Green's sixth edition was published with a more

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<sup>81</sup> GB-Cu, SPCK.MS D2/13: Letter from Tho[mas] Watts, Orpington, Kent. SPCK Abstract Letter Book vol. 8, 1717–18, no. 5622, May 30 1718.

<sup>82</sup> W. Tans'ur, *A Compleat Melody: or, The Harmony of Sion* (London, 1735); [W. East], *The Voice of Melody* (Waltham, [c.1748]).

<sup>83</sup> H. Playford, *The Divine Companion: being a Collection of New and Easie Hymns and Anthems* (London, 1701). This contains nineteen anthems. Four later editions (1707–22) all include a further two.

<sup>84</sup> Temperley, *MEPC* (1979), I, 164; John and James Greene [Green], *A Book of Psalm-Tunes*, (London, 2/1713), 59–[60]. No copy of the first edition is known.

<sup>85</sup> Greene, *Psalm-Tunes* (2/1713); John and James Green, *A Collection of Choice Psalm-Tunes* (Nottingham, 3/1715); J. Green, *A Collection of Psalm-Tunes* (London, 4/1718); J. Green *A Book of Psalm-Tunes* (London, 5/1724).



inclusive title,<sup>86</sup> the chanting tunes were listed first on the title-page, then anthems and lastly psalm tunes. Chanting tunes, which were more rhythmic than modern chants, became a particular characteristic of psalmody in the north midlands, before their popularity spread further afield. For instance, early examples were included in collections by Green who came from Wombwell near Barnsley, John Chetham of Skipton, and Robert and John Barber of Castleton (MA 20).<sup>87</sup>

Provincial psalmody books still contained metrical psalm tunes, but these increasingly became too difficult for congregational participation. They culminated in the fuguing tune, the basic pattern of which consisted of the first two lines set in block harmony, with contrapuntal entries and overlapping text for the third, before the fourth concluded chordally (MA 3, CD 6). Some examples were more complex with several different fuguing sections (MA 4, CD 7). Whereas singers relished the challenge, the clergy disliked them because the words were obscured. This isolated the congregation still further, since they would not even have the benefit of hearing an improving text. The first psalmody collection that was 'Compos'd with variety of Fuges after a different manner to any yet Extant', was 'Collected Engrav'd and Printed' by Michael Beesly of Upton, near Blewbury in Berkshire, in or before 1746.<sup>88</sup> Although Beesly does not specifically claim to have composed the tunes himself, all except two are indeed 'New', and so he can arguably be considered to be the 'father' of the fuguing tune.<sup>89</sup>

The introduction of instruments in the second part of the eighteenth century may initially have revived congregational singing because the music would have been better supported but, once settings with short symphonies became popular, the gaps in the

<sup>86</sup> J. Green, *A Book of Psalmody* (London, 6/[–1729]).

<sup>87</sup> Green, *A Collection* (4/1718); J. Chetham, *A Book of Psalmody* (London, [1717]); R. and J. Barber, *A Book of Psalmody* (London, 1723); also subsequent editions of all three books.

<sup>88</sup> M. Beesly, *A Collection of Twenty New Psalm Tunes Compos'd with Variety of Fuges* (London, [–1746]). Temperley gave this date provisionally, but this can now be confirmed. A copy in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, GB-Mr MAB H633, contains the owner's inscription 'John Griffin His Book Novem<sup>ber</sup> 2 1746'.



vocal line would probably have caused further confusion, and this again turned psalmody into a performance by a select few. Nevertheless, these performances must have been profitable because the churchwardens' accounts of many parishes show regular payments in support of psalmody. In 1765 the small church of St Lawrence at Rushton Spencer, near Leek in Staffordshire, bought a flute for 7s. 6d., and seven reeds (perhaps for a bassoon) for 7s 0d.. From 1769 to 1779 purchases included 'fiddle' and 'viol' strings, as well as more reeds; in 1779 they also paid £1 11s. 6d. for a 'hautboy'; and ten years later they spent £1 16s. 0d. on a new 'bass fiddle and stick'.<sup>90</sup> At Buckland Filleigh, a small north Devon village, some items of interest from the accounts were transcribed by Richard Fortescue-Foulkes in the 1960s,<sup>91</sup> although they cannot be checked as the accounts have since been lost.<sup>92</sup> They included three instances of remuneration to singing teachers: in 1780 Thos. Durrant was paid £2 2s. 0d.; in 1804 Henry Medland received 4s. every Sunday for six months; and in 1820 John Longman was paid £6 0s. 0d.. Whether the singers received any tuition in the intervening twenty or so years is not recorded, but in 1823 the choir were paid £3 0s. 0d. to 'keep up the singing'. Other musical costs were the purchase of 'strings for the bass' in 1804; a 'bass viol' in 1805 for £4 14s. 0d., which may have been a replacement; and a clarionet in 1805 for £2 5s. 0d.. Fortescue-Foulkes noted especially that the amount spent on the music was large compared with the total disbursements which were between £15 and £35 per year.

By 1765 even the psalmodist John Arnold, who had endorsed the use of instruments a few years earlier,<sup>93</sup> had begun to question the enforced silencing of the

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<sup>89</sup> S. Drage, 'Beesly, Michael', *GMO*, ed. L. Macy (2001).

<sup>90</sup> Staffordshire Record Office, D.1040/7: Rushton Spencer chapelwardens' accounts, 1756–1828.

<sup>91</sup> R. Fortescue-Foulkes, *Church of St Mary and Holy Trinity, Buckland Filleigh Notes* ([n.p.], [n.d.]), 18–19.

<sup>92</sup> Personal communication from Madeline Jane Taylor, author of *Buckland Filleigh, a Continuous Thread* (published privately, 2005).

<sup>93</sup> J. Arnold, *The Compleat Psalmodist* (London, 5/1761), iv.

congregation. He thought that the 'true Style of Church Music' consisted of simple tunes sung, as expressed on the title-page of the Old Version of the psalms, by 'all the People together', and proposed that Anglican choirs could encourage congregations to participate by giving them some basic instruction. He also suggested that they did not necessarily have to sing in unison. If the psalmody was led by a choir, those in the congregation who understood music 'might sing any Part his Voice best suited'.<sup>94</sup>

As the eighteenth century progressed the gap between rural psalmody and art music lessened. Some psalmodists, including John Smith of Market Lavington in Wiltshire, and Uriah Davenport from Rushton Spencer (MA 22), wrote cathedral-style anthems.<sup>95</sup> The increasing competence of singers and their demand for more challenging music meant that professional composers began to regard psalmody as an artistically-viable genre, or at least as a fruitful source of income. Composers such as John Alcock, senior and junior, George Jackson, and Philip Hayes wrote music designed specifically for country choirs,<sup>96</sup> and the publisher John Johnson produced a set of ten earlier seventeenth-century anthems, which were later republished by Robert Bremner.<sup>97</sup> Books such as these provide proof of the technical abilities of country choirs, and of the growing market for psalmody. In 1784 the subscription list to John Valentine's *Thirty Psalm Tunes* included the names of 27 choirs of singers from Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, Warwickshire, and

<sup>94</sup> J. Arnold, *Church Music Reformed: or the Art of Psalmody* (London, 1765), vi–vii.

<sup>95</sup> J. Smith, *A Set of Services, Anthems and Psalm Tunes for Country Choirs* (London, [1746]) [also two later sets (Lavington, –1752), and (Lavington, 1755)]; U. Davenport, *The Psalm-Singer's Pocket Companion* (London, 1755).

<sup>96</sup> J. Alcock [senior], *Psalmody: or a Collection of Psalm Tunes in the Ancient and Modern Stiles [...]* chiefly Designed for the Use of Country Churches (Reading, [c.1745]); J. Alcock [junior], *Parochial Harmony [...]* with Symphonies [...] expressly Composed for the Use of Country Choirs (London, 1777).

<sup>96</sup> G. Jackson, *Ponder My Words: An Anthem [...]* with Two Canons, for the Use of Country Churches (London, [1789]); P. Hayes, *An Anthem [...]* Composed for a Country Church (Oxford, [c.1802]).

<sup>97</sup> *Ten Full Anthems Collected from the Works of Several Eminent Composers Published (principally) for the Use of Country Churches* (London, [1751]).



Worcestershire.<sup>98</sup> Fifteen years later, subscribers to Edward Miller's *Psalms of David* included 19 choirs, 27 societies of singers, 46 parishes (which probably bought the book for the choir), and one Sunday school, as well as three choral societies and five musical societies, which may not have been specifically connected with a church.<sup>99</sup>

Although many recorded descriptions of psalmody are derogatory, its positive influence must not be forgotten. Clergymen were pleased that it encouraged people to participate more fully in worship, and Nahum Tate repeated Thomas Bray's comments on how singing a psalm meant that the young men 'that us'd to loiter in the Church-Yard, or saunter about the Neighbouring Grounds [...] came flocking into the Church' in time for the prayers and the sermon.<sup>100</sup> The young Prussian clergyman, Karl Moritz, travelling in England in 1782, wrote a glowing account of a service at Nettlebed in Oxfordshire:

The service was now pretty well advanced, when I observed some little stir in the desk, the clerk was busy, and they seemed to be preparing for something new and solemn, and I also perceived several musical instruments. The clergyman now stopped, and the clerk then said in a loud voice, "Let us sing to the praise and glory of God, the forty-seventh psalm."

I cannot well express how affecting and edifying it seemed to me, to hear this whole orderly and decent congregation, in this small country church, joining together with vocal and instrumental music, in the praise of their Maker. It was the more grateful, as having been performed, not by mercenary musicians, but by the peaceful and pious inhabitants of this sweet village. I can hardly figure to myself any offering more likely to be grateful to God.

The congregation sang and prayed alternately several times, and the tunes of the psalms were particularly lively and cheerful, though at the same time sufficiently grave, and uncommonly interesting. I am a warm admirer of all sacred music, and I cannot but add that that of the Church of England is particularly calculated to raise the heart to devotion; I own it often affected me even to tears.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> J. Valentine, *Thirty Psalm Tunes [...] with Symphonies, Interludes, and an Instrumental Bass*, (London, [1784]).

<sup>99</sup> E. Miller, *The Psalms of David for the Use of Parish Churches* (London, [1797]).

<sup>100</sup> N. Tate, *An Essay for Promoting of Psalmody* (London, 1710), 6–7.

<sup>101</sup> K. Moritz, *Travels, chiefly on Foot, through Several Parts of England, in 1782. Described in Letters to a Friend [...] Translated from the German, by a Lady* (London, 1795; London, 1886), 114–15.



Moritz was also impressed when he attended what may have been a regular practice at Nettlebed, or just an informal performance:

In the afternoon there was no service; the young people however, went to church, and there sang some few psalms; others of the congregation were also present. This was conducted with so much decorum, that I could hardly help considering it as actually a kind of church-service. I stayed with great pleasure till this meeting also was over.<sup>102</sup>

By the late eighteenth century further reforms initiated by evangelicals meant that the Old Version of the psalms by Sternhold and Hopkins had at last begun to be superseded by Tate and Brady's New Version.<sup>103</sup> Although some psalmody compilers had used the New Version within a few years of its publication,<sup>104</sup> many congregations had stuck doggedly to the old familiar texts.<sup>105</sup> One psalmody reformer, the Rev. William Dechair Tattersall, rejected both the Old and New Versions of the metrical psalms. He preferred the poetic version of the metrical psalms by James Merrick,<sup>106</sup> and commissioned three-part settings of these by leading London composers, including Samuel Arnold, Benjamin Cooke, William Shield and even Joseph Haydn, who was on his second visit to England in 1794 (MA 13, CD 9).<sup>107</sup> Despite the quality of the music, the elegance of its texts and a distinguished list of subscribers headed by George III, most of the tunes in Tattersall's *Improved Psalmody* were never republished.

After 1800 tunes became less elaborate and the air was usually placed in the treble. Most new compositions were in the major, whatever the sentiment of the text. Some country church bands began to be replaced by barrel organs pinned with

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 115–16.

<sup>103</sup> N. Tate and N. Brady, *A New Version of the Psalms of David, fitted to Tunes used in Churches* (London, 1696).

<sup>104</sup> J. Gaunt, *The Psalm-Singer's Guide: or the Tutor to Singing [...] according to the New Translation* (London, 1701); [T. Bray], *A Collec[t]ion of Psalms [...] out of the New Version* (London, 1704).

<sup>105</sup> Temperley, *MEPC* (1979), I, 121–23.

<sup>106</sup> J. Merrick, *The Psalms, translated or paraphrased in English Verse* (Reading, 1765).

<sup>107</sup> W. Tattersall, *Improved Psalmody*, 2 vols (London, 1794).

conventionally correct settings by trained musicians,<sup>108</sup> or even by finger organs. Although church bands did survive in isolated areas such as the west country, the influence of the Oxford movement in both urban and rural parishes, with its emphasis on simpler, more archaic music, prepared the way for the Victorian ideal of a cathedral-style service performed by a robed all-male choir, accompanied by an organ and isolated in the chancel. The staple metrical psalms were gradually replaced with hymns, especially after 1820 when the Consistory Court of the York diocese concluded that hymns and metrical psalms were of equal status.<sup>109</sup> Some of the earlier psalmody repertory endured in nonconformist worship, and the popularity of many Victorian hymn tunes meant that the direct singing associated with country church music was not totally lost. Even today, however, traditional Anglican congregations rarely sing as vigorously as nonconformists, especially Methodists.

#### **d. Methodist Psalmody**

Anglican psalmody was based on the metrical psalms, but evangelical clergymen such as John Newton, George Whitefield and John Wesley were more likely to use hymns which, although still grounded in scripture, included a more personal message of grace and salvation. In particular, a central tenet of Methodism was that everyone should sing, and its growth during the eighteenth-century was fuelled by the power of heartfelt congregational singing.

Methodists remained part of the Anglican communion for most of the eighteenth century but there were serious concerns that they were too enthusiastic and did not employ reason or restraint. Dr John Scott observed that Methodism spread malignantly as thousands flocked to hear George Whitefield and John ‘Westley’,<sup>110</sup> and that it

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<sup>108</sup> N. Temperley, ‘Psalmody (ii), 1’, *GMO*, ed. L. Macy (2001).

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 208.

<sup>110</sup> This spelling would seem to indicate the eighteenth-century pronunciation of ‘Wesley’.



consisted of '*Frisks of Fancy and Whirlwinds of Passion*', whereas true religion was a '*wise, a still, and silent Thing*'.<sup>111</sup> The second part of Scott's tract, '*An Application of the Subject to the Modern Methodists*' was added by Caleb Fleming, who was particularly worried about the appeal of Methodist hymns because they were not '*rational Compositions*'. The following description needs to be kept in context, or it can seem to commend rather than to censure:

As to their *Singing*, they, perhaps have got some of the *most melodious* Tunes that ever were composed for *Church Music*; there is *great* Harmony in their *Singing*, and it is very *inchanting* [...] their *Singing* is calculated to engage the *Passions* by nothing more than Words, and the Melody of the Sounds, or Voices; but if you would sing with *Understanding*, or have a Reason of Praise [...] you must have other Sorts of Compositions [...] than what the FOUNDERY or the TABERNACLE do afford you.<sup>112</sup>

(The Foundery was John Wesley's first meeting house, and the Tabernacle was opened by George Whitefield when he left the Wesleyans to become a leader of the Calvinistic Methodists.) The psalmist John Arnold was also concerned, observing that the Methodists added 'greatly to their Congregations by encouraging the singing of Hymns', but that they were 'deemed a poor deluded Sect, rather to be pitied than regarded'. He hoped that their 'profane Manner' of singing 'Song-Tunes' would 'never enter the Doors of the Church'.<sup>113</sup>

Throughout his life John Wesley kept firm control of every aspect of Methodism including its hymnody, much of which was written by his brother, Charles. Many of the first preaching services were held outside so the singing was unaccompanied, in unison, and presumably lined out because hymn books would have been impracticable. Even when worship began to be held in meeting houses, the cost of an organ would have been

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<sup>111</sup> [J. Scott], *A Fine Picture of Enthusiasm, Chiefly drawn by Dr John Scott [...] wherein the Danger of the Passions leading in Religion is strongly Described* (London, 1744), [iii], 14.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>113</sup> J. Arnold, *Church Music Reformed: or the Art of Psalmody* (London, 1765), vi-vii.



prohibitive, so Wesley did not generally approve of them, although three were erected in chapels during his lifetime, at Bath, Keighley and Newark.<sup>114</sup>

Wesley attempted to organise congregational singing by including regulations in the Methodist conference minutes, and by adding a set of seven 'Directions' for singers in his second tune book, commonly known as *Sacred Melody*.<sup>115</sup> The tunes in the book were to be learnt first 'exactly as printed', before any others were introduced, and they were to be sung spiritually by considering the meaning of the words. Everyone was expected to join in: 'Let not a slight Degree of Weakness or Weariness hinder you'; 'Sing *lustily* and with a good Courage';<sup>116</sup> and 'Beware of singing as if you where half Dead, or half a Sleep; but lift up your Voice with Strength'. Two directions are worth quoting in full, since they reiterate those given in the introductions to many Anglican tune books:

V. Sing *modestly*. Do not baul, so as to be heard above, or distinct from the rest of the Congregation, that you may not destroy the Harmony; but strive to unite your Voices together, so as to make one clear melodious Sound.

VI. Sing in *Time*: whatever Time is Sung be sure to keep with it. Do not run before or stay behind it; but attend close to the leading Voices, and move therewith as exactly as you can; and take care you sing not *too slow*: This drawling Way naturally steals on all who are lazy: and it is high Time to drive it out from among us, and sing all our Tunes just as quick as we did at first.

It would seem that Methodists experienced the same problems as Anglicans in keeping a steady tempo, presumably because they sang unaccompanied and also lined out texts.

The first two Methodist tune books contained only the melodies, which was all that was necessary for unaccompanied singing.<sup>117</sup> As might be expected, Wesley chose

<sup>114</sup> J. Lightwood, *Methodist Music in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1927), 40.

<sup>115</sup> [Wesley, J.], [*Sacred Melody*] [bound with:] *Select Hymns: with Tunes Annexed* ([London], 1761), final page. The first edition has no separate title-page.

<sup>116</sup> This is a paraphrase of Psalm 33 v.3b from the *Book of Common Prayer*: 'sing praises lustily unto him with a good courage'.

<sup>117</sup> [J. Wesley], *A Collection of Tunes, Set to Music, as They are commonly Sung at the Foundery* (London, 1742); [Wesley, J.], [*Sacred Melody*] (1761).

the music. It included plain Moravian Lutheran-style chorales (Wesley owed his conversion to the Moravians); parody tunes based on popular secular airs, which would perhaps have already been known by a congregation; and florid ornamented tunes in the fashionable operatic manner of the period by John Frederick Lampe, who produced twenty-four settings of texts by Charles and Samuel Wesley (MA 26).<sup>118</sup>

Wesley seems to have had no objection to florid, ornamented tunes unless they obscured the words. At Warrington in 1781 he recorded in his journal:

I came just in time to put a stop to a bad custom, which was creeping in here: a few men, who had fine voices, sang a Psalm which no one knew, in a tune fit for an opera, wherein three, four, or five persons sung different words at the same time.<sup>119</sup>

However, some tunes in his own books were 'fit for an opera' so presumably his main concerns were that the tune was unknown and that the text overlapped.

Parody tunes, in which a secular tune was adapted to sacred words, became a particular characteristic of Methodist psalmody, although they met with opposition in some instances (MA 30, CD 14). The psalmody composer William Cole of Colchester, who described the problems concerning the music at the Congregational chapel in the town, attributed the introduction of parody tunes to George Whitefield, and was particularly concerned because they were in the style of 'popular song tunes and ballad airs'. If the tunes were secular, the original words would continue to intrude into people's thoughts, and if they originated from sacred sources such as Handel's oratorios, they contained unsuitable 'florid airs, and rapid movements' and relied on the theatrical effect of contrast. He was equally scathing about tunes which imitated 'marches and popular song tunes [...] that depraved taste, and those puerile productions,

<sup>118</sup> J.F. Lampe, *Hymns on the Great Festivals* (London, 1746; repr. Madison NJ, 1996).

<sup>119</sup> Warrington, 6 April 1781. *The Works of John Wesley: Journals and Diaries, VI, 1776-1786* ed. W. Ward and R. Heitzenrater, 24 vols (Nashville, 1995), XXIII, 198.



which are admitted into almost all our worshipping assemblies, and which have reduced our sacred music to a state of degradation, from which it will not be recovered without some difficulty and exertion'.<sup>120</sup>

Despite Wesley's authoritarian attitude, Methodism had quickly divided into two factions: Arminians, under Wesley's control, and Calvinists, including George Whitefield and Selina, Countess of Huntingdon. By 1783 she had set up her own Connexion,<sup>121</sup> and could afford to build chapels in towns such as Bath, complete with organs. These were needed to support the fashionable music preferred by more aristocratic worshippers, which was composed for the Connexion by Benjamin Milgrove and Thomas Haweis, one of her chaplains (MA 33).<sup>122</sup> Martin Madan, the chaplain of the Lock Hospital in London, also had links with the Countess of Huntingdon, and the distinct style of singing at the hospital will be discussed in Ch.4.

After Wesley's death, Methodism split still further into various offshoots. By the early 1800s some Staffordshire Methodists wished to return to evangelistic outdoor meetings based on the American camp meeting, with group prayer, confession and singing, and the Primitive Methodist Connexion was formally established in 1812. Their hymnody was designed to be easily accessible with simple repeated tag-lines set to popular tunes: a style which was repeated by many later revivalists during the nineteenth century (MA 37, CD 18).

#### **e. Nonconformist Psalmody**

Nonconformist denominations were slower than Methodists to move away from plain four-square tunes, but their psalmody then developed in a comparable manner, with a

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<sup>120</sup> W. Cole, *A View of Modern Psalmody, being an Attempt to Reform the Practice of Singing in the Worship of God* (Colchester, 1819), 90–95.

<sup>121</sup> B.S. Schlenker, 'Hastings [*née* Shirley], Selina, countess of Huntingdon (1707–1791)', *ODNB Online*, ed. L. Goldman (2004).



similar emphasis on enthusiastic congregational participation. More lyrical and elaborate treble-led tunes, often in three-part harmony, were introduced, together with fuguing and repeating tunes. Although some congregations continued to sing unaccompanied, the use of organs and other instruments was generally accepted by the early 1800s.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, one Presbyterian assembly at the Weigh House Chapel in London took an exceptional interest in psalmody. Six sermons promoting congregational singing were included in their series of Friday lectures, since it had been 'very much neglected and unskilfully perform'd among ourselves',<sup>123</sup> and they also encouraged singing by note without lining out. William Lawrence, who taught psalmody at the chapel, compiled *A Collection of Tunes* to be bound with Watts's or Dr Patrick's versions of the psalms, which included the first nonconformist 'Introduction to Psalmody'.<sup>124</sup> Presbyterianism continued to flourish in Scotland and Northern Ireland but it became less important in England, and during the later eighteenth century its meetings tended to become Unitarian in doctrine, or joined with Congregationalists.

Many nonconformists sang metrical psalms, but Congregationalists and other Independents were more likely to use the translations of Isaac Watts rather than the Old or New Versions. Their music is generally not distinctive, and it is noticeable that, at least in Colchester, Congregational psalmody was still relatively plain even in the early years of the nineteenth century. William Cole made no mention of anthems or set pieces and usually referred to psalms, presumably those by Watts, rather than hymns.<sup>125</sup> Stephen Addington, a Congregational minister first in Market Harborough and later at

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<sup>122</sup> B. Milgrove, *Sixteen Hymns as they are Sung at [...] the Countess of Huntingdon's Chappel in Bath* ([Bath], 1768), and two further books; T. Haweis, *Carmina Christo*, pt. 1, (Bath and London, [-1791]) No later parts are known.

<sup>123</sup> *Practical Discourses of Singing in the Worship of God [...] by Several Ministers* (London, 1708), iii.

<sup>124</sup> W. L[awrence], *A Collection of Tunes* (London, 1719), 7-22.

<sup>125</sup> Cole, *Modern Psalmody* (1819).

Mile End in London, included a sufficient variety of tunes in his *Collection of Psalm Tunes for Publick Worship* to prevent psalmody, 'this delightful Part of Publick Worship', from 'sinking into Dullness', in which congregations sang the same tunes every Sunday, whether or not they expressed the subject or sentiment of the words. Consequently, Addington included a tune for all of Watts's psalms except twelve, which he did not consider 'suitable', and for all of Watts's hymns which he thought might be 'properly sung'.<sup>126</sup>

In Chester, at the end of the eighteenth century, music at the Independent Chapel in Queen Street became notable as a result of the work of the psalmody composer, painter, music seller, publisher and toy shop owner Richard Taylor (1758–1827).<sup>127</sup> He led the singing there for 54 years, arranged concerts of oratorio excerpts from Handel and Haydn, and, most important, left an extant sacred oeuvre of 127 hymns and shorter settings, and six large-scale set pieces. Most of these were published in three volumes of *The Beauties of Sacred Verse* and one posthumous collection.<sup>128</sup>

Unitarians were theologically indistinguishable from other nonconformist denominations during the eighteenth century, but they tended to be more up to date in their choice of music. They used bands but also had no objection to organs, maybe because many of their churches were situated in larger towns and cities.<sup>129</sup> The minister of Cross Street Chapel in Manchester, Ralph Harrison, compiled a collection of psalmody, part two of which included 'tunes in a greater diversity of style [...] perhaps more fit for *practitioners* or *choirs* of singers (MA 31, CD 15).<sup>130</sup> Two volumes of

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<sup>126</sup> S. Addington, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes for Publick Worship*, ([Market Harborough], 2/1778), unpaginated advertisement.

<sup>127</sup> S. Drage, 'Richard Taylor of Chester (1758-1827): His Music, Life and Times', *Georgian Psalmody 2: The Interaction between Urban and Rural Practice*, ed. C. Turner (Corby Glen, 1999), 13–21.

<sup>128</sup> R. Taylor, *The Beauties of Sacred Verse* (London, [1789]); *A Second Book of the Beauties of Sacred Verse* (London, [c.1789-]); *A Third Book of the Beauties of Sacred Verse* (London, [1803]); *The Sacred Harmonist* (London, [c.1827]).

<sup>129</sup> D. Dawson and W. Klaus, 'Unitarian Church Music, 1', *GMO*, ed. L. Macy (2001).

<sup>130</sup> R. Harrison, *Sacred Harmony* (London, [1784]), vi.



hymn and psalm tunes by Edward Harwood,<sup>131</sup> a weaver from Darwen who became a professional singer in Liverpool, also seem to have been composed for Unitarian congregations. Most of the texts are only found in *A New Collection of Psalms Proper for Christian Worship*, edited by John Brekell and William Enfield, ministers of Key Street and Ben's Garden Unitarian chapels respectively;<sup>132</sup> two tunes in the first volume are called 'Ben's Garden' and 'Key-Street'. Harwood's first collection also includes the most famous funeral piece of both the Georgian and Victorian eras, 'The Dying Christian to his Soul', a setting of Alexander Pope's 'Vital spark of heav'nly flame' (MA 40a, CD 19, 20).

Many early Baptists were concerned about the lawfulness of congregational singing as worship was to be spontaneous, not to a set format. Thomas Grantham, a General Baptist, stated that any singing should be limited to unaccompanied solos of biblical texts with no repetitions, and that 'promiscuous singing' of 'what another puts into their mouths' was 'meer counterfeit Psalmody'.<sup>133</sup> However, some Particular Baptists sang hymns of 'human composure' as early as the mid seventeenth century. In about 1673 at Horsleydown in London, Benjamin Keach introduced the singing of a hymn after communion so that any who objected could leave, and later he also included hymn singing on public thanksgiving days. This resulted in a pamphlet battle, particularly between Keach and Isaac Marlow, who believed that people should sing silently in their hearts and not aloud.<sup>134</sup> According to David Music, by 1691 'between 20 to 30 Particular Baptist congregations in London were singing', although 'the majority of General Baptist churches remained songless until after the middle of the

<sup>131</sup> E. Harwood, *A Set of Hymns and Psalm Tunes* (London, [1781]); *A Second Set of Hymns and Psalm Tunes* (Chester, 1786).

<sup>132</sup> (Liverpool, 1788).

<sup>133</sup> T. Grantham *Christianus Primitus* (London, 1678), 99–117.

<sup>134</sup> J. Goadby, *Byepaths in Baptist History* (London, 1871): [www.edintone.com/byepaths.html](http://www.edintone.com/byepaths.html).



[eighteenth] century'.<sup>135</sup> In Yorkshire, singing during Baptist worship was not officially sanctioned until 1719, when the first meeting of the Association of Baptist Churches decided that it was, 'a moral duty to be continued in the churches of Christ to the end of the world'.<sup>136</sup> It is likely that most Baptists sang unaccompanied during the eighteenth century and, as in the Church of England, may have relied on the leadership of a clerk, even if the singing was more congregational. Isaac Smith, who, as clerk to the Baptist meeting house in Alie Street, Stepney, would have been writing from personal experience, listed the necessary attributes: 'a good ear'; 'a good voice' of at least an octave and a fifth, or at least, 'clearly and distinctly', an octave and a third; and 'some knowledge of Music', which was acceptable because 'common tunes may be very well sung by one who is not a perfect master'.<sup>137</sup> Instruments are known to have been played in some Baptist chapels by the beginning of the nineteenth century, for instance by members of the Larks of Dean from Rossendale in Lancashire,<sup>138</sup> but their use remained controversial in some churches until as late as 1826. At Machpelah Baptist Chapel in Accrington the minute book stated that:

It had been the practice with the singers to bring instruments of various descriptions which was complained of as not comporting with the pure worship of God, in consequence of which they be desired not to introduce them any more, excepting the violoncello, which was considered less objectionable; but clarinets and small violins were not consistent with the pure worship of the Christian church.<sup>139</sup>

Once they had accepted instruments, some Baptist chapels may have continued to use them for longer than most other denominations. The Leicestershire farmer Isaac

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<sup>135</sup> D. Music, 'Baptist Church Music', *GMO*, ed. L. Macy (2001).

<sup>136</sup> R. Wylie, *Old Hymn Tunes: Local Composers and their Story* (Accrington, 1924), 8.

<sup>137</sup> I. Smith, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes in Three Parts [...] as now Sung in Several Churches, Chapels and Meeting Houses in and about London* (London, [1779–80]), 2.

<sup>138</sup> S. Drage, 'The Larks of Dean: Amateur Musicians in Northern England', *Music in the British Provinces, 1690–1914*, ed. R. Cowgill and P. Holman (Aldershot, 2007), 195–221 (pp.198–200).

<sup>139</sup> R. Wylie, comp., *The Baptist Churches of Accrington and District* (Accrington, 1923), 118.

Smith last played the violin in Austrey Baptist chapel, near Tamworth in 1902,<sup>140</sup> and some Particular Baptists still do not use instruments from choice. At Midland Road Particular Baptist Church in Walsall the congregation continue to sing unaccompanied in parts led by a precentor who also chooses the tune, which is not necessarily fixed to a particular text.<sup>141</sup>

#### f. Nonconformist Lining Out

One does not immediately connect lining out with the enthusiastic singing of nonconformists, nor with John Wesley's direction to 'sing lustily and with a good courage'. However, it seems to have been common practice among nonconformists, and it may have been more needful than in Anglicanism; many denominations introduced new hymns, which initially would have been unknown to congregations. In particular, lining out must have been essential if hymns were sung when worship was held in the open air. Outdoor preaching was a feature of early Methodism and of many other revivalist sects, including the later Primitive Methodists.

It seems that it was usual for two lines to be read aloud at a time. Most Methodist texts make sense within two lines, and, perhaps coincidentally, until the nineteenth century, Anglican metrical psalms were commonly printed two lines at a time. In 1719, Isaac Watts wrote:

It were to be wish'd that all Congregations and private Families would sing as they do in foreign Protestant Countries without reading Line by Line. Tho' the Author has done what he could to make the sense compleat in every Line or two, yet many Inconveniencies will always attend this unhappy Manner of Singing.<sup>142</sup>

<sup>140</sup> I. Smith, 'My Fiddle and I', 1903, unpaginated transcript, author's collection.

<sup>141</sup> Personal communication from a church member, Mr Phil Collins.

<sup>142</sup> I. Watts, *The Psalms of David imitated in the Language of the New Testament, and apply'd to the Christian State and Worship* (London, 1719), xxi.



Watts also recommended that as many people as possible should use a psalm book, and that the clerk should 'read the 'whole Psalm over aloud before he begins to parcel out the Lines, that the People may have some Notion of what they sing'.<sup>143</sup>

However, a hundred years later the problem had still not been resolved. The Congregationalist composer William Cole thought that so long as it continued 'every attempt to render the duty of singing respectable, must prove abortive' and noted that although in some cases it had been amended 'by reading two lines together' this alteration removed 'very few improprieties', for:

In consequence of these frequent interruptions, the people are forced to drag heavily through two tedious lines without any meaning; and before the subsequent lines are read, or the sense completed, the previous ones are oftentimes forgotten.<sup>144</sup>

Lining out destroyed the effect of both the melody and the harmony equally. As a schoolmaster, Cole was perhaps more qualified than some to comment that the only original advantage of lining out, which was to enable those who could not read to join in, was no longer valid. On average only one in ten people was still illiterate, and if one included those who would not sing even if they could read, it would only be of benefit to about five per cent of the congregation. He also suggested that where lining out continued to be used it would be expedient to ascertain how many in the congregation could still not read, so that it could be decided whether it was actually necessary to continue 'their favourite practice'. One wonders if he was writing from personal experience about the situation at Lion Walk chapel.<sup>145</sup> Cole also recommended that the

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Cole, *Modern Psalmody* (1819), 59.

<sup>145</sup> The minutes of church meetings from 1809 are held at Chelmsford Record Office, and at a future date it would be instructive to see if they contained any references to psalmody.

psalm should only be read through before it was sung, excluding any planned omissions, and argued that this would in fact take less time than lining out.<sup>146</sup>

Some Methodists still seem to have been lining out in 1839 even if hymn books were available. The minutes of the Leaders' Meeting at Burslem Wesleyan Chapel in Stoke-on-Trent contain a set of 'Rules for the guidance of the Organist and Singers' (in true Methodist fashion, a new committee was also formed to implement them), and the third resolution noted that 'The Organist is to play over the first two lines of each hymn as soon as the page is announced to let the Congregation hear the Tune and two lines at a time are to be given out and sung'.<sup>147</sup>

A resolution from the Methodist conference at the even later date of 1860 suggests that although Watts's proposal of reading a whole verse may have been in use in some chapels, perhaps surprisingly, lining out was still regarded as preferable:

The Conference hears with regret of increasingly numerous cases of departure from our long-established custom of giving out the verse in successive portions; not only because that practice seems to be more conducive than any other to the ends of devotion, especially on the part of the poor; but also because any interference with our ordinary modes of worship is on many accounts undesirable. And, while unwilling to urge the discontinuance of the later practice where it has long existed, the Conference instructs the Ministers of the Body to discourage, by all prudent means, its introduction in other places.<sup>148</sup>

Perhaps the last reference to lining out occurred in 1880, when the Methodists at Redditch petitioned the minister to 'discontinue the reading of hymns previous to singing them'.<sup>149</sup>

<sup>146</sup> Cole, *Modern Psalmody* (1819), 58–64.

<sup>147</sup> Burslem Wesleyan Chapel, Minutes of the Leaders' Meeting 1839–48, 'Rules for the guidance of the Organist and singers of the Chapel', 22 October 1839, no pagination. [This document is in private hands but will eventually be deposited at Stoke-on-Trent Archives.]

<sup>148</sup> *Minutes of the Methodist Conferences, from the First, held in London by the Late Rev. John Wesley A.M. in 1744* (London, 1862), xiv. 502.

<sup>149</sup> Worcestershire Record Office, 898.7314/10535/13/x/2: Methodist Connexion, Redditch Circuit, printed petition 1880.



## Musical Education

General education was not compulsory in England until the Education Act of 1870. Most schools in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were run by churches or by charitable organisations such as the SPCK. Sunday schools in the rapidly growing northern industrial towns also provided basic education as well as religious instruction. In some schools and Sunday schools pupils learnt psalm singing which would have enabled them to sing in church, either in a choir of charity children or as part of a mixed society of singers.

However, such education was limited and many psalmody singers would have had no musical instruction until they actually joined a choir. Their musical education then depended on the knowledge of the choir leader, or on that of itinerant psalmody teachers who would teach in a parish for a few weeks before moving on. As noted above, Abraham Hurst taught at Oldham for about seven months in 1696. The singers were then led by Elias Hall who may have had no more musical education than the other singers, though he seems to have had plenty of self confidence and wrote an enlightening and vigorous defence of his methods.<sup>150</sup> More research is needed into the number of provincial singing teachers. A search of the subscription lists of 42 psalmody books published between 1738 and 1846 provided the names of ten teachers of psalmody and 31 singing masters (DCD subscription lists).

Teachers of singing may have relied on the didactic introductions to printed psalmody books for their own basic musical knowledge, and many, such as Robert and John Barber, Uriah Davenport and John Arnold, included them in their own collections.<sup>151</sup> Such prefaces are usually based on earlier sources, particularly Playford's

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<sup>150</sup> Higson MS, 5–6 (DCD Elias Hall MS).

<sup>151</sup> R. and J. Barber, *A Book of Psalmody* (London, 1723); J. Arnold, *The Compleat Psalmist* (London, 1741); U. Davenport, *The Psalm-Singer's Pocket Companion* (London, 1755).

*Introduction*, as discussed earlier. However, there is no means of knowing the extent to which they were followed. Note lengths were usually explained clearly but, as will be seen, the precise meaning of time signatures could be confusing. Pitch was commonly taught by sol-fa, which also provided the basis for the phenomenally successful tonic sol-fa movement of the mid nineteenth century, promoted by John Curwen.<sup>152</sup>

Instrumentalists would have needed more instruction than singers because they had to master the complexities of an instrument as well as basic notation. Some may have received tuition from visiting music masters, if they or their church could afford it. At Udimore in Sussex an undated bill shows that the churchwardens paid John Waters for 'instructing the singers' and for teaching John Whitemans the violoncello.<sup>153</sup> The Rev. William Cole paid for flute lessons for his servant Tom, who may have eventually played in church. His teacher, Mr Morris (or Norris), accompanied the psalmody on the bassoon on at least one occasion.<sup>154</sup> Other instrumentalists may have relied on self-help tutors, which were published in increasing numbers during the eighteenth century.<sup>155</sup> In 1775 at Mayfield in Sussex, the churchwardens bought a bassoon, a 'book of instructions' and a reed case,<sup>156</sup> and, similarly, in 1823 the churchwardens of Fingringhoe, Essex spent £3 14s. 6d. on a bassoon, three reeds, a reed case, baize to make a bag for the bassoon, and '1 Introduction to the bassoon',<sup>157</sup> but there is no record of payments for any lessons in either instance. Some wind players may have learnt if they joined the local militia. The psalmody composer John Fawcett volunteered in about 1800 and 'acquired a knowledge of various instruments, with the view to get in the band'. He was later admitted to it as a 'second clarionet player' before being

<sup>152</sup> C. McGuire, *Music and Victorian Philanthropy: The Tonic Sol-fa Movement* (Cambridge, 2009).

<sup>153</sup> East Sussex Record Office, PAR497/9: Udimore, churchwardens' accounts 1791-1847.

<sup>154</sup> *The Blecheley Diary of the Rev. William Cole 1765-67*, ed. F. Stokes (London, 1931), 55, 119.

<sup>155</sup> A. Simpson, 'A Short-Title List of Printed English Instrumental Tutors up to 1800, held in British Libraries', *RMARC*, 6 (1966).

<sup>156</sup> East Sussex Record Office, PAR422/10/4/6: Mayfield, receipt 19 July 1775.



appointed bandmaster. However, the only way he could learn the organ was to teach himself on one belonging to a gentleman from Kendal.<sup>158</sup>

Some organ students may have received more formal tuition. Cathedral organists are known to have taken pupils to supplement their income. For instance, John Langshaw junior of Lancaster received lessons from the composer Charles Wesley,<sup>159</sup> and William Lovett from Chirk Castle studied with Dr John Alcock at Lichfield.<sup>160</sup>

Some women sang in choirs and would presumably have received the same basic musical training as men. The only woman known to have played in a church band was Phoebe Brown (d.1854), who seems to have been unusual in other respects as well. Her 'chief avocation was breaking in horses, without a saddle, at a guinea a week. She was an excellent shot, and a great reader; fond of Shakespeare, and played the bass viol in Matlock Church.'<sup>161</sup> Many women, however, seem to have studied the organ and to have played it in town churches. Donovan Dawe has suggested that there was a high number of women organists in London churches between 1750 and 1850 because they were prepared to accept a lower salary than men.<sup>162</sup> Whatever the reason, a search in local trade directories for Liverpool found that in 1790 three out of seven organists were women and by 1803 this had risen to eight out of 13, before gradually declining.

## Summary

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries England began to change from a rural to an urban society. The growth of nonconformity was supported by an

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<sup>157</sup> C. Turner, *Sing unto the Lord: being the History of Music used in Worship at St Andrew's Church, Fingringhoe* ([n.p], 1987), 1.

<sup>158</sup> 'Death of Mr John Fawcett', *Bolton Chronicle*, 2 November 1867.

<sup>159</sup> A. Wainwright and D. Saliers, *Wesley-Langshaw Correspondence: Charles Wesley, his Sons, and the Lancaster Organists* (Atlanta, 1993).

<sup>160</sup> Chirk Castle Archives, E2931-2974: includes 12 letters between Joseph Lovett at Chirk and William Lovett, John Alcock and John Alcock's servant Job Evans at Lichfield.

<sup>161</sup> Peakland Heritage [www.peaklandheritage.org.uk/index.asp](http://www.peaklandheritage.org.uk/index.asp).

<sup>162</sup> D. Dawe, *Organists of the City of London 1666-1850* (Padstow, 1983), 3-5.

increasingly independent and prosperous middle class, and flourished in towns because chapels could be built wherever they were needed, whereas new parish churches required an Act of Parliament.

Psalmody in Anglican churches flourished, though perhaps not quite as the clergy would have wished. The increasing independence of country choirs and their choice of music often silenced the congregations they were expected to support. Their skill may have been rudimentary at times but they seem to have provided congregations with some musical entertainment during long services.

By the early nineteenth century church bands were in decline and were gradually being replaced by organs and less elaborate treble-led psalmody. Meanwhile, the more popular music of Methodism positively encouraged congregational participation and continued to attract adherents.



## Chapter 2: The Singers

### Introduction

This chapter will consider who sang psalmody during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Most documentation refers only to singers even if a choir was accompanied by instruments. Specific references to instrumentalists are incorporated into chapter 5.

All denominations wanted congregations to participate, but in practice the singing was divided between full congregational participation, which was most likely to occur in Methodist and nonconformist worship, and select participation, which was more usual in Anglican churches. The size, vocal range and organisation of such choirs will be analysed.

### Choirs

#### a. Societies of Singers

One method employed to reform psalmody was to start a choir by using members of a religious society, particularly as they might have had enough musical training to sing plain psalm tunes by note. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries a choir, often described as a ‘society of singers’, became a common feature in many Anglican and a few nonconformist churches. In some areas they were described as ‘the *Choir of Singers*, in others the *Society of Singers*; and in the very remote Places where they were not quite so polite, they had the Appellation of *the Singers* only’.<sup>1</sup>

Some choirs had no connections with religious societies, but in 1711 Arthur Bedford, a prolific writer on church affairs, advised that ‘such who join themselves into

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<sup>1</sup> J. Arnold, *Church Music Reformed: or the Art of Psalmody* (London, 1765), v.

*Societies* for the learning to *sing Psalms, Hymns and Anthems*' should be 'extreamly careful of their own *Reputations*', should guard against bad behaviour by making 'Orders among themselves to prevent *Swearing, Cursing, Drunkenness, Quarreling*, and all such *Irregularities*', and should 'abstain from all *Vocal Musick*, when the Words are not divine'. If they were to form themselves into religious societies, they could adopt the same virtuous aims and 'intermix many other pious Exercises together with their *Psalm Singing*'.<sup>2</sup>

Occasionally, a group of singers did exist prior to the formation of a religious society. Samuel Wesley (John's father), established a religious society at Epworth in February 1702 from 'the most sensible and well dispos'd persons among my singers',<sup>3</sup> which implies that the singing was already led by a separate choir, even if there is no record of their organisation. George Whitefield, who later became a leader of the Calvinistic Methodists, reported that in 1737 he joined a singing society and, while the singers taught him the gamut, he was able to 'spiritulise their singing'.<sup>4</sup> At Rossendale in Lancashire the Larks of Dean, a group of Baptist church musicians, established an informal musical society in the 1740s and, after the conversion of their leader John Nuttall, they included bible readings in rehearsals and joined in worship at the Particular Baptist Chapel in Bacup.<sup>5</sup> Also, later in the eighteenth century John Berridge, vicar of Everton in Bedfordshire, would not let members of village religious societies include reading and prayers in meetings until they had been sufficiently strengthened in their beliefs by singing.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> A. Bedford, *The Great Abuse of Musick* (London, 1711), 257-8.

<sup>3</sup> S. Wesley, 'An Account of the Religious Society begun in Epworth' [1702], printed in full in W. Allen and E. McClure, *Two Hundred Years: The History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge 1698-1898* (London, 1898), 89-93.

<sup>4</sup> G. Whitefield, *The Full Account of the Life and Dealings of God with the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield* (London, [?1747]), 63.

<sup>5</sup> A. Buckley, *History of the Providence Baptist Chapel, Lumb* (Rawtenstall, 1928), 11-12.

<sup>6</sup> F. Bullock, *Voluntary Religious Societies, 1520-1799* (St Leonards on Sea, 1963), 205.



Societies of singers often agreed to a set of 'Orders' or articles of association, such as Bedford suggested. These usually covered regulations for appointing new singers, rehearsal times, payment of subscriptions and fines for non-attendance or unacceptable behaviour, for instance, misconduct during services. Most of these sets of rules of societies are now lost, but those which are extant and which include the names of singers show geographical variations in numbers and gender that might be expected from such autonomous groups. However, the surviving information about societies of singers is not necessarily a true indication of the number in any area. Some societies may never have been officially ratified and others may have subscribed to a set of rules that are now lost.

Even when church records have been deposited in archives, references to societies of singers may be difficult to find unless they have been fully catalogued, because they can be part of other church documents such as vestry minutes, churchwardens' accounts, or even church registers. From the lists of signatures appended to various agreements it would seem, in common with secular glee and catch clubs of the period,<sup>7</sup> that the majority of societies of singers were exclusively male, but it is impossible to distinguish the age of singers and, therefore, their voice range. Some may have been boy trebles, although it is unlikely that children would have signed a formal document. It is possible that women and girls, as well as boys, may have sung together with the men in these societies without their names being recorded.

As noted earlier, choirs to support the psalmody were first proposed in 1686 by William Rogers.<sup>8</sup> However, it seems that at least one parish choir was formed even earlier than this. In 1679 the Downes family of Shrigley Hall, near Macclesfield in Cheshire, gave £50 to pay for an organist and 'six fitt persons (men or boyes) to be

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<sup>7</sup> B. Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, 2006), 91.

<sup>8</sup> [W. Rogers], *A New and Easie Method* (London, 1686), [viii-ix].

Queristers' at nearby Prestbury,<sup>9</sup> though there is no record of whether this was actually implemented, nor of what they sang. By 1694 the singers at Ormskirk were sufficiently established to visit Standish,<sup>10</sup> and a year later, also in Lancashire, the parish church of St Nicholas, Liverpool asked the bishop for permission to build a singers' gallery, since the church was full:

Several gentlemen and others who were instructed in singing Psalmes were desirous of a convenient place where they might all sit together for the better regulating the voices of the congregation to the organ. That there is a vacant place between the Chapell and the Chancell at the end of the south isle and opposite the organ.<sup>11</sup>

A faculty was granted and the gallery was built over the chancel at the east end of the nave. The quotation suggests that a group of singers had already learnt to sing psalms, but their reason to sit together would probably have been more beneficial to them than to the congregation; reformers wanted singers to sit separately within the congregation but they naturally preferred to keep together. Considering the general antipathy of many of the upper classes to parish church music, it is notable that the singers included 'gentlemen'. The 'others' were presumably men from further down the social scale, but as there were mixed choirs elsewhere in Lancashire soon after this date, they might also have included some women. Despite their seating arrangements, the choir may not have been a total success, at least in the opinion of Henry Prescott, deputy registrar of the Chester diocese. In October 1711 he recorded a visit to St Nicholas's in his diary: 'I came to Liverpool before 12. I step to the old chapel and hear an anthem, 88 psalm

<sup>9</sup> Cheshire Archives DDS/361: Downes family papers, grant of £50 2 January 1679.

<sup>10</sup> T.D. Porteus, *A History of the Parish of Standish* (Wigan, 1927), 78.

<sup>11</sup> H. Peet, 'St Nicholas's Church, Liverpool: Its Architectural History', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 65 (1913), 12-46 (p.23).



rudely attempted, yet it pleased that audience'.<sup>12</sup> Prescott would have had a wide experience of churches in the area, and may have known of Elias Hall's teaching around Oldham, yet he did not record that the Liverpool singing was new or revolutionary, so choirs who were capable of at least attempting an anthem may have been quite common in the diocese by this date.

As will be discussed, there may have been a separate group of singers at Tiverton parish church by 1696, and two Sussex churches, Bolney and Hurstpierpoint, both built a gallery for singers in 1699.<sup>13</sup> The earliest primary source that specifically mentions a society of singers seems to be a memorandum in the register of baptisms, marriages and burials for St Michael's, Clapton in Gordano, Somerset, also dated 1699:

This year in the month of October was built the Pew between the Church Pew and the Chancel for the use of those who belong to the Society of Singers for ever no other Persons (although they are of the posterity of those that built it) being ever to be admitted to sit there except that they are actually of that Society.<sup>14</sup>

The singers' pew was not in the west gallery but near the front of the church and cost 17s. 6d.. Funding was provided by the five male signatories to the document but there is no firm evidence that they were singers, despite Somerset Record Office's description: 'List of members of the society of singers subscribing to a fund to set up a pew in the church 1699'. A membership of five men singers would seem reasonable, although it cannot be confirmed since no further information about the society at Clapton in Gordano seems to be extant.

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<sup>12</sup> 18 October 1711. *The Diary of Henry Prescott, LL.B., Deputy Registrar of Cheshire Diocese*, ed. J. Addy and P. McNiven, 3 vols, The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 132 (1994), II, 331. The anthem has yet to be identified.

<sup>13</sup> West Sussex Record Office, Par/252/4: faculty for a singing gallery at Bolney, 1699; West Sussex Record Office, Par/400/4/1: faculty appropriating seats in a singing gallery at Hurstpierpoint 'for the encouragement and improvement of psalm singing and other devotions', February 1699.

<sup>14</sup> Somerset Record Office, D/P/c.in.g/2/1/1: Clapton in Gordano Parish Records, Baptisms, Marriages and Burials Register, 1558-1803.

There was also apparently a choir at Cuckfield, Sussex, as early as at Clapton in Gordano. MacDermott listed extracts from a set of rules, dating from 1699, when a new gallery was built for 'ye better order of those that sitt and sing'. He stated that he took the rules from the *Cuckfield Book*, which contained 'the chronicles of the parish for the past two or three centuries',<sup>15</sup> but he did not identify the source nor quote it in full, even in his Sussex scrapbooks.<sup>16</sup> A search on the A2A website suggests that it is probably the Cuckfield 'Parish Book 1593–1665' which, despite the title dates, contains information up to 1780.<sup>17</sup> It also includes a 'note on the reintroduction "of the right and artful way of singing the psalms" in the manner taught by "Mr. Clerk of Hamshire" and in the version of Dr. Patrick of the Charterhouse', dated 1709. It suggests that the singers in the new gallery may not have met with universal approval. Maisie Wright noted that the rules were signed by 20 people, including the vicar,<sup>18</sup> but MacDermott reckoned that there were 22 signatories and describes them as 'singers and persons privileged to sit in the gallery', which would seem to imply that they were not all singers. Seating was by rank and he specifically mentions tenors and basses, who sat at the front of the gallery. However, he also included the introduction to the rules which stated that subscribers to the cost of the gallery only had a right to sit there if they also learnt to sing:

This Gallery being built only for ye singing of Psalms by those yt have learnt, and for their singing ym together, therefore tis agreed that it be used by such only (and those allowed to be Good or Competent Singers by ye major part of the Quire) and by no other, tho' Proprieter, till approved Singers.

Wright quoted another part of the rules, which may indicate that the subscribers could appoint singers: 'it is their right to place any other person there in their room and sing

<sup>15</sup> K.H. Macdermott, *Sussex Church Music in the Past* (Chichester, 1922), 16–17.

<sup>16</sup> Information from the librarian of the Sussex Archaeological Society.

<sup>17</sup> West Sussex Record Office, PAR/301/7/2, fols. 63–64: Cuckfield Parish Records, List of contributors to the new gallery for singing psalms, and rules regarding the seats for placing the different voices and general choir rules, 1699/1700.



bass or tenor'. Perhaps tenors and basses were specifically mentioned because they occupied the best seats, or because they were the only singers and no other parts were sung. Also, as Temperley has pointed out, rule 15 reflects later concerns about the insularity of choirs,<sup>19</sup> since it describes how the bishop's faculty for the gallery recommended that 'divers of the singers ... disperse themselves in the congregation ... to assist others to sing'.<sup>20</sup>

If churches from such a wide area as Liverpool, Clapton in Gordano and Cuckfield had choirs by 1700, it is likely that others were also in existence by that date, even if they do not seem to have been formally recorded. There is as yet no clear geographical pattern to the development of choirs so, although it would be possible to quote random research from around the country, it seems to make more sense to focus on one particular area.

Researchers are usually reliant on the information in archive catalogues unless they have time to make an in-depth search of all parish documents. The cataloguing at Gloucestershire Archives was reputedly done by inmates of the local prison, and is especially detailed. Even so, evidence of choirs is still rare. Out of the 350 or so parishes in Gloucestershire during the eighteenth century,<sup>21</sup> surviving church records mention only six groups of singers.

The earliest reference is from Minchinhampton, where a singing seat in the north aisle of Holy Trinity church was erected in 1711 by a 'company' of fifteen male singers 'at their own proper cost', with permission to rent or sell sittings. There must have been seven extra seats, as one singer bought six, and another three, but it is unclear whether these had to be rented or sold to other singers, or whether they could be disposed of to

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<sup>18</sup> M. Wright, *Cuckfield, an Old Sussex Town* (Haywards Heath, 1971), 51.

<sup>19</sup> N. Temperley, *MEPC*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1979), I, 155.

<sup>20</sup> The ellipses were inserted by MacDermott.

<sup>21</sup> Information provided by Gloucestershire Archives.

anyone who could afford them.<sup>22</sup> At St Lawrence, Lechlade, in 1740, a faculty was granted for a singing gallery to be used by nine singers 'to be chosen by Thos. Day, singing master' for their lives, with power to elect their successors.<sup>23</sup> The singers, who were all male, were appointed by their peers and details were entered in a nominations book until 1827,<sup>24</sup> so the faculty remained in force for at least 87 years, despite an accusation in 1752 that the singers were selling off vacant seats. In 1764 it was decided that any singer chewing tobacco would be excluded, and in 1787 an agreement resolved that no one should occupy a place in the gallery unless they were, or were likely to become 'useful members of the said society'. Nobody could be admitted to the society until he could sing 'twelve psalms by himself'. The agreement implies that all the singers were adult, because no children were to be allowed in the gallery unless they belonged to one of the singers; one child each was permitted as long as it was kept 'in due subjection during all the time of divine service'.

In 1742 at St Alrida's, Oldbury-on-Severn, ten male singers 'being determined to instruct themselves in singing psalms and anthems' made an agreement with John Thurston of Kington, 'Gentleman'. This does not seem to have been of any obvious benefit to them for there is no mention of financial recompense, unless they were perhaps provided with the singing pew mentioned below. The singers agreed to rehearse regularly, to sing at church services and to pay fines for non-attendance, with the exception of Edward Hunt, a fisherman, who was excused if he was 'obliged to be a cunning putts in Severn'. Two more of the Oldbury singers were also fishermen. The occupation of Samuel Prigg is not recorded but the rest included a blacksmith, a

<sup>22</sup> GB-GLr, P217 CW 2/3: Minchinhampton Parish, Appointments of Parish Officers 1789-1866, [1711]-1878.

<sup>23</sup> GB-GLr, D2269/2: Lechlade Parish, Faculty, 1740.

<sup>24</sup> GB-GLr, P197 M1 3: Lechlade Parish, Trustees of the Singing Gallery, Nominations Book, 1745-1827.



carpenter, a gentleman, a schoolmaster, and two yeomen.<sup>25</sup> Sadly, by the mid-1800s, as Joseph Bennett recorded, Oldbury was ‘conspicuously destitute in music’ except when visited by an ad-hoc group of singers and instrumentalists from Thornbury. The solitary remaining evidence of past musical achievements was a ‘capacious “singing pew” at the East end of the South aisle’.<sup>26</sup>

References to singers may only have been made in church records when there was conflict between them and the authorities. At St Mary Magdalene, Rodborough, in 1748 a dispute over the rights to the singing seat resulted in a ‘disturbance of the congregation’ and a subsequent set of rules, which was signed by the minister, the churchwardens and the principal inhabitants. This included a list of approximately eighteen men (crossings out make the exact number unclear) who had a right to sit in the pew, and who were presumably singers; the fourth rule stated that ‘No one Person shall sit there unless he understands the Rules of Music & can (with a tolerable Voice at least) sing the Psalm Tunes’.<sup>27</sup> A much later reference to a group of singers occurs in the register for the singing seat at St John the Baptist, Randwick, dated from May to December 1838. (This still has the black tape attached by which it was presumably hung up). It records the attendance of seven male singers and makes special note of one singer who ‘improperly left the church before the sermon’.<sup>28</sup>

A possible exception to all-male choirs in Gloucestershire can be found in a partly decipherable, worm-eaten page which the Gloucestershire Archives catalogued as a list of singers from St Mary the Virgin, Thornbury (without giving a precise reason). It is part of a miscellaneous collection of papers, some of which belonged to the Thurston

<sup>25</sup> GB-GLr, D4764 2/1: Oldbury Singers’ Agreement, 1742.

<sup>26</sup> J. Bennett, ‘Some Recollections. IV. On “Supply” Duty’, *MT*, 39 (1898), 654–56.

<sup>27</sup> GB-GLr, P272 IN 1/1: Rodborough Parish, Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, 1692–1771.

<sup>28</sup> GB-GLr, P263 IN 4/2: Randwick Parish, Notices relating to Singers, 1826–1838.

family of Thornbury.<sup>29</sup> The page is headed 'Ex libris Johannis Dimery 1712' and includes three lists of names, in one of which three females are named. At the bottom of the page is a single line of music in diamond notes, which can be identified from the *HTI* as a setting of Psalm 51, first printed in the second edition of John and James Greene's *A Book of Psalm-Tunes* of 1713.<sup>30</sup> This date would seem to be inconsistent with the 1712 Thornbury paper unless the tune was included in the lost first edition of Greene, or unless the paper was written before 25 March 1713 (old style dating).

None of the Gloucestershire records mention the vocal tessitura of the singers, but the miscellaneous Thornbury collection contains eight items of manuscript music which date from the late seventeenth to the mid eighteenth century, and which include three disparate part books for alto, tenor and bass.<sup>31</sup> These cannot be positively connected with Thornbury church and may have been privately owned. If they were used by the church singers, the sixth item, a book which includes various poems and meditations as well as some music, could indicate that they were capable of singing in parts and may also provide the name of the leader of the singers. It includes a note: 'Mr Webb. The Anthem which begins wth O give thanks is [a] fine Easy thing and [...] anthem Therefore I advise you with all speed to learn it. Jno Thurston', together with an as yet unidentified three-part anthem headed 'first verse 118th Psalm by Dr Crofts' to the text, 'O give thanks unto the Lord for he is gracious'.

#### b. Male Choirs

During the eighteenth century, male choirs seem to have been most common, although there is some evidence of mixed choirs in certain areas of the country. As

<sup>29</sup> GB-GLr, D866/Z6: Thornbury, List of Singers, [1712].

<sup>30</sup> N. Temperley, *HTI*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1998), III, 247; John and James Greene [Green], *A Book of Psalm-Tunes in Two, Three and Four Parts* (London, 2/1713). No copy of the first edition is known.



previously stated, it is not always possible to distinguish the age or voice range of singers. Where singers in male choirs were all adults, the treble could have been sung falsetto, but there is no clear proof of this and it is likely that it was omitted or sung an octave lower. In most eighteenth and early nineteenth century psalmody books the alto is usually printed in the same way as tenor parts, in the treble clef an octave higher than sung, which suggests that it was sung by male countertenors. However, in 1741 John Arnold of Great Warley in Essex commented that once the bass and tenor was correctly pitched then ‘Boys may very easily perform the two upper parts’.<sup>32</sup> This indicates that he expected all the singers to be male, but of a mixed age range. Conversely, a copy of Michael Beesly’s *Collection of 20 New Psalm Tunes* contains the inscription: ‘left by a poor old wellwisher man to the party of Singers in the Gallery belonging to no one in particular but beneficial to all’, and a very faded list of seven names. This is headed ‘Artikels between the Singers 4 December 1747 Every man to Meet twice a Weeke tel a lady day or else forfeit one penny a Night’, which seems to imply that they were all adults.<sup>33</sup>

Unusually, in Sussex there is possible evidence of two all-female choirs. In 1727 Thomas Dendy built a gallery on the north side of St Nicholas, Itchingfield, ‘wholly for the use of Women Singers’,<sup>34</sup> and at St Giles, Bodiam, in the same year, the women singers had permission to sit in the pew reserved for the vicar’s servants.<sup>35</sup> Of course, this could just mean that male singers sat in an adjacent gallery or pew, perhaps to promote decorum.

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<sup>31</sup> GB-GLr, D866/Z1/1-8: Thurston Family of Thornbury, manuscript music.

<sup>32</sup> J. Arnold, *The Compleat Psalmist* (London, 1741), 16.

<sup>33</sup> GB-Mr, Special Collections, MAB H633: M. Beesly, *A Collection of Twenty New Psalm Tunes Compos'd with Variety of Fuges* (London, [-1746]).

<sup>34</sup> West Sussex Record Office, Par 113/1/1/1, fol. 5v: Itchingfield Parish Records, Composite Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials July 1700–December 1812.

### c. Mixed Choirs

Some psalmody tune books published in the 1700s quote Psalm 148: 'young Men, and Maidens, old Men, and Children, may praise the Name of the Lord',<sup>36</sup> which could refer, at least obliquely, to the gender of singers. This may be because the quotation supports the notion that all should sing, rather than because the writer specifically envisaged mixed choirs.

However, in northwest England choirs do seem to have been more likely to include women singers, and indeed, mixed choirs may have been a northern innovation. The preface to an anonymous tune book from Lancashire, *The Psalm-Singer's Necessary Companion*, is signed 'Standish [...] 1699' and states that the treble part is to be sung by boys or women, or if there are not sufficient, 'let some of the Boys who are apt to skrike, sing Contra, and Women and the rest of your Boys Tenor with some of your Men'.<sup>37</sup> The women and boys were presumably choir members, because if they had belonged to the congregation they would always have sung the tenor air. Evidence of a mixed choir at Standish may perhaps be strengthened by the frontispiece to the *Necessary Companion*. As Temperley has commented, this seems to show a group of singers facing east and standing in the centre of the aisle (DCD *Necessary Companion* frontispiece).<sup>38</sup> The illustration is not absolutely clear, but the choir appears to consist of at least two or three women and eight or more men.

In 1701 at St Mary's, Oldham, where psalmody classes had begun in 1695, the society of singers was formally ratified when Elias Hall, the society's leader, produced a set of articles 'The Singer's Summons, or Prick-Singing's Preservative by E.H'. These

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<sup>35</sup> East Sussex Record Office, PAR250/1/1/1: Bodiam Parish, General Register 1557–1739, note inside back cover.

<sup>36</sup> J. Barrow, *The Psalm-Singer's Choice Companion*, (London, [1740]), [iii].

<sup>37</sup> *The Psalm-Singer's Necessary Companion* (London, 1700), 40–41.

<sup>38</sup> Temperley, *MEPC* (1979), I, 154.



were signed by 39 singers: 36 men (perhaps including boys) and three women.<sup>39</sup> The original manuscript may have included the names of the singers but the transcription cannot be checked since it is now lost.<sup>40</sup> A year later in 1702, more stringent rules were added because both attendance and payment of subscriptions had become lax. These were signed by thirty singers whose gender is not recorded. Although the voice range of the singers was apparently not included in either set of rules, they do seem to have sung in parts. Hall commented that they were given a version of Psalm 48 in four parts to learn, and that the first anthem they sang during a service was Psalm 150, 'O praise God in his holiness', a three-part setting by John Weldon (MA 19). This is included in Henry Playford's *Divine Companion*,<sup>41</sup> which they had recently borrowed from the Miss Tetlows.

Despite the large number of singers who initially learnt psalmody at Oldham and who signed the articles, they may not all have sung together as a choir in church. Only 20 singers travelled to Rochdale to sing the four-part version of Psalm 48, though this may have been because of the distance involved or because, according to Raines, they travelled by cart, which would have had limited space.<sup>42</sup> Charles Higson, who transcribed Hall's manuscript with some paraphrasing and omissions, noted that James Brierley, one of the churchwardens, provided a seat for eight of the singers in 1704, but unless 31 had left the choir in the three years since the articles were signed, presumably others sat elsewhere. Indeed, fewer than eight may have actually occupied these seats because they were 'common to all'.<sup>43</sup> However, 29 seats in the gallery were purchased

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<sup>39</sup> Higson MS, 13 (DCD Elias Hall MS).

<sup>40</sup> S. Drage, 'Elias Hall, 'the faithful chronicler' of Oldham psalmody', *Early Music*, 28 (2000), 621–634 (p.622).

<sup>41</sup> H. Playford, *The Divine Companion: or, David's Harp New Tun'd* (London, 1701), 126–129.

<sup>42</sup> GB-Mch, The Raines Bequest, vol. 36: Lancashire Manuscripts, mid-19th century.

<sup>43</sup> Higson MS, 8, 9 (DCD Elias Hall MS).

for the singers in 1708,<sup>44</sup> and by 1765 the choir seems to have expanded considerably. An article in the *Oldham Chronicle* in 1945 described a plan of the singing gallery found in a psalmody manuscript which now seems to be missing. This showed possible seats for 48 singers, including six trebles.<sup>45</sup> However, only 36 male singers were named, including just one treble, so there were twelve spare seats. The presence of women or girls in the choir had apparently ceased.

Another large mixed group of 41 singers, who also seem to have sung in four parts, was recorded nearby at Denton Chapel (later St Lawrence) about seven miles south of Oldham. According to 'An Old List of Singers', the source of which is not identified, the north side of a west gallery erected in 1728 was 'to be devoted to "the free use of the present set of psalm-singers"'. On 3 October 1728 they consisted of ten trebles (seven female, and three male), and 31 men: nine 'counters', 14 tenors and eight basses.<sup>46</sup> The male trebles were presumably boys, not men singing falsetto, and the female trebles were likely to have been girls or young unmarried women.

The far southwest of England, like the northwest, may have been another area where mixed choirs were more common. The Rev. John Newte, in a sermon preached at the opening of the organ at Tiverton in 1696, stated that an organ would 'Regulate the untunable Voices of the Multitude' and added that 'It cannot be supposed, but there will be great Discord and Jarrings in a mixed Company of Singers, where few perhaps have had the Benefit of Art to tune and help their Voices'. This might be thought of as a description of a congregation, were it not for the fact that later in the same sermon he

<sup>44</sup> GB-Mp, Manchester City Archives, MSf 942.72. R121, vols 52, 63: Archdeacon John Rushton, Visitation Papers etc..

<sup>45</sup> H. Bateson, 'The Oldham Church Singers, 1695-1765', *Oldham Chronicle*, 20 October 1945.

<sup>46</sup> T. Middleton, *The History of Denton and Haughton* (Hyde, 1936), 39, 45.



recommended the 'Art of Singing *Psalms*, which some of you have happily learnt', so it seems possible that those who had studied psalmody formed the 'mixed Company'.<sup>47</sup>

At Clovelly, in the early nineteenth century, the churchwardens' memorandum and account book includes a list of musicians: a cellist, a violinist and 23 singers (15 basses and eight trebles). In most instances information is added about their occupations, their relationship to other singers and villagers, and even a few comments about the quality of their voices.<sup>48</sup> As the list includes an amendment, 'Violoncello – Mr Ashton left 1826', it must have originally been written prior to that date. It includes three masons, a farmer who came 'to Church about once in a quarter of a year', another with a 'good voice' and his son, a bass who was 'very nose-y in Voice', a shoemaker, a carpenter, a labourer, a carrier's son, a ploughman's son, an innkeeper, a sempstress, two daughters of one of the masons and his niece, a butcher's daughter, a shopkeeper's daughter, a carpenter's daughter, and a groom's wife. As Gammon has noted,<sup>49</sup> church musicians were more likely to be artisans or tradesmen than to belong to the lower echelons of society and the occupations of the singers and instrumentalists at Clovelly, as at Oldbury, support this suggestion.

All of the trebles at Clovelly, except the wife of the groom, were probably unmarried and young women, or even children. Once they were married, women had less freedom and were likely to be preoccupied with domestic concerns and child-bearing. As the parish records for Clovelly are not included in the International Genealogical Index, personal details of the named musicians are not readily available, but possible marriages of three of the trebles: Mary Heard in 1823, Priscilla Jennings in 1827 and Isabella Jennings in 1833, can be found in the Clovelly marriage registers

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<sup>47</sup> J. Newte, *The Lawfulness and Use of Organs in the Christian Church* (London, 1696), 20, 42.

<sup>48</sup> Devon Record Office, Barnstaple, North 1058A/PW2, 117: Clovelly Churchwardens' Memorandum and Account Book, 1790–1829.

from 1620 to 1837,<sup>50</sup> which suggests that they were in their late teens or early twenties when they sang in the choir. If the Clovelly choir list is correct, it seems that there were no altos or tenors. There is no real proof but the use of a treble and a bass instrument may mean that the singing was in two parts rather than in unison.

Further evidence of mixed choirs in the west country can be found in a service register of 1848 to 1861 from Little Petherick parish church (properly known as St Petroc Minor) in Cornwall.<sup>51</sup> A list of singers in the front of the book includes the names of four male instrumentalists and nine singers. There were two 'bass viol' players, two flautists, two bass singers, and seven trebles, of whom two were male and five female. Again, it would seem that they sang in no more than two parts.

Some mixed choirs included men and children but no women. By the mid nineteenth century wealthy town churches began to adopt the Oxford movement ideal of an all-male surpliced choir placed in the chancel. Elsewhere, as church bands were gradually replaced by harmoniums or organs, the treble was more likely to be sung both boys and girls from the local charity school, while the other parts were provided by men. In 1847, at St James in Didsbury, Manchester, 'Agreements' for the choir included a request for 'proper behaviour' from the school children 'of both sexes', and another that the voluntary adult male singers should attend services regularly.<sup>52</sup> It seems that the choir did not usually sing anthems since there was to be 'no departure from the ordinary singing' without the consent of the minister. Ordinary singing was defined as three hymns and three 'chaunts' during the morning service and three hymns and two chants in the afternoon. The latter were to be 'plain devotional simple Chaunts as are suitable

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<sup>49</sup> V. Gammon, ' "Babylonian Performances": the Rise and Suppression of Popular Church Music, 1660-1870', *Popular Culture and Class Conflict, 1590-1914*, ed. E. and S. Yeo (Brighton, 1981), 62-88.

<sup>50</sup> Clovelly Early Bishops' Transcripts and Church Registers, 1620-1730:  
<http://genuki.cs.ncl.ac.uk/DEV/Clovelly/WickesEarlyBTsPRs.html>.



for a Country Congregation and known by them' (in those days Didsbury was still a village). At St Mary Magdalene, Lillington, Warwickshire, the choir also included trebles but no women. A book listing subscriptions for the choir, begun in 1861, described the singers as 'all either labouring men, or the daughters and children of poor parents'.<sup>53</sup>

There are many other examples of lists of singers in parish churches throughout the country. For instance, an extensive set of churchwardens' vouchers shows the salaries of a mixed choir at St Mary the Virgin, Ellesmere, Shropshire, between 1809 and 1845.<sup>54</sup> Also, at St Anne's, Copp, in Lancashire a record of payments to singers (which is undated but which is probably from the middle of the nineteenth century) lists six men and three boys, and two girls or women who received the least money.<sup>55</sup> A mid-eighteenth-century list of the seat owners (all of whom were men) in the 'loft' in the church of St Charles King and Martyr, Peak Forest, in Derbyshire states that the seats were 'not to be disposed of to any person, but to such, who either are, or design to be Singers, by consent of a majority of y<sup>e</sup> said complex body of singers'.<sup>56</sup> Places on the benches in the west gallery of St Lawrence, Rushton Spencer, in Staffordshire are marked with initials which probably belonged to the singers. They include 'U.D. 1719', who may be the psalmody composer and teacher, Uriah Davenport, (1689/90–1784); he taught psalmody at Rushton Spencer for 'upward of sixty years'.<sup>57</sup> Three other sets of initials are also dated 1719, and may refer to the original choir, but it is unlikely that all

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<sup>51</sup> Cornwall Record Office, P185/2/63: Little Petherick (St Petroc Minor) Parish, Register of Services, 1848–1861.

<sup>52</sup> GB-Mp, Manchester City Archives, M/22/7/2: Didsbury Parish, Agreements for Didsbury Choir, [1847].

<sup>53</sup> Warwickshire Record Office, DR426/70: Lillington Parish, Book of Money Subscriptions to the Choir, 1861–1897.

<sup>54</sup> Shropshire Record Office, P105/A/8/1: Ellesmere Parish, Bundle labelled 'Singing', singers' salaries etc., 1809–45.

<sup>55</sup> Lancashire Record Office, PR3238/11/66: Account of payments to the 'singers of Copp Church', [?mid-1800s].

<sup>56</sup> Derbyshire Record Office, D35 78/2/1/1: Peak Forest Parish, Pew holders' lists, mid-1700s.

the initials belonged to the same generation of singers since one set is dated 1744 and another 1758. There is no indication that any of the singers were women. Also in Staffordshire, at St Luke's, Sheen, an agreement regarding the ownership of a violin, violoncello and clarinet was signed by ten men, who were 'the whole or major part of the Sheen Society of Singers'.<sup>58</sup>

#### d. Nonconformist Choirs

Choirs seem to have been less common among nonconformists because everyone was expected to participate. Perhaps a distinction should be made between elitist groups of Anglican singers, who might regard psalmody as their own special province, and more egalitarian nonconformist groups, who led the whole congregation. John Wesley, a great advocate of congregational singing, provided a set of rules for the singers at the 'New Room' in Dublin, which were copied into the Society Roll.<sup>59</sup> A list of names headed 'The Persons who at Present learn to sing' included 24 men and 18 women who were to practise on Thursday evenings and who were to be allowed to sit in the 'Second and Third Seats in the Gallery on each Side of the Pulpit'. It is likely that they supported the singing rather than monopolising it and further research is needed to discover more about their organisation.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the choir at Norfolk Street Methodist Chapel in Sheffield successfully led the singing of the congregation who, as will be discussed, were expected to participate in quite complicated extended pieces. Also, John Beaumont, writing in the preface to his *New Harmonic Magazine* of 1801, provided a

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<sup>57</sup> Staffordshire Record Office, D1109/3: Rushton Spencer Parish Records, Baptisms and Burials Register, 1769-1788, burial 17 March 1784.

<sup>58</sup> Staffordshire Record Office, D5523/2/2: Sheen Singers' Agreement 1829, Sheen Churchwardens' Parish Book, 1803-38.

<sup>59</sup> Illustration in *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley*, ed. N. Curnock, 8 vols (London, [1909]), V, 221.



long list of directions for singers. He obviously regarded them as a separate group, because rule sixteen stated that 'Singers ought not to place themselves directly in full view of the Congregation'.<sup>60</sup> However, even in the early 1800s the legality of choirs could still cause a gentlemanly spat in the *Methodist Magazine*. One correspondent believed that:

the formation of choirs, is a violation of the public rights, and leads to an improper association of converted and unconverted persons—an imprudent intercourse of sexes—frequent altercations between ministers and people—private animosities and church distractions.<sup>61</sup>

Another commentator thought that choirs were necessary, particularly in large chapels, to prevent the singing being 'so dull and languid as to sink the spirit of devotion'. Where 'no *official leader* has *pitched* the tune, a variety of persons have claimed the privilege, many of whom have been unwilling to suspend their choice' and the consequent strife and confusion could continue through most of the first verse.<sup>62</sup>

Choirs gradually became accepted and at Burslem Wesleyan Chapel, Stoke-on-Trent; in 1839 a group of ten singers was deemed sufficient, although 'in order to secure a proper moral influence over them' they were all to be members of the Wesleyan Methodist Society and no strangers were to be admitted to the 'orchestra' (the place where the singers sat, which could be near the front under the pulpit).<sup>63</sup>

In Sheffield during the 1840s there was a further dispute, not about the necessity for a choir, but over whether singers should be paid. In 1848, a pamphlet, *Thoughts on Hired Singing, as Practised in Methodist Chapels* by 'Candidus', argued that local preachers deserved to be paid more than singers, who apparently behaved in an unfit

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<sup>60</sup> J. Beaumont, *The New Harmonic Magazine, or Compendious Repository of Sacred Music* (London, 1801), 11.

<sup>61</sup> B., 'On Public Singing', *The Methodist Magazine*, 41 (1818), 698.

<sup>62</sup> J. H., 'On Public Singing', *The Methodist Magazine*, 42 (1818), 58.

manner in the orchestra of the chapel.<sup>64</sup> As might be expected, this pamphlet was quickly contested by three local musicians, William Schofield, George Wragg and Abel Bywater, who described himself as a 'Hireling'.<sup>65</sup>

Elsewhere, John Curwen noted that John Cennick started singing classes or 'choirs', 'after the manner of the Moravians', possibly at the Calvinistic tabernacle he had erected at Kingswood, near Bristol in 1741. It may be that Curwen misinterpreted 'choirs', since this could also refer to segregated groups of members within the Moravian church, but as he did not identify his source this cannot be proved either way.<sup>66</sup> Curwen added that a correspondent of Cennick's from Plymouth wrote that the singing meeting there had moved to the Baptist chapel: 'There are about fifty who meet to learn the tunes'. The numbers involved, however, suggest that this was more likely to be a general class to encourage congregational singing, rather than the training of a select group.

## Seating Arrangements

### a. Anglican Singers

Despite the label, 'west gallery music', not all singers occupied that part of a church. At Ledbury, Herefordshire, in 1737, a licence appropriated the gallery in the south aisle for the use of 'such persons as shall hereafter from time to time sing Psalms'.<sup>67</sup> Other choirs sat in the body of the church. In 1726 at St George's, Deal, a singers' seat was erected

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<sup>63</sup> Burslem Wesleyan Chapel, Minutes of the Leaders' Meeting 1839-48, 'Rules for the guidance of the Organist and singers of the Chapel', 22 October 1839, no pagination. This document is in private hands but will eventually be deposited at Stoke-on-Trent Archives.

<sup>64</sup> (Sheffield, 1848).

<sup>65</sup> W. Schofield, *A Reply to the Thoughts of Candidus, on Hired Singing, as practised in Methodist Chapels* (Sheffield 1848); G. Wragg, *A Few Lines to "Candidus"* ([?Sheffield], [?1848]); A. Bywater, *A Defence of Hired Singing, or A Little Bamboozlement for 'Candidus'* (Sheffield, 1848).

<sup>66</sup> Source unknown. Quoted in J. Curwen, *Studies in Worship Music*, first series (London, 2/[1888]), 53.



near the communion table for the psalm singers,<sup>68</sup> and in 1737 at St Peter and St Paul's, Headcorn, also in Kent, a faculty was obtained to remove the 'Singers Pew' which was obstructing the congregation's view of the font.<sup>69</sup>

Wherever they sat, the cost of seats, particularly in parish churches, meant that singers might have to share the space with other members of the congregation or even pay for their own seats. As noted above, the rules for the use of the west gallery at Cuckfield, Sussex, in 1699 stated that the 'five or six inner places in the Fronte seate on the right hand for ye Principall Bass, if they be singers, and according to their Rank. And that the two outer places be for Tenours'. Apparently those who paid most occupied the best seats, so the seating arrangement of the voices may have been random.

There are two other pieces of evidence about the arrangement of choirs at about the same date as Cuckfield, both from south Lancashire. The singers shown on the frontispiece to the *Psalm Singer's Necessary Companion*, discussed earlier, stood in the middle of the nave facing the altar, although they may have sat elsewhere when not performing (DCD *Necessary Companion* frontispiece).<sup>70</sup> Also, at Oldham, according to a paraphrased section from Higson's transcription of Elias Hall's manuscript, the singers at first stood as near the clock as they conveniently could until James Brierley built a raised seat for eight of the singers.<sup>71</sup> When Brierley later got permission from the bishop in 1704 to build a west gallery since there was 'scarce room for the congregation', he particularly 'designed the ascending seats for singers'. The price of £50 was prohibitive, however, and although the vicar of Rochdale preached a sermon

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<sup>67</sup> Herefordshire Record Office, A79/40: Ledbury Parish, Licence, 2 July 1737.

<sup>68</sup> East Kent Archives Centre, De/AC2: Deal Borough Assembly Minute Books, 1721–1804.

<sup>69</sup> Canterbury Cathedral Archives, DCb/E/F/Headcorn, SS Peter and Paul/1: Headcorn Parish, Faculty, 1737.

<sup>70</sup> *Necessary Companion*, (1700).

<sup>71</sup> Higson MS, 8, 9 (DCD Elias Hall MS).

recommending singing to the congregation and encouraging them to buy the seats for the singers, the money was not forthcoming.<sup>72</sup> Four years later the problem remained unresolved because the singers were still unable to sit together in the gallery. They successfully took matters into their own hands by refusing to lead the singing for two Sundays, with the result that the cost of the pews was lowered to £20. After the singers contributed £7, the shortfall was made up by contributions from parishioners. Elias Hall described how he sat in the leader's seat. This was 'most proper' as it was 'in the middle of the highest form', which suggests that they sat on benches. Basses sat on the 'lowest form end nearest to the congregation', the 'medius, etc.' sat in the middle, and the 'other parts', trebles (women and perhaps children) and tenors occupied the highest form. They would presumably have kept in time by all beating a tactus, since they would not have been able to see Hall.

Other seating arrangements were more unusual, but would at least have enabled singers to follow a leader. In 'some useful Instructions for ordering a *Society*' which should be carried out by the 'singing Master, where there is one, or else by the head Singer', John Arnold suggested a disposition of voices which would make the harmony 'more pleasant and delightful, both to the Performer and Hearer' and be easier for singers because they would not have to stand 'one Part mingled with another'. The harmony may have been improved, but the visual aspect was perhaps less satisfactory:

in standing in the Church, which in most Country Churches is in the Chancel, or in a Gallery or singing Pew; first let the Bass Voices place themselves in a straight Row with their Backs next the Congregation, then let the Tenor Voices place themselves in a straight Row facing the Bass, but some Distance off, the Contra Voices standing before the Bass, and the Treble Voices before the Tenor, facing the Contra. This being done your Harmony will go more pleasant and delightful, both to the Performer and Hearer; and every one may take his Part more easily when he sings alone, than he might when they stand one part mingled with another.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>73</sup> J. Arnold, *The Compleat Psalmist* (London, 1741), 16.



These instructions seem somewhat unconventional, although at least the tenor and treble parts would presumably have been heard more clearly. Today, one would normally expect singers in a gallery to all face outwards so that the sound would carry into the main body of the church, or to stand opposite each other on either side of a chancel, so that the congregation has a clear view of the altar. However, in many eighteenth-century parish churches the seats did not necessarily all face one way, especially in box pews. The focal point was the pulpit, which was often placed halfway down the nave, or in the middle at the front obscuring the altar, since this would only be used a few times a year for holy communion.

Arnold's recommendation may have been followed longer and more closely than one might expect. On 2 June 1852 Charlotte Brontë wrote to her father from Filey, describing a visit to a small church in the locality:

It was certainly not more than thrice the length and breadth of our passage—floored with brick—the walls green with mould—the pews painted white but the paint almost all worn off with time and decay—at one end there is a little gallery for the singers—and when these personages stood up to perform—they all turned their backs upon the congregation—and the congregation turned their backs on the pulpit and parson—the effect of this manoeuvre was so ludicrous—I could hardly help laughing ... Looking up at the gallery and seeing only the broad backs of the singers presented to their audience was excessively grotesque.<sup>74</sup>

A footnote in Margaret Smith's edition of Charlotte Brontë's letters suggests that the church, which is not named, was either St Oswald's, Filey, which is larger than the description but did have a gallery, or St Leonard's, Speeton, which is the right size but where there is no evidence of a gallery, although it is possible that there was a slightly raised singers' pew.

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<sup>74</sup> *The Letters of Charlotte Brontë, 1829–55*, ed. M. Smith, 3 vols (Oxford, 1995–2004), III, 50.

This pew could have been similar to that occupied by a generic group of East Anglian singers, who, as described by a Suffolk clergyman in 1764, had a similar lack of concern for a congregation:

The Performers are placed in a Single Seat, sometimes a raised seat like a stage. Here they form themselves into a round Ring, with their Faces to each other and their Backs to ye Congregation. Here they murder anthems, chuse improper psalms, leave off in ye middle of a sentence, sing Psalms of all kinds to new, jiggish tunes.<sup>75</sup>

Unfortunately, Percy Scholes failed to provide a reference for this quotation and it cannot be identified, despite a search in the separate appendix of sources to *The Oxford Companion to Music*.<sup>76</sup>

As instruments began to be introduced to support the singing, space had to be found for players to sit with or near the singers. St Mary's, Whitby has a deep musicians' pew at the back of the west gallery (DCD Whitby pew) and at Clodock, in Herefordshire, the parish church of St Clydog (or Clydawg) has a large west gallery that is thought to have been built between 1650 and 1680 (DCD Clodock gallery). It is described in the church guide book as the 'Minstrels' or Musicians' gallery' since, apparently, this was always its sole use.<sup>77</sup> It contains three rows of narrow tiered seats which hold about 30 to 40 people, and a flat area at the south end with sufficient space for a music desk and instrumentalists (DCD Clodock desk). The desk has four sloping sides and was probably built in 1830, when it was documented in the Parish Book: 'Paid W<sup>m</sup> Farr for making a seat in the Galary for the singers & a new desk [£]1 8[s.] 8[d.]'.<sup>78</sup> There is no mention of instruments in church accounts, but a sale at Sotheby's in June 1977 included 'an English copper Church Bass from the first quarter of the 18th

<sup>75</sup> P. Scholes, *The Oxford Companion to Music* (Oxford, 1938), 37.

<sup>76</sup> P. Scholes, *A List of Books about Music* (Oxford, 1939).

<sup>77</sup> D. Gwilym-Jones, *The Parish Church of Sant Clydawg, Clodock, Herefordshire*, ([n.p.],[n.d.]), [7]; Personal communication from the prebendary, the Revd Frank Rogers.

<sup>78</sup> Herefordshire Record Office, G71/1: Clodock Parish Book, 1798-1837.



century' which, so far as its provenance could be established, had been used at Clodock 'as early as 1714'.<sup>79</sup> It is likely that the actual date is later than this and that the singing was initially unaccompanied. Any singers were probably restricted to the south end of the gallery, while the rest of the seats, which may have been privately owned, were occupied by members of the congregation. Alternatively, the tiered seats would have been ideal for children from the charity school (started in about 1810), who could also have formed the choir, perhaps with men singing tenor and bass as at Didsbury and Lillington.

Music desks with sloping sides to support books can be found in other churches, although they may have been moved from their original position. For instance, at St Peter's, Congleton, in Cheshire there is one in a pew, now used by the mayor, on the south side of the aisle near the pulpit (DCD Congleton desk), and at St Mary's, Waterperry, Oxfordshire, another is in a similar position near the front on the south side (DCD Waterperry desk). These may not necessarily have been used by instrumentalists, since singers would usually have needed space for at least two books. Their music would probably have been in manuscript, but if they were able to purchase a printed psalmody book, these often contained no text or perhaps only one verse of a psalm or hymn. A copy of the *Book of Common Prayer* would still have been required for any remaining words since, even when a tune was set to a particular text, an alternative was often substituted. Thomas Billington recommended that the 'performers should always look up, and sing from a high desk, or hold the book up high, that their voices may have a free passage'.<sup>80</sup> John Barwick of Canterbury was also concerned about singers' posture, and thought that they should have a removable desk:

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<sup>79</sup> G. Wells, 'London Salerooms', *EM*, 6 (1978), 97. The 'Church Bass' made £528.

<sup>80</sup> T. Billington, *The Te Deum, Jubilate, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis* (London, [1784]), 3.

The position of the head is absolutely necessary in singing, which should always be kept erect; for it is impossible for any person to sing with his chin inclining to his breast; therefore it would be very proper in *singing-galleries* to have some contrivance to raise the books, just when the singers want to use them, and then taken away till wanted again. This would enable the singers to perform with ease and pleasure, and consequently [be] a great improvement to all vocal performances.<sup>81</sup>

Space was usually limited and musicians would have found it more difficult to play larger instruments. A hole in the panelling on the front of the west gallery at St Peter's, Trentishoe, in Devon is reputed to have been made for the bow of the double bass.<sup>82</sup> The website dates the gallery to 1771, but the church was apparently rebuilt in 1861.<sup>83</sup> Whatever its date, an oblong hole cut low down in the gallery front would seem to have been made deliberately (DCD Trentishoe gallery). However, a double-bass player would have had to bow at a steep angle, and even a seated cellist (who would not have been visible over the top of the gallery) would have had some difficulty.

#### **b. Nonconformist Singers**

Information on the seating of nonconformist singers is rarer. They were fewer in number because the singing was more likely to be congregational. The psalmodist William Cole who, like the clergyman noted above, also came from East Anglia, described similar seating arrangements but may have been referring to dissenters' meeting houses: 'in many places of worship, the leading singers are situated near the middle of the building, and arranged round a table', but faced inwards so that their voices converged 'to a point within the pew', which was 'not only disadvantageous, but in some respects, ridiculous'. As a land surveyor he was able to provide a precise solution:

<sup>81</sup> J. Barwick, *Harmonia Cantica Divina or the Kentish Divine Harmonist [...] for the Use of Country Churches* (London, [1783]), xvi.

<sup>82</sup> West Gallery Churches, Devon: <http://www.westgallerychurches.com/Devon/indexdev.html>.



The leading singers, undoubtedly, ought to be situated near one extremity of the building, and arranged in such manner as to bring the whole congregation, or as much of it as is possible, within their view; to do this, they should form an arch of a circle, or three sides of a polygon, whose center nearly coincides with that of the place. Six voices in this situation, would procure an effect superior to that of ten equal voices situated in the manner above described.

Presumably he meant the singers to face outwards, but 'one extremity' does not actually equate with the centre of the building or with that of the arc or polygon. Cole also noted that, while it had become a 'general custom' for leading singers to stand, 'congregations at large indulge themselves upon their seats'. He recommended that all should stand when singing, 'not only for the sake of decency' but because 'a person has a much greater command of his voice, and can use it to a much greater advantage'. It would meet 'with less obstruction from the pews, and other surrounding objects' and so would be 'more freely conveyed to the distant parts of the place'. More controversially, he suggested that if all were standing, 'if any person through inattention, or otherwise, continued to sing in an improper manner, he would be more easily discovered, and consequently his errors might be pointed out and rectified'.<sup>84</sup>

### c. Congregations

In both Anglican and nonconformist churches, it was common for men and women in the congregation to sit separately. The frontispiece to the *Psalm Singer's Necessary Companion* again provides useful evidence (DCD Necessary Companion frontispiece). The congregation are seated facing inwards in collegiate fashion, with the women sitting behind the men in covered pews, which look similar to boxes in a theatre.<sup>85</sup> At Ewelme, where the psalmodist Daniel Warner lived at the turn of the eighteenth

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<sup>83</sup> Devon Libraries, Trentishoe: <http://www.devon.gov.uk/localstudies/110441/1.html>.

<sup>84</sup> W. Cole, *A View of Modern Psalmody* (Colchester, 1819), 76–78.

<sup>85</sup> *Necessary Companion* (1700).

century, men apparently sat on the left and women on the right.<sup>86</sup> While this would have had less effect on the singing in parish churches where the congregation were not likely to join in with much enthusiasm, in Methodist meeting houses it would have resulted in a clearer distinction between high and low voices. This division was used effectively in dialogue and repeating hymns (Ch.4), and would have facilitated any part singing, for instance, the two-part settings in John Wesley's *Sacred Harmony*.<sup>87</sup> The Methodist conference held in Manchester in 1765 concluded that men and women should sit separately,<sup>88</sup> and the Large Minutes of 1770, stated: 'Let there be no Backs to the Seats, which should have Isles on each side, and be parted in the middle by a Rail running all along, to divide the Men and from the Women'. They were to 'sit apart every where below, and in all new-erected Galleries', although an exception was made for galleries where men and women had always sat together.<sup>89</sup> A further question added in 1780, 'But how can we secure their sitting apart there?', secured a typically autocratic answer from Wesley: 'I must do it myself. If I come into any New House and see the men and women together, I will immediately go out. I hereby give public notice of this. Pray let it be observed'.<sup>90</sup> Whether such directions were strictly adhered to, particularly after Wesley's death, is debatable, although the so-called 'Large Minutes' (which included the directions above, and which were a compilation of conference minutes that were occasionally updated and extended from 1763 until the final version in 1789) were supposedly authoritative until 1833.

<sup>86</sup> M. Prister-Crutwell, *Ewelme. A Romantic Village. Its Past and Present, its People and its History* (Oxford, 1984): <http://www.fordsfarm.co.uk/History-of-Ewelme.html>.

<sup>87</sup> [J. Wesley], *Sacred Harmony, or a Choice Collection of Psalms and Hymns* (London?), [1781]).

<sup>88</sup> *Minutes of some Late Conversations, between the Rev. Mr. Wesleys, and Others* (Bristol, 1765), 8.

<sup>89</sup> *Minutes of Several Conversations between the Reverend Messieurs John and Charles Wesley, and Others* (London, 1770), 43.

<sup>90</sup> *Minutes of Several Conversations between the Reverend Mr. John and Charles Wesley, and Others, From the Year 1744, to the Year 1780* (London, [1780]), 45.



## Summary

Societies of singers made an important contribution to church life during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. There were probably many more choirs than surviving evidence indicates, because any documentation would not usually have been part of official church records and so it did not need to be preserved. The lists of rules that are extant suggest that societies were usually self-regulated and practised conscientiously. They may have controlled the psalmody more than the clergy would have wished, but they must have enlivened the singing even if congregations still declined to participate. Women may have gained some independence by belonging to a society and by receiving some payment, but the full extent of their participation is still unclear. It seems that there were fewer nonconformist choirs. They were less likely to monopolise the singing and would have provided vocal support for the congregation.

## Chapter 3: The Use of Voices

### Introduction

This chapter is principally concerned with the correct part allocation of voices; voice production is discussed in chapter 6. The sound of a piece of music inevitably changes according to the tessitura or number of voices that are used in performance. It is particularly affected if parts are raised or lowered by an octave, depending on whether they are sung by women or men, or if a part other than the tune is inadvertently given undue prominence.

Part allocation was of no concern when metrical psalms or hymns were sung congregationally in unison, but once choirs became competent enough to sing in harmony it became an issue that was to create confusion for singers throughout the eighteenth century. It is still one of the most vexing problems encountered by present-day psalmody editors, especially when considering the complexities of doubling which occur when choirs and congregations combine.

Modern hymn books are always printed in short score with the tune in the soprano, harmonically supported by alto, tenor and bass, or, in worship songs, with a unison tune set to keyboard accompaniment. However, many eighteenth and early nineteenth-century psalmody books are more ambiguous. The music is usually in open score and, apart from the bass, parts may be laid out in almost any order. In some instances it is difficult to decide which part has the tune because the tenor and treble may be equally melodious and, together with the alto, may be written in the treble clef. Even when the tune can be correctly identified it may still be unclear whether it should be sung by tenors or trebles, or whether it should be sung by both and doubled at the octave. This doubling is an important performance aspect of psalmody. It alters the



sonority of the music, creating a fuller texture, and it is still used today by American shape-note singers, who may double every part with both men and women's voices.

### **Tenor-Led Psalmody**

In early polyphony the melody was usually placed in the tenor. By the Baroque period, in sacred art music, it had mostly migrated to the soprano and lower parts became less important. In psalmody the tenor part predominated for longer, although in 1711 Abraham Barber thought it necessary to emphasise that the tenor was the 'leading Part which the Clarke and the Generality of the Congregation sing', since some recently printed books had placed the air in the treble. This was 'very improper' because the G clef should only be used for instruments and there was 'not one Voice of any Boy in One Hundred, can reach the high Notes'. (This seems strange as the pitch of unaccompanied tunes was usually chosen to suit the majority of voices.) Barber added that if 'any Boys or Women' could sing an octave above the tenor, that would be the same as a treble part in the G clef.<sup>1</sup> This would have created octave doubling of the air.

One practical reason for keeping the tune in the tenor was suggested by John Arnold, who commented that not all choirs could support all four parts and that even when there were enough singers, boys who sang treble were still not 'sufficiently skilled in Music to lead the Psalm-Tunes and Anthems'. Also, treble parts which did not carry the melody were less likely to be too high for boys' voices, since they could presumably cover a narrower range.<sup>2</sup>

At times it can be difficult to decide which part actually contains the melody, and even when this is clear, there can be confusing inconsistencies. John Chetham of Skipton, who compiled the most accomplished and probably the most influential

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<sup>1</sup> A. Barber, *A Book of Psalm Tunes in Four Parts* (York, 6/1711), viii.

<sup>2</sup> J. Arnold, *Church Music Reformed* (London, 1765), vi-vii.

provincial tune book of the early 1700s, always placed the tune in the tenor.<sup>3</sup> In most books, if only one line of text is included, it is more usual for it to be printed under the air. Chetham, however, placed it under the treble, which may have been misleading for some singers.

During the eighteenth century, urban psalm singing gradually became treble led as more affluent Anglican churches began to acquire organs and to use choirs of charity children. In rural psalmody the air usually remained in the tenor until at least the end of the century and even longer in some nonconformist music. The Baptist Larks of Dean seem to have continued to sing tenor-led hymns until the nineteenth century, since two of the women who sang the tune were described as 'leading tenors'.<sup>4</sup> In 1819 William Cole, who may have been commenting on Anglican psalmody as well, wrote that 'in the common practice', where there was no organ, the melody of a psalm tune was placed in the tenor, while the 'treble, as well as the contra-tenor, which in psalmody are only auxiliary parts' frequently predominated and consequently obscured the air. This confused the congregation who sang by ear and so naturally followed the highest part. Cole's solution was to suggest that the congregation should sing in two parts. The tune should be taken by 'all the treble voices, together with the principal leaders, and the congregation at large', while enough voices should sing the bass to make it 'sufficiently powerful, and distinct, to be heard and understood by the congregation'. Then others with voices in the bass range would 'join it, instead of singing the principal melody an octave below, as is frequently the case'. If any 'accompanying, or auxiliary parts' were 'admitted', these should be sung by tenors only, who, since all the congregation were only supposed to be singing the tune or the bass, were presumably choir singers.<sup>5</sup> It is

<sup>3</sup> J. Chetham, *A Book of Psalmody* (London, [1717]).

<sup>4</sup> S. Drage, 'The Larks of Dean: amateur musicians in Northern England', *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914*, ed. R. Cowgill and P. Holman (Aldershot, 2007), 205.

<sup>5</sup> W. Cole, *A View of Modern Psalmody* (Colchester, 1819), 65.



unlikely that all men in the congregation would have joined the basses so, although the tune would be clearer, it would probably still have been sung in both octaves.

### Early Part Allocation

A few early psalmody collections designed for church use by compilers such as Thomas East,<sup>6</sup> and Thomas Ravenscroft (who revised East's book),<sup>7</sup> contained tunes in four parts. However, the general lack of organs and choirs in parish churches meant that seventeenth-century congregations usually sang unaccompanied and roughly in unison, providing that they could recognise the tune sufficiently to be able to participate.

In 1671 John Playford explained in his *Psalms and Hymns in Solemn Musick of Foure Parts* how:

The Common Tunes are all Printed in the *Tenor Part*, and in their proper Key, with the *Basse* under each Tune, and convenient to be sung to *Organ, Lute* or *Viol*. And to have this Musick more full and Solemn, I have Compos'd to them two other Parts, viz. two *Contratenors*.<sup>8</sup> All Four Parts moving together, being Composed to Mens *Voyces*, and each Part in such a Compass of *Notes* as may be performed with ordinary *Voyces*: And in such places where there is *Treble Voyces*, those may Sing the *Tenor* or *Common Tunes*.<sup>9</sup>

Temperley has noted that this volume may have been planned for domestic use,<sup>10</sup> but Playford's description of the low standards of parish church music implies that its improvement may have been one of his principal concerns: 'at this day the *Best*, and almost all the *Choice Tunes* are lost, and out of use'. Even in London 'there is but few *Parish Clerks* to be found that have either Ear or Understanding to Set one of these *Tunes* Musically as it ought to be', mainly because since the Civil War clerks were appointed more for their poverty than for their musical skill.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> T. East, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes: with their Wonted Tunes* (London, 1592).

<sup>7</sup> T. Ravenscroft, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes: with Hymns Evangelicall, and Songs Spirituall* (London, 1621).

<sup>8</sup> These are marked 'Altus' and 'Contratenor' in the actual music.

<sup>9</sup> (London, 1671), [ii].

<sup>10</sup> N. Temperley, *MEPC*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1979), I, 130.

<sup>11</sup> Playford, *Psalms* (1671), [ii].

Singing in four parts would usually have been impractical and six years later in 1677 Playford compiled *The Whole Book of Psalms* 'In a more Plain and Useful Method than hath been formerly published'. He commented particularly on the intrusion of lining out in the 'Scotch manner', although there is no evidence that this was a Scottish innovation.<sup>12</sup> Playford thought Ravenscroft's collection was unsuitable because the tune was in the tenor and the four parts, 'being compos'd by divers men' used a variety of clefs which made it confusing for singers, while the 'mixture of Trebles' meant that they 'could not all be sung by men without admitting Boys'. Instead, Playford limited his psalm settings to three parts 'Cantus', 'Medius' and 'Bassus' and used the treble clef for both upper parts to make it more versatile. He does not specify whether women and men should sing the upper parts together but he does state that 'All *Three Parts* may as properly be sung by Men, as by Boys and Women'.<sup>13</sup> The medius is printed separately but the cantus, which is the tune, is scored directly above the bass to facilitate keyboard accompaniment 'since many of our Churches are lately furnished with Organs' (presumably in London) and also because it would help 'Students in the *Universities* as shall practise Song, to sing to a Lute or Viol'.<sup>14</sup> Initially, Playford's book was not popular, despite its adaptable layout which might have been expected to make its publication more viable financially. A second edition was not printed until 1695, but then the growing interest in psalmody meant that six editions sold 15,000 copies in seven years and it remained in print until the twentieth and last edition in 1757.<sup>15</sup>

Playford is usually credited with the introduction of the transposing G clef which could be sung equally by men, women or children. In the introduction to the second volume of *Cantica Sacra*, a collection of hymns and anthems in two parts, he

<sup>12</sup> J. Playford, *The Whole Book of Psalms* (London, 1677), title-page; [v].

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, [vii].

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, [vi].

<sup>15</sup> N. Temperley, *MEPC*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1979), I, 132.



stated that he had printed the cantus part in the G clef to 'avoid the late Complaint against our use of so many various Cliffs' and that it could 'properly be sung' by men as well as by boys and women.<sup>16</sup> However, Edmund Ireland, who scored his psalmody in two parts using the G and F clefs, made an intriguing assertion (which I have been unable to verify), with reference to Thomas Campion, John Wilson and Christopher Gibbons: 'by whose Advice and Assistance the Tunes of the Psalms was transposed from C-sol-fa-ut into G-sol-re-ut Cliff, they well knowing the latter to be much more easie for Learners then the former was'.<sup>17</sup>

Playford may have been the first to print music using the transposable G clef, but it was initially proposed two years earlier in 1672 by Thomas Salmon, an Anglican clergyman. Salmon made the eminently sensible suggestion that music would be easier to read if the letter names rather than the sol-fa were sung; if it were written on only four lines; and if the G clef were to be transposable by the octave, so that it could be used for all parts rather than just the treble, with a prefix of B, M or T for bass, mean or treble (originally the G clef, like the C clef, was non-transposable).<sup>18</sup>

An abusive pamphlet war between Salmon and Matthew Locke ensued, which also involved John Phillips and John Playford, both of whom sided with Locke.<sup>19</sup> Playford commented in a letter to Salmon, printed at the back of Locke's *The Present Practice of Musick Vindicated*, that Salmon had made no 'provision for *Tenors* and *Contratenors* [...] Cathedral Men, which are the greatest number of Singers in the Land' and that the three proper clefs, G, C and F, were still required in cathedrals because the music could be written in five and six parts.<sup>20</sup> However, he also observed

<sup>16</sup> J. Playford, *Cantica Sacra* [...] *the Second Sett* (London, 1674), [ii].

<sup>17</sup> E. Ireland, *The Most Useful Tunes of the Psalms* (York, 2/1713), 8–9.

<sup>18</sup> T. Salmon, *An Essay to the Advancement of Musick* (London, 1672).

<sup>19</sup> M. Locke, *Observations upon a Late Book, Entitled, An Essay to the Advancement of Musick* (London, 1672); T. Salmon, *A Vindication of an Essay to the Advancement of Musick* (London, 1672); M. Locke, *The Present Practice of Musick Vindicated* (London, 1673).

<sup>20</sup> Locke, *Musick Vindicated* (1673), 86.

that the G clef was already in use and needed no prefix: 'It being usual and common for Men to Sing those Songs which are prick'd in a *Treble* an Eighth lower, where the Parts are so Composed, that they do not interfere with the *Bass*'.<sup>21</sup> Incidentally, Salmon should perhaps receive some credit for his suggestion that the G clef should include a mark which identified the part, since in the mid twentieth century it became common for the G8 clef to be used for tenor parts.

By 1686 William Rogers presumably thought there was sufficient interest in psalmody and a need for a self-help manual, to publish *A New and Easie Method to Learn to Sing by Book*, which he compiled in order that 'One (who hath a good *Voice* and Ear), may, without other help, learn to Sing true by Notes'.<sup>22</sup> He described two methods of singing: in unison, which is 'common and usual in all places', or in 'two, three, or more' parts, which is 'more rarely used'. He explained in the preface that a choir was needed for these tunes in parts because they required 'somewhat more Skill than the Common way, yet is easie enough at least for a select Company of Persons, with good Voices to attain unto'.<sup>23</sup> Rogers's collection contains seventeen three-part tunes, two four-part tunes and one two-part tune. As in Playford, the upper parts are in the G clef (with four exceptions, which were apparently included to provide singers with practise in reading the C clef) and all have the tune in the top part. The air is placed above the bass, while the other parts are printed separately underneath. However, although Rogers promoted the formation of an all-male choir, the air of eleven of the tunes is marked 'Treble' (eight others are marked 'Common' and one is unnamed), as can be seen in Table 3.1., below. Rogers is inconsistent in naming parts, which may indicate that he took tunes from a variety of sources. The second part is usually

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>22</sup> [W. Rogers], *A New and Easie Method* (London, 1686), title-page.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, [viii].



described as the 'Middle Part' but is twice marked as 'First Mean', twice as 'Mean' and once as 'Second Treble, or Middle Part', while the third part in the two four-part tunes is called, 'Second Mean'.

**Table 3.1.** Part allocations in W. Rogers, *A New and Easie Method* (1686).

Page	Psalm	Part 1 [air]	Part 2	Part 3	Voice allocation
76	1	First Treble, or C Tune	Second Treble, or Middle Part	–	SSB first Tr.1 note of the first three lines is a third below Tr.2
77	23	Common Tune	Middle Part	–	STB
78	37	Common Tune	Middle Part	–	STB
79	39	Treble	Middle Part	–	STB
80	40	Treble	Middle Part [also given in soprano C clef]	–	STB
81	95	Common Tune	Middle Part	–	STB
82	51	Common Tune	Middle Part	–	STB [the same tune is also given using alto C clef for two upper parts]
84	119	Treble	Middle Part	–	STB
86	84	Common Tune	Middle Part	–	STB
88	An Hymn	Treble	Mean	–	STB
90	105	Common Tune	First Mean	Second Mean	SSTB [T in soprano C clef]
92	100	Treble	First Mean	Second Mean	SATB
93	139	Treble	Mean	–	STB
94	1	Treble	Middle Part	–	STB
95	103	Common Tune	Middle Part	–	STB
96	113	Treble	Middle Part	–	STB
98	148	Com. Tune	Middle Part	–	STB [ST in tenor C clef]
100	25 Ps. metre [i.e. SM]	Treble	Middle Part	–	STB [also a version of the tune with added dotted-rhythm passing notes]
102	25 Ps. metre [i.e. SM]	Treble	Middle Part	–	STB
104	LM - 10 syllables	[not given]	–	–	SB

It is perhaps surprising that Rogers made no reference to lining out, considering the detailed information he provided on other aspects of psalmody. Daniel Warner from Ewelme in Oxfordshire did refer to it, objecting to the 'ill custom of reading the Words

in a continued Tone or Unison in most *Churches*', which particularly caused 'Confusion and Discord' when tunes were sung in four parts. He suggested that his psalmody *Collection* would enable the psalms to be sung without lining out and in a 'standing Posture'. Warner agreed with Playford about the shortcomings of Ravenscroft's collection, acknowledging that Playford's decision to restrict tunes to three parts with the air in the treble clef was an improvement. Nevertheless, he preferred just two parts, treble and bass, since this agreed with 'modern' practice and contained 'perfect' harmony.<sup>24</sup> Unlike Playford, his psalm settings are printed with cantus and bassus on opposite pages, although nine hymns at the end of the book are in score. Playford included the full text but only underlaid the first verse, placing the remaining verses below. Rogers also underlaid one verse but omitted the remainder so singers would have had to refer to the *Book of Common Prayer*. Warner, however, repeated the music to accommodate the underlay of each verse, though he never set more than eight.<sup>25</sup> However, he presented the hymns differently, with only one verse underlaid and the rest of the text lower down the page.

A more extreme example of repetition of the music can be found in Thomas Mathew's *Whole Book of Psalms*.<sup>26</sup> It was designed for unison singing, so only the melody is printed using either the tenor or alto C clefs. The tune is repeated so that every verse is underlaid, even where there are 176 verses in Psalm 119 with 88 repetitions of the tune.<sup>27</sup> Temperley described this complete underlay as the Dutch manner of psalm printing,<sup>28</sup> and although Mathew's choice of layout may have been coincidental, he could perhaps have chosen it in the hope that it would gain royal approval from William of Orange, who had just been made king.

<sup>24</sup> D. Warner, *A Collection of some Verses out of the Psalms of David* (London, 1694), [ii-iii].

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, Psalm 148, 84.

<sup>26</sup> T. M[athew], *The Whole Book of Psalms* (London, 1688).

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 336-65.



The first detailed references to part allocation appeared in *The Psalm-Singer's Necessary Companion* of 1700.<sup>29</sup> The dedication 'To the Reader' stated that it was 'Collected and Printed for the good of the many young Persons, in and about these parts of the County of Lancaster', which implies that it was to be used by women as well as men (in common with Henry Hunt's revision of Warner's *Collection*, which was compiled 'For the Use of Young Practitioners').<sup>30</sup> This can be confirmed from the compiler's detailed instructions on part allocation. Temperley has suggested that the *Necessary Companion* is an anonymous work by Elias Hall,<sup>31</sup> who, as already discussed, chronicled the early development of psalmody in Oldham and also compiled *The Psalm-Singer's Compleat Companion* in 1708. The title-page of the *Necessary Companion* states that it was 'First Collected for Private Use' and the dedication, which is signed 'Standish, the 25th Day of March, 1699', says that it was 'collected for the use of a Particular Congregation', so a more likely compiler might be the Revd William Haydock. He was rector at St Wilfred's, Standish from 1678 to 1713 and erected a low singers' gallery at the west end of the church some time before 1708.<sup>32</sup>

There are some similarities between the *Necessary Companion* and Hall's *Compleat Companion*, especially in the description of part allocations (see below) and Hall could have seen this earlier publication and copied from it. It is also possible that Hall, as an itinerant psalmody teacher, could have been in Standish in 1699 and perhaps even for some time previously if he had sufficient pupils. The opening sentence of the dedication begins: 'Reader, it is now near Three Months since a Book of this nature was propos'd'. However, Hall would have been more likely to have compiled a book for all his pupils rather than for personal use or for one specific congregation. It also unlikely

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<sup>28</sup> N. Temperley, *HTI*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1998), III, 129.

<sup>29</sup> *The Psalm-Singer's Necessary Companion* (London, 1700).

<sup>30</sup> H. Hunt, *A Collection of some Verses out of the Psalms of David* (London, 2/1698), 1.

<sup>31</sup> Temperley, *MEPC* (1979), I, 368.

that a self-publicist such as Hall would have allowed a substantial work to be published anonymously. A stronger possibility is that the anonymous *Necessary Companion* may be linked with Joshua Marsden, who compiled *The Psalm-Singer's Instructor* in 1719.<sup>33</sup> The title-pages are virtually identical and all the quotations from the *Companion* given below can also be found in the *Instructor*. More research needs to be undertaken, but a Joshua Marsden of Standish was married to Ann Libtrot at Chorley in 1699 by the Revd Haydock, rector of Standish.<sup>34</sup>

*The Psalm-Singer's Necessary Companion* uses eight different part allocations for 72 tunes. In all, except the first, the air is placed in the tenor and the various part names may reflect the original sources of the tunes. The bass is always set in the F clef but, although the G clef is described in the introduction, it is used only twice in the actual music, once for the treble of Psalm 120 and once for the altus of 'Serva nos Domine'.<sup>35</sup> The C clef is used for all other parts, but placed on various lines of the stave as Table 3.2. indicates. Again this may reflect the sources from which the *Companion* was compiled.

**Table 3.2.** The position of the C clef in *The Psalm-Singer's Necessary Companion* (1700).

Part	C clef line	Alternative position
Treble	2	none
Cantus	4	3
Medius	4	3
Altus	2	1, 4
Contra	3	2, 4
Tenor	4	3, 5

<sup>32</sup> T.D. Porteus, *A History of the Parish of Standish* (Wigan, 1927), 60.

<sup>33</sup> J. Marsden, *The Psalm-Singer's Instructor* (Liverpool, 1719).

<sup>34</sup> St Laurence, Chorley Registers. Lancashire OnLine Parish Clerk Project, [http:// www.lan-opc.org.uk/Chorley/stlaurence/marriages\\_1654-1708.html](http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Chorley/stlaurence/marriages_1654-1708.html).

<sup>35</sup> *Necessary Companion* (1700), 94, 151.



In more detail, the part allocation is as listed in the following tables, 3.3., 3.4. and 3.5., with the air marked in bold type.

**Table 3.3.** Three-part voice allocations in *The Psalm-Singer's Necessary Companion* (1700).

Part 1	Part 2	Part 3	No. of tunes
Cantus	Medius	Bassus	22
Medius	<b>Tenor</b>	Bassus	1
Contra	<b>Tenor</b>	Bassus	1

**Table 3.4.** Four-part voice allocations in *The Psalm-Singer's Necessary Companion* (1700).

Part 1	Part 2	Part 3	Part 4	No. of tunes
Treble	Contra	<b>Tenor</b>	Bassus	9
Cantus	Altus	<b>Tenor</b>	Bassus	1
Altus	Contra	<b>Tenor</b>	Bassus	28

**Table 3.5.** Three- or four-part voice allocations in *The Psalm-Singer's Necessary Companion* (1700). The Treble / Medius and Medius / Alto parts are optional.

Part 1	Part 2	Part 3	Part 4	No. of tunes
Treble/ Medius	Contra	<b>Tenor</b>	Bassus	9
Medius / Altus	Contra	<b>Tenor</b>	Bassus	2

Specific voice allocations are given in the didactic introduction. Three-part tunes are:

scarcely ever are composed at such a distance one from another, but that three Men may sing them all; and in these Parts, let one half of your Boys, and half of your Women sing Tenor, and the other half Medius; and let a considerable number of your Men sing the Bassus, and all the rest the Tenor.<sup>36</sup>

Presumably the cantus is synonymous with the tenor so, if the women and boys doubled these and the medius an octave higher, this would create a five-part texture with the cantus or tenor air predominant. Directions for the three- or four-part tunes are also given:

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 39.

1. You may, if you please, sing the *Medius, Tenor* and *Bass* as they are placed according to the foregoing Directions for singing Three Parts.
2. You may sing the *Contra, Tenor* and *Bass* together (leaving out the *Medius*) and these three Parts are very good.
3. You may sing the *Medius* for a *Treble* with the *Contra, Tenor,* and *Bass,* in Four Parts, and these are very good.<sup>37</sup>

So, if tunes were sung in three parts, either the *contra* or the *medius* could be omitted and presumably the two upper parts would again be doubled at the octave. The four-part tunes would probably be sung in the same way as standard tunes:

*First,* To sing the *Treble, Contra, Tenor* and *Bass* all at once in their due distance one from another. Or, *Secondly,* if you have not Boys or Women sufficient, then let some of the Boys who are apt to Sckrike, sing *Contra,* and Women and the rest of your Boys *Tenor* with some of your Men, and the rest of your Men *Bass;* and thus do they now generally sing these Tunes.<sup>38</sup>

This implies that tunes were normally sung in three parts with the air doubled at the octave but omitting the treble. It is clarified by a later comment: 'as to the Psalm-Tunes in Four Parts, you may sing the *Contra, Tenor* and *Bassus,* without the *Treble,* which doth not very often exceed the Compass of a Man's Voice'. Four-part tunes, therefore, could be sung in three parts by men alone. Presumably the same mix of voices as above could also be used, with boys singing the *contra;* women, boys and men, the *tenor;* and men the *bass.*

In the *Psalm-Singer's Compleat Companion,* Elias Hall suggested a very similar part allocation:

The Tunes following for 3 or 4 Voices may be sung three ways. 1st. The *Medius, Cantus* or *Tenor* and *Bass* as they are placed. 2ly, The *Contra, Tenor* and *Bass* (leaving out the *Medius.*) 3ly, The *Medius* being sung by *Women* or *Boys* becomes a *Treble.*<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 41.

<sup>39</sup> E. Hall, *The Psalm-Singer's Compleat Companion* (London, 1708), 12.



In the latter case, the tenor 'church' tune would presumably already be doubled at the octave by treble voices in the congregation, so it would not be obscured by trebles in the choir singing a different part. Hall also considered how many voices should sing each part and concluded that 'an equal Number of every Part, whether you sing three or four Parts, make the best *Harmony*: And in *Tunes* for three Parts only, when half the *Medius-singers* are *Women* or *Boys*, 'tis excellent *Harmony*'.<sup>40</sup> This implies that the three-part tunes would be sung in five parts because the air would be sung by the congregation, so both the upper parts would be in octaves.

Hall's tunes are set in a bewildering variety of three- and four-part formats, see Tables 3.7., 3.8. and 3.9. below. While this variety again perhaps reflects the part allocations in the sources from which he compiled his book, it also makes it more versatile because many tunes are provided in both three- and four-part arrangements. All the bass parts are in the F clef and nearly all the other parts in the G clef, but there are a few exceptions where the C clef is used, as shown in Table 3.6.

**Table 3.6.** The use of the C clef in E. Hall, *The Psalm-Singer's Compleat Companion* (1708).

Page	Tune	Part/clef/line	Part/clef/line	Part/clef/line	Part/clef/line
60	Psalm CXIV	Altus / G	Contra / C / 1st	Tenor / C / 3rd	Bassus / F
93	The Creed	Altus / G	Contra / G	Tenor / G	Bassus / C / 4th 'The Bassus an Unison'
100	Pater Noster - J. Farmer	Altus / C / 2nd	Cantus / G	Tenor / C / 3rd	Bassus / F
102	Da pacem, Domine - G. Farnaby, B. of M.	Cantus / C / 1st	Altus / C / 3rd	Tenor / C / 4th	Bassus / F
154	Psalm LXXII - R. Allison	Cantus / C / 1st	Altus / C / 3rd	Tenor / C / 4th	Bassus / F

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 12.

The psalm and hymn tunes are all set in separate parts but the six anthems are scored for cantus and bassus with a separate medius. Hall occasionally indicates the air with a pointing finger and his complete part allocations are listed in Tables 3.7., 3.8. and 3.9. below, with the air marked in bold type.

**Table 3.7.** Three-part voice allocations in E. Hall, *The Psalm-Singer's Compleat Companion* (1708).

Part 1	Part 2	Part 3	No. of tunes
Cantus	Medius	Bassus	23 and 6 anthems

**Table 3.8.** Four-part voice allocations in E. Hall, *The Psalm-Singer's Compleat Companion* (1708).

Part 1	Part 2	Part 3	Part 4	No. of tunes
Cantus	Altus	Tenor	Bassus	1
Treble	Contra	Tenor	Bassus	1
Altus	Cantus 'In the 8th below'	Tenor	Bassus	6
Altus	Contra	Tenor	Bassus	16
Altus [1] or Altus [2]	Contra [1]  Contra [2]	Tenor	Bassus [1]  Bassus [2]	1

It seems likely from these examples that the part allocation of voices in the early years of the eighteenth century was extremely flexible, though whether the alternative harmonisations actually worked requires further research. Hall's assortment of part allocations may have encouraged some singers to mix and match according to their vocal resources, but many others may still only have sung in unison, or perhaps in two parts with the air supported by a bass. Even when a variety of tunes was available, the repertoire of some churches was very limited. Hall recorded how, when the Oldham singers began in 1696, the only tune sung for a considerable time at both the morning and afternoon services 'for the benefit of the congregation' was the ISLE OF PROVIDENCE, also known as ST DAVID'S.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Higson MS, 8 (DCD Elias Hall MS).



**Table 3.9.** Three- or four-part voice allocations in E. Hall, *The Psalm-Singers Compleat Companion* (1708).

Part 1	Part 2	Part 3	Part 4	No. of tunes
Cantus or Cantus or Cantus or Cantus	Treble/Medius [1] – Treble/Medius [1] Altus	– Contra [1] Contra [1] Contra [2]	Bassus [1] Bassus [2] Bassus [2] Bassus [3]	1
Cantus or Cantus	Medius Altus	– Contra	Bassus [1] Bassus [2]	10 [see note 1]
Cantus or Cantus or Cantus	Medius Altus [1] Altus [2]	– Contra [1] Contra [2]	Bassus [1] Bassus [2] Bassus [3]	1
Cantus or Tenor	Medius Altus	– Contra	Bassus [1] Bassus [2]	5 [see note 2]
Cantus/Tenor or Cantus	Treble/Medius [1] or Contra [1] Treble/Medius [1]	– Contra [1]	Bassus [1] Bassus [1]	1
Cantus/Tenor or Cantus/Tenor	Treble/Medius Altus	– Contra	Bassus [1] Bassus [1] or [2]	1 [see note 3]
Cantus/Tenor or Cantus/Tenor or Cantus/Tenor or Cantus/Tenor	Treble/Medius [1] – Treble/Medius [1] or Altus [1] Treble/Medius [1] or Altus [1]	– Contra [1] Contra [1] Contra [2]	Bassus [1] Bassus [2] Bassus [1] or [2] Bassus [3]	2 [see note 4]
Cantus/Tenor or Cantus/Tenor	Medius Treble/Altus	– Contra	Bassus [1] Bassus [1] or [2]	1
Cantus/Tenor or Cantus/Tenor	Medius Altus	– Contra	Bassus [1] Bassus [2]	22
Cantus/Tenor or Cantus/Tenor or Cantus/Tenor	Medius Altus [1] Altus [2]	– Contra [1] Contra [2]	Bassus [1] Bassus [2] Bassus [3]	1
Cantus/Tenor or Cantus/Tenor	Medius/Altus [1] or Contra [1] Medius/Altus [1]	– Contra [1]	Bassus [1] Bassus [1]	2
Altus [1] or Altus [1]	Medius Contra	– Tenor [different air]	Bassus [1] Bassus [2]	1 [see note 5]
Medius or Altus [1] or Altus [2]	– Contra [1] Contra [2]	Tenor Tenor Tenor	Bassus [1] Bassus [2] Bassus [3]	1

1. One tune, 'Isle of Providence', or 'St David's', includes variant Cantus tunes for both the three- and four-part versions.  
2. Four tunes have variant Cantus and Tenor airs, and one of these also has an alternative Bassus for the three-part setting.  
3. The Treble/Medius part can also be used as an alternative for one of the middle voices in the four-part setting.  
4. One tune has Bassus [1] as an alternative to Bassus [3] in the second four-part setting.  
5. 'This Altus is Mr. Playford's Cantus. If you wou'd sing 3 Parts [...] Set it an 8th above your Bassus.'

It is a very angular tune, which in Hall's *Psalm-Singer's Compleat Companion* is set in both three and four parts with three slightly different melodies, as shown in Ex. 3.1. below.<sup>42</sup>

**Example 3.1.** The melodies of ST DAVID'S TUNE from E. Hall, *The Psalm-Singers Compleat Companion* (1708).

ST DAVID'S TUNE, attributed to J. Playford (p.106).



ISLE OF PROVIDENCE, ALIAS ST DAVID'S TUNE (p.155).



'Or thus', (p.155).



Whether the tune, in whichever version, was sung as written or filled in with transition notes and whether the congregation benefited by listening to the singers or by joining in, was unfortunately not documented.

Some early tune books used only the treble and bass clefs even though the tenor clef was discussed in the didactic introduction. In Thomas Bray's *Collec[t]ion* this explanation was omitted because he considered, wrongly, that the tenor clef was never used in the 'Common Vocal Musick of our Churches', though he did describe how singers could work it out by placing a C clef on a line between the treble and bass clefs.<sup>43</sup> The use of the C clef in psalmody does gradually seem to have become less common and some compilers, such as John Clay of Nottingham, reduced the clefs to

<sup>42</sup> Hall, *Compleat Companion* (1708), 106, 155.

<sup>43</sup> [T. Bray], *A Collec[t]ion of Psalms, Proper to be Sung at Churches* (London, 1704), 11–12.



treble and bass 'to make it more plain'.<sup>44</sup> By 1715 Daniel Robinson stated that, though it was formerly used for all upper parts including the treble, the C clef was 'rarely seen in modern Musick' except for the inner parts of 'Lessons' for three or four voices.<sup>45</sup>

This was slightly premature, since two years later John Chetham explained that 'to prevent any Difficulty that might arise', each of the four parts was 'constantly pricked in its own *Cliff*',<sup>46</sup> and his later books use the same format.<sup>47</sup> Other psalmodists, including John and Robert Barber, and James and John Green, also continued to use the C clef.<sup>48</sup> There is one anomaly, which remains unexplained. James Green, in the fourth edition of his *Collection of Psalm-Tunes* of 1718, noted that although the G clef was 'proper' to the treble, he had not used it except in anthems.<sup>49</sup> These are set with each of the four parts in its own clef but, whereas the psalm tunes have the tenor C clef for both the countertenor and tenor, the alto C clef is used for the treble. Fourteen morning and evening hymns for each day of the week, in three parts ATB, have the expected C clefs for countertenor and tenor. In Green's fifth and subsequent editions the clefs are unambiguous, with the treble in the G clef and the alto and tenor in their individual C clefs.

When each part had its own clef it was obvious which voice should sing each part but there was some confusion when, with the introduction of instruments in the later 1700s, the treble clef began to be used for all three upper voices. Thomas Billington described how 'a very great absurdity' occurred when the counter tenor was put into the treble clef, making it seem to be the highest part, which, therefore, was sung by trebles. SATB became TSAB and intervals were inverted so, for instance, fourths

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<sup>44</sup> J. Clay, *The Psalm-Singers Delightful Companion* (Nottingham, 1720), title-page.

<sup>45</sup> D. Robinson, *An Essay upon Vocal Musick* (Nottingham, 1715), 8.

<sup>46</sup> Chetham, *Psalmody* ([1717]), [ii].

<sup>47</sup> J. Chetham, *A Book of Psalmody* (London, 2/1736), and all later editions until (Leeds, 11/1787).

<sup>48</sup> J. and J. Greene, *A Book of Psalm-Tunes* (London, 2/1713); R. and J. Barber, *A Book of Psalmody* (London, 1723); and all subsequent editions of their books.

<sup>49</sup> J. Green, *A Collection of Psalm-Tunes* (London, 4/1718), [iii].

became fifths.<sup>50</sup> He also observed that a 'bar of succeeding sixths' becomes 'succeeding fifths', though he surely meant thirds.

Composers of art music also used the G clef for inner parts when writing psalmody for country choirs, even though the air was in the treble. In 1791 Samuel Arnold and John Callcott regretted the inconvenience of not being able to use the C clef, but realised that it 'totally confused' many amateurs and instead included detailed instructions on part allocation and also named the parts in the musical score.<sup>51</sup>

Clefs continued to cause problems into the nineteenth century. William Cole noted that 'in almost all our modern music, every part, except the bass, is written in the treble clef', which meant that performers could not work out which octave they should sing in. He proposed that, since all the treble voices should join in the tune, this should be written in the treble clef, but any 'intermediate' parts should be in the tenor or alto clefs.<sup>52</sup> However, he does not always seem to have kept exactly to this rule in his own compositions, perhaps because he changed his mind as he grew older or because the air was no longer sung by tenor voices. In *The Psalmist's Exercise [...] for the Use of Country Choirs*,<sup>53</sup> composed in the late 1760s, the anthems are set conventionally in the usual four SATB clefs but all the psalm tunes are in three parts, except for one which has a four-part chorus, and one which is in two parts with a four-part chorus.<sup>54</sup> In the three-part settings both upper parts are quite melodious but they seem to be tenor led with the air in the middle part in the tenor C clef, while the top part is in the G clef (MA 28). (The British Library copy has 'Air' written in manuscript above the middle part of the first psalm.)<sup>55</sup>

<sup>50</sup> T. Billington, *The Te Deum, Jubilate, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis* (London, [1784]), 3–4.

<sup>51</sup> S. Arnold and J. Callcott, *Psalms of David for the Use of Parish Churches* (London, [1791]), 3.

<sup>52</sup> W. Cole, *A View of Modern Psalmody* (Colchester, 1819), 96.

<sup>53</sup> ([London, c.1768]).

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, Psalm LVII, 12–13; Psalm CXXXVI, 20–21.

<sup>55</sup> BL H.832.



## Different Voices

As has been discussed previously, the majority of choirs were all male or a least male-dominated for, as Temperley has commented, the subservience of women in society was echoed by their role in church.<sup>56</sup> However, some early psalmodists did make provision for women singers and Daniel Robinson stated that:

the highest octave is much us'd in Contratenors, or Trebles, and is therefore to be sung by Women or Children, and by some Men, though but few in Proportion who have Voices of Pitch fit for it, and then it is generally a very sweet entertaining Part.<sup>57</sup>

It is likely that more male singers sang tenor than bass or countertenor. If the music were tenor led it would have been easier for men to sing the tune, especially when singing by ear rather than by note. As Thomas Billington commented:

The Tenor is apt to be the most supported which stands the least in need of it; as it is the midway of most voices, consequently every note is done ample justice to; and I suppose that upon average there are four Tenor singers to one Contratenor. Neither are Basses so numerous as Tenors, it being the natural voice of men in general.<sup>58</sup>

This imbalance of voices meant that the air would predominate even if it were not doubled at the octave by women and children when sung congregationally. William Rogers noted that basses 'must have deep, strong, and big voices',<sup>59</sup> but William Cole considered that, even if there were a bass part, the 'persons who sing bass are but few, in comparison with those who join the leading part' so 'the effect of the harmony' was 'totally lost, or, at best, diminished'.<sup>60</sup> Isaac Smith shared the same concerns and

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<sup>56</sup> Temperley, *MEPC* (1979), I, 185.

<sup>57</sup> Robinson, *Essay* (1715), 5.

<sup>58</sup> Billington, *Te Deum* ([1784]), 4.

<sup>59</sup> [Rogers], *Easie Method* (1686), 69.

<sup>60</sup> Cole, *Modern Psalmody* (1819), 4–5, 12.

declared that there was 'nothing more common, nor, indeed, more disagreeable to a musical ear, than to hear *one* or more Counter Tenors, when there is a great deficiency in the Bass'. He stated that the countertenor 'should *never* be sung, unless there is a strong Bass' because the harmony would be marred if only the countertenor and air were audible.<sup>61</sup>

There may have been a scarcity of good adult countertenors. Samuel Arnold and John Callcott recommended that if there were none, the part could be sung by second trebles, who could be women or boys. The countertenor part, like the tenor, was usually notated an octave higher than sung, so trebles would have had to transpose it down in order to sing at the same pitch as countertenors.<sup>62</sup>

### Variable Number of Parts

Some psalmodists only published tunes in two or three parts. Others provided four parts but also made provision for them to be sung in fewer parts if there were insufficient voices, or if singers were inadequately skilled. John Chetham noted on the title-page of his *Book of Psalmody* that it was 'set in Four Parts, within such a Compass as will most naturally suit the Voices in Country Churches, yet may be sung in Three or Two, without any Disallowances'.<sup>63</sup> He repeated the statement on the title-page of all later editions except the third, which was just 'set in such a Compass, as naturally suit the Voice'. Temperley has observed that Chetham's third edition is an anomaly, since any reference to country choirs and cathedral practice was removed and the tunes were less ornate, though these were restored from the fourth edition onwards.<sup>64</sup> Despite the claim on the title-page of his first book, which may have been an attempt to increase its

<sup>61</sup> I. Smith, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes in Three Parts [...] as now sung in several Churches, Chapels and Meeting Houses in and about London* (London, [1779-80]), 4.

<sup>62</sup> Arnold and Callcott, *Psalms* ([1791]), 3.

<sup>63</sup> Chetham, *Psalmody*, ([1717]).



saleability, Chetham also commented in his preface that his reason for publication was to improve parish church music so that it imitated cathedral music and that, therefore, 'all the Tunes and Anthems are in *Four Parts*, and so make up that fulness of Consonancy which cannot be expected in *Two* or *Three*'.<sup>65</sup> He explained more fully in his introduction:

Where there is not a competent Number of Voices for each Part, they may be sung in *Three* or *Two*. If in *Two*, the Tenor or Treble with the Bass: If in *Three*, the Bass and any two of the other: And if there be no Voices for the two upper Parts, the Treble sung an 8th below with the Tenor and Bass may do very well.<sup>66</sup>

The only problem with this is that Chetham placed the air in the tenor so, unless he expected a congregation to continue to sing the tune, it would apparently have been omitted when only the bass and treble, or the bass, treble and alto were sung.

John Church, a singer at Westminster Abbey and at the Chapel Royal, stated on the title-page to his *Introduction to Psalmody* that it contained psalm tunes 'in three or four Parts as they are now Sung in Parish Churches and other Places of Divine Worship'.<sup>67</sup> The majority are actually in three parts and he included instructions for reducing the four-part tunes to three by omitting the countertenor 'for which reason 2 of y<sup>e</sup> parts are put in the Treble Cliff, the 2<sup>d</sup> serving for the Tenor'.<sup>68</sup> However, in more complicated music with solo passages it was not possible to omit a part completely and another solution had to be found. In 1729 James Green noted that 'in some places of this Book the *Treble* sings alone and where there are not Voices to reach that part, the *Tenor*

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<sup>64</sup> Temperley, *MEPC* (1979), I, 181–2.

<sup>65</sup> Chetham, *Psalmody* ([1717]), [ii].

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, [vii].

<sup>67</sup> J. Church, *An Introduction to Psalmody* (London, [1723]), title-page.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.

may sing it an Eight below'<sup>69</sup> Some years later John Arnold repeated the same recommendation with reference to the treble solos in his anthems.<sup>70</sup>

Towards the end of the eighteenth century Samuel Arnold and John Callcott provided further advice on alternative part allocations. If no trebles were available, men could still sing the psalms in four parts: the treble was to be 'taken by a tenor as it is written' provided the countertenor sang 'his own part an octave below', but 'on no account' was any other part to be 'heard above' the treble. This is unclear and would seem to be impracticable, since treble parts are usually too high for tenors to sing at pitch, as in Psalm LVII (MA 12). However, if tenors sang the treble an octave lower than printed, the tune would have been obscured by the ordinary tenor part. Also, if the countertenor was sung an octave lower than usual, it would be below its normal range and would have inverted some of the harmony. A better alternative was suggested: the music could be transposed up to a fourth higher so that the countertenor sang the tune and the first tenor sang the countertenor, both an octave lower. But if the air was to be clearly heard the tenor and bass parts would also have had to be sung down an octave.<sup>71</sup>

Many churches would not have had a full four-part choir and would have continued to sing in unison, perhaps with a supporting bass. In 1819 William Cole commented that while the harmony did not always have to be 'full and complete', the bass was 'absolutely vital to support the principal melody'. When the singing was led by one voice 'instead of a well constructed harmony' one frequently heard 'some of the congregation singing the leading part an octave below; and others screaming out a few

<sup>69</sup> J. Green, *A Book of Psalmody* (London, 6/[1729-]), [vi]; and in all subsequent editions.

<sup>70</sup> J. Arnold, *The Compleat Psalmist* (London, 1741), 23.

<sup>71</sup> Arnold and Callcott, *Psalms* ([1791]), 3.



notes of an upper part', while the whole was 'unsupported by a legitimate bass'.<sup>72</sup> However, two parts were fine if the 'interior harmony could be filled up by an organ'.<sup>73</sup>

### Three-Part Singing

Psalmody tune books in which the majority of settings are in three parts were usually intended for nonconformist use. Early examples include Thomas Butts's *Harmonia Sacra*,<sup>74</sup> which was compiled for Methodists (although John Wesley thought that it was too elaborate), and Thomas Knibb's *Collection of Tunes in Three Parts that are now Us'd in the Several Dissenting Congregations in London*.<sup>75</sup> Stephen Addington, a Congregationalist minister, also set the majority of the tunes in his *Collection of Psalm Tunes for Publick Worship* in three parts, tenor, countertenor and bass, despite the fact that women would have sung the tenor, which carries the air, an octave higher.<sup>76</sup> Isaac Smith, clerk to the Alie Street Baptist Meeting House in Goodman's Fields, London noted that he did not add treble parts to his *Collection of Psalm Tunes* because 'except in choirs, proper voices are not easily found', adding pragmatically that he 'would not unnecessarily increase the size of the book'.<sup>77</sup> However, despite this claim, he did include two anthems for more voices. The first, taken from Psalm 138, 'I will praise thee O Lord', ends with a four-part chorus and the second, from Psalms 134 and 66, 'O praise the Lord with one consent', concludes with a five-part SATTB chorus.<sup>78</sup> In the second edition Smith added two more anthems and a four-part Sanctus by Gibbons, but over about ten years subsequent editions gradually reverted back to three parts, with the

<sup>72</sup> Cole, *Modern Psalmody* (1819), 4–5 fn.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 97–98.

<sup>74</sup> [T. Butts], *Harmonia-Sacra, or a Choice Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes* (London, 1/[–1754]); (London, 2/c. 1767); (London, 3/c.1768).

<sup>75</sup> [T. Knibb], *A Collection of Tunes in Three Parts* (London, [c.1755]). Later editions are entitled *The Psalm Singer's Help*.

<sup>76</sup> S. Addington, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes for Publick Worship* ([Market Harborough], 2/1778), iii.

<sup>77</sup> Smith, *Psalm Tunes* ([1779–80]), [1].

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 69–79; 80–86.

eventual removal of all the anthems but with the addition of set pieces in the more fashionable *galant* idiom. Despite the complexity of these pieces, they may have been sung congregationally as at the Surrey Chapel and the Lock Hospital (Ch.4).

In addition, some Anglican psalmody books also include tunes in three parts. They mostly belong either to the Restoration period, for instance Playford's *Whole Book of Psalms* and Hall's *Psalm-Singer's Compleat Companion*,<sup>79</sup> or to the period of reform which occurred towards the end of the eighteenth century. Samuel Arnold and John Callcott's *Psalms of David for the Use of Parish Churches* was designed to improve progressively the singing of 'country parochial choirs'. It contains a number of simple three-part pieces for two trebles or two tenors and bass, in which the middle part should not be sung too loud 'as particular care has been taken to make the melody and bass as correct as possible between themselves'. If necessary, they could be sung in two parts, 'especially if there be an organ to fill up the harmonies'.<sup>80</sup> William Tattersall noted that country choirs thought their performance 'very defective' unless they contrived to fill all four parts, and that even if the harmony, which was 'generally very indifferent', was 'faultless', the countertenors were usually 'poorly managed'. Consequently, he 'had been very anxious to restrain the tunes to two trebles and a bass, that singers of this class may not be induced to attempt things beyond their ability'. He provided clear instructions on how the voices should be divided, creating a five-part texture:

The congregation and children, led and supported by good voices, should join in the upper part. In the choir the trebles should be divided, half to the first, half to the second: men's voices may join each part according to their compass, and there should be a sufficient number of basses to support them all, which parts can be performed by men only.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Playford, *Psalms* (1677); Hall, *Companion* (1708).

<sup>80</sup> Arnold and Callcott, *Psalms* ([1791]), 3-4.

<sup>81</sup> W. Tattersall, *Improved Psalmody*, i (London, 1794), 16.



Thomas Billington composed his *Te Deum, Jubilate, Magnificat & Nunc Dimittis* in three parts for men's voices, but he presumed that it would be 'performed in churches by more than three voices'. Consequently, he emphasised that the parts should be 'equally distributed' or that more support should be given to the 'extreme ones' to balance the predominate tenor. He also suggested that:

if there were a Female singer who has a low compass of voice, it would have good effect to throw the upper part of this work an octave lower, which would make it the same notes in effect, as the Counter-tenor sings, and be a very great support to the performance.<sup>82</sup>

Billington seems to have envisaged that his music would have been performed by a mixed group of singers, so, although the upper countertenor part would have been sung at pitch by men and women, the tenor air would presumably have been doubled an octave higher by trebles, whether women or boys.

William Cole was more concerned about the quality of the harmony and quoted Avison's *Essay on Musical Expression*,<sup>83</sup> noting that 'when psalm tunes are sung in parts, there should be no more than three; because too complex an *harmony* would destroy the natural "air". It is readily admitted that, in general, three parts are better than four'.<sup>84</sup> Cole seems to have agreed with this suggestion for, as noted above, nearly all the psalm tunes in his *Psalmist's Exercise* are in three parts.<sup>85</sup>

### Later Problems with Part Allocation

By 1800 it was more common for the air to be placed in the treble, although it was still printed on the staff above the bass for the convenience of keyboard players with the

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<sup>82</sup> T. Billington, *The Te Deum, Jubilate, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis* (London, [1784]), 4.

<sup>83</sup> C. Avison, *An Essay on Musical Expression* (London, 1752).

<sup>84</sup> Cole, *Modern Psalmody* (1819), 97.

<sup>85</sup> Cole, *Psalmist's Exercise* (c.1768).

tenor on the top stave in a TASB layout. The top three parts were usually printed in the G clef, so that the tenor and alto were notated an octave higher than they were sung. Some examples also exist with the alto placed on the top stave in an ATSB layout. Unsurprisingly, this was ambiguous unless the air and part allocations were clearly marked. Some singers might still have expected the air to be sung by tenors, with treble doubling if sung congregationally, so, although the tune would be correct, the tenor would have been sung an octave higher than intended by trebles. Singers who were more used to treble-led tunes might also have been confused, singing the top stave as the air an octave higher than intended, while the treble was sung an octave lower. These incorrect part allocations are listed in Table 3.10. below, with the air marked in bold type.

**Table 3.10.** Part allocations in treble-led psalmody, c.1800.

correct	incorrect	other possibilities
TASB	SATB or SATB	The alto might also be sung at the written pitch, an octave higher than intended, and the tenor would have been doubled an octave above if sung congregationally.
ATSB	SATB or SATB	
SATB	SATB	

John Fawcett, a shoemaker and psalmody composer, began his musical career in Kendal in about 1800 before moving to Bolton. He was a Wesleyan Methodist and so he presumably expected his hymn tunes to have been sung congregationally, with the air doubled at the octave by men and women. His first psalmody book exemplifies the problems outlined above.<sup>86</sup> Although he did indicate the part layout for the first tune, VICTORY,<sup>87</sup> 'TATB' is virtually useless because it could mean SATB or TASB or even SASB or TATB. The solution eventually emerges in a few later pieces such as LINDALE (MA 36), in which short duet sections between the first and third lines are marked '2nd

<sup>86</sup> J. Fawcett, *A New Set of Sacred Music* (London, [c.1811]).

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 'Hark how the gospel trumpet sounds', 1.



Treble' for the upper part and '1st Treble' for the lower, followed by 'Tenor' when all four parts resume. This suggests that trebles sang the top line and that the air, which is placed on the stave above the bass, was sung by tenors doubled by trebles. If this implied part allocation is correct, Fawcett's *New Set of Sacred Music* may well be the last psalmody collection to be published in this archaic format.

In Fawcett's second edition which was republished as late as 1837, the tune, on the stave above the bass, is clearly marked 'Air' and 'Trebles'.<sup>88</sup> Certainly, his opinion on correct part allocation was very different by 1830, when his *Vocal Instructor* was published:

As the subject has been a matter of dispute among the lower class of musicians, perhaps a few observations may be useful [...] It is common in some places to call the Tenor the Air or Tune, and the Treble, a sort of second or accompanying part; this is very incorrect.<sup>89</sup>

## Summary

The multiplicity of possible part allocations during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries meant that psalmody could be sung in a variety of ways. Early books allowed singers to choose different allocations according to the range and number of voices available, but the use of C clefs for alto and tenor maintained the clarity of the part distribution. When all upper parts began to be placed in the treble clef from the mid 1700s it became more difficult for singers to choose the correct part, especially if they were unfamiliar with the air; this could be sung by either tenors or trebles and both parts might be equally melodic. If tenor and alto parts were placed in the G clef they were written an octave higher than they were meant to be sung, which could cause further

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<sup>88</sup> J. Fawcett, *A Set of Sacred Music* (London, 2/[?1838]). The copy held at GB-Mr Special Collections includes a full page advertisement for James Peck's publications dated 1837.

confusion since they might also be sung by trebles at written pitch. This uncertainty may have contributed to the silencing of congregations. They would obviously double the air in octaves, but only if they could hear it clearly.

Even today, musicologists may interpret part allocation in a variety of ways, as can be heard in two CD examples. In Caleb Ashworth's three-part carol 'Let an anthem of praise' (CD 13, MA 27) the untexted alto, which is on the top stave in the original source and written an octave higher than it should be sung, is treated as a descant in verses one and four. Richard Taylor's setting of 'Alas! and did my Saviour bleed?' (CD 16, MA 32) places the air just above the lightly figured bass. The recording allocates it to the tenor, but the music could equally be treble led because it was written for a city church in Chester. In either case it should be doubled at the octave since it would have been sung congregationally.

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<sup>89</sup> J. Fawcett, *The Vocal Instructor, or Young Musician's Companion* (London, 1830), 38–39.



## Chapter 4: Congregational Part Singing

All denominations wanted people to sing, but Methodist and other evangelical congregations, within and without the Church of England, were more likely to join wholeheartedly in worship. Consequently, they were less in need of an elite group to lead the music. The majority of these congregations originally sang in unison but during the eighteenth century a distinctive and increasingly complicated style of music gradually developed. Sections of some tunes were sung separately by men and women and some congregations also sang in two parts. This chapter concentrates primarily on the congregational singing of more complicated pieces by Methodists and other nonconformists.

### Methodists

In 1779 the Methodist conference warned against ‘those complex tunes and anthems which it is scarcely possible to sing with devotion’.<sup>90</sup> They may have been concerned about tunes from outside sources which were not part of the prescribed Methodist repertory, or they may have been referring to John Wesley’s choice of melodies in his first two tune books. His theological ideals seem to have been in conflict with his personal musical taste. Some of the tunes are quite elaborate and would seem to be incompatible with congregational participation, but they were presumably sung with some success or they would not have been retained in later books.

One piece may have caused particular concern. Wesley had added a ‘complex’ set piece CHESHUNT (MA 38) to the second edition of *Sacred Melody*, c.1770.<sup>91</sup> Set

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<sup>90</sup> *Minutes of Several Conversations, between the Rev. John Wesley, A.M. and the Preachers in Connection with Him* (London, 1779), 25.

<sup>91</sup> ‘Cheshunt’, [Wesley], *Sacred Melody* (1770), 110–12.

pieces are essentially anthems with a metrical text instead of prose. There is no exact definition but they are through-composed and the relationship with the words is fixed, unlike strophic tunes which will fit any text in the same metre. This enabled composers to express the meaning of the text more directly, perhaps by changing time and key and by alternating solos, duets or trios with choruses.

CHESHUNT is a sacred parody and is set to Charles Wesley's text, 'The voice of my beloved sounds'. James Lightwood identified it as an adaptation of a popular song, 'A Thought on a Spring Morning' by Henry Holcombe,<sup>92</sup> and Wesley probably copied it from Thomas Butts's *Harmonia-Sacra*, where it is set in three parts with a figured bass.<sup>93</sup> Like all the other tunes in Wesley's first two books, the melody is printed without any accompaniment and was apparently sung by voices alone.

An extended florid tune such as CHESHUNT would seem to be too difficult for many singers, but Martin Clarke has reasoned that the repeated musical patterns would have facilitated congregational participation.<sup>94</sup> It is also likely that the melody would have been familiar because it was a popular secular song. Congregations would have been accustomed to the ornamented style of fashionable eighteenth-century music in the same way that the syncopation of pop music is familiar to modern worshippers.

Carlton Young has suggested that John Wesley included set pieces in his tune books 'because of the popularity of the village singing groups and their influence on the singing practice of local Methodist societies'.<sup>95</sup> However, Wesley would have been aware of these choirs and their near monopoly of parish church music. He surely would not have wished to replicate this segregation of singers from the congregation during

<sup>92</sup> J.T. Lightwood, *Hymn-Tunes and their Story* (London, [1905]), 134.

<sup>93</sup> T. Butts, *Harmonia-Sacra, or a Choice Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes* (London, [c.1754]), 195–98.

<sup>94</sup> M. Clarke, 'John Wesley and Methodist Music in the Eighteenth Century: Principles and Practice', Ph.D. thesis (University of Durham, 2008), 291.

<sup>95</sup> C. Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* (Carol Stream IL., 1995), 71.



Methodist worship. It is possible that he may never have intended set pieces to be sung in public and thought that their use would have been restricted to class meetings or domestic worship. He may also have wished to widen the appeal of his tune books and hence to increase their saleability.

In 1781 Wesley published his third tune book, *Sacred Harmony*, for the use of Methodist congregations,<sup>96</sup> apparently with total disregard for the concerns of the Conference. He included many of the elaborate tunes from his earlier books but in two parts, together with five tunes in three parts and two set pieces. Most Methodist congregations would have continued to sing unaccompanied, but the title-page of Wesley's new book stated that it was for harpsichord and organ as well as voice, even though none of the music was figured.

The two set pieces in *Sacred Harmony* are in three parts and the two upper parts cross in both instances, which would have made them even more difficult to sing. CHESHUNT is identical with Butts's three-part setting except for a few printing errors and with the bass figures omitted. THE 100 PSALM is a setting of 'Before Jehovah's awful throne'. The music is more commonly known as DENMARK (MA 39) and is by Martin Madan, honorary chaplain of the Lock Hospital in London. The text is an adaptation by John Wesley of Isaac Watts's version of Psalm 100 'Sing to the Lord with joyful voice'.<sup>97</sup> Wesley's version is nearly the same as Madan's, except that the dynamics and bass figuring are omitted and slurs are added to the bass to fit the text, whereas the bass in the Lock Hospital setting would only have been played (as will be discussed below).

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<sup>96</sup> [J. Wesley], *Sacred Harmony: or A Choice Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, In Two or Three Parts, For the Voice, Harpsicord, and Organ* ([London?], [1781]).

<sup>97</sup> [J. Wesley], *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns* (Charles-Town, 1737), 5; I. Watts, *The Psalms of David imitated in the Language of the New Testament, and apply'd to the Christian State and Worship* (London, 1719), 256.

Perhaps in consequence of Wesley's publication of these two set pieces, the Methodist conference again considered it necessary to reiterate that no anthems should be 'introduced into our Chapels or Preaching-Houses for the time to come, because they cannot properly be called Joint-Worship',<sup>98</sup> which suggests that anthems or set pieces were usually sung by a group of singers rather than by the whole congregation. Wesley, unlike the Conference, was apparently unconcerned. In 1790 he added four more set pieces to the second edition of *Sacred Harmony*: SPRING, which seems to have been taken directly from Butts's *Harmonia-Sacra* with the figuring removed; THE DYING CHRISTIAN by Edward Harwood; DENBIGH, which is probably from Madan with the middle part omitted; and YARMOUTH, which may also have been copied from Madan with some alterations, including a change of title from EASTER.<sup>99</sup> The complexity of these pieces would seem to be beyond the abilities of congregations, especially if sung unaccompanied. However, if they could cope with the elaborate hymn tunes favoured by Wesley, they may also have attempted to sing longer set pieces with some success.

Some evidence of this can perhaps be found in the words-only editions of hymn books, particularly those which include tune names. For instance, *A Pocket Hymn Book* published by John Wesley in 1787 to counteract the pirated edition produced by a Methodist bookseller in York,<sup>100</sup> has the tune name CHESHUNT affixed to 'The voice of my beloved sounds'.<sup>101</sup> The texts of both DENMARK and CHESHUNT are in the 1783 edition of Wesley's *Select Hymns*,<sup>102</sup> which is concurrent with the first edition of *Sacred Harmony* in which these two pieces occur.

<sup>98</sup> *Minutes of some Late Conversations between The Rev. J. Wesley, and Others* (London, 1787), 20. According to the 1796 *Minutes* this resolution was passed in 1782 but it does not occur in the printed minutes for that year, and the original manuscript copy is no longer extant.

<sup>99</sup> [Wesley], *Sacred Harmony* (2/[c.1790]), 131-38, 139-47, 148-50, 151-57.

<sup>100</sup> [R. Spence], *A Pocket Hymn Book, Designed as a Constant Companion for the Pious* (York, 1783).

<sup>101</sup> [J. Wesley], *A Pocket Hymn Book, for the Use of Christians of All Denominations* (London, 1787), 193.

<sup>102</sup> [J. Wesley], *Select Hymns for the Use of Christians of All Denominations* (London, 9/1783), 84, 156.



After Wesley's death in 1791 conference regulations on music seem to have been slightly less restrictive. The 1796 *Minutes* included the same regulation as 1787, stating that anthems were not be sung as they 'cannot properly be called *joint* worship', but with an extra clause which allowed the use of anthems 'on extraordinary occasions and with the consent of the Assistant'.<sup>103</sup>

Clearer proof that congregations sang set pieces may be found in the north midlands. John Wilde, a Sheffield psalmody teacher, produced a series of pamphlets containing the words of the hymns, odes and anthems sung in Methodist chapels around Sheffield and Nottingham. The first known copy now appears to be the fifth edition, dated 1797.<sup>104</sup> Mackerness, in his book on the history of music in Sheffield, noted a second edition of 1795 as 'sung at Norfolk Street Methodist Chapel in Sheffield', but did not give its whereabouts.<sup>105</sup> According to a history of the chapel, regular payments were made to John Wilde, who led the singers between 1787 and 1798 before he went to London to become precentor at the City Road Chapel.<sup>106</sup> The singers are known to have sat together in a singing pew, because in 1782 the chapel authorities agreed that it should have a carpet, perhaps to keep the noise down rather than to provide comfort. Before an organ was erected in 1860 they were accompanied by a violoncello, which had been in use at Mulberry Street Chapel until its closure in 1780.<sup>107</sup>

In the 'Advertisement' at the beginning of his 1797 pamphlet, Wilde particularly praised the congregational singing at Norfolk Street but still suggested further improvements. He must have been familiar with John Wesley's directions for singers because he quoted from them indirectly:

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<sup>103</sup> *An Extract of the Minutes of Several Conversations [...] between the Preachers late in Connection with the Rev. Mr. Wesley* (London, 1796), 35.

<sup>104</sup> J. Wilde, *Favourite Hymns, Odes and Anthems, as Sung at the Methodist Chapels, in the Sheffield, Rotherham, Doncaster and Nottingham Circuits* (n.p, 5/1797).

<sup>105</sup> E. Mackerness, *Somewhere Further North, a History of Music in Sheffield* (Sheffield, 1974), 26.

<sup>106</sup> T.A. Seed, *Norfolk Street Wesleyan Chapel, Sheffield, being a History of this Famous Sanctuary* (London, 1907), 196.

I do not conceive it to be any violation of the laws of truth to observe that Congregational Harmony is better performed among the METHODISTS at *Norfolk-street Chapel*, than in any other place of Worship in Sheffield or its Vicinity [...] I am sensible it might easily be more perfect, by the observance of a few directions, viz.— Let those Persons who are dispersed throughout the Chapel, and sing the Bass part, use the same Notes as they hear from the singers: inattention to *this* produces discord. Secondly, keep time with the singers, that is to say, go not before, nor hang behind them; both of which cause disorder. Lastly, and above all things, let no MEN sing the repeats, which the WOMEN take; this destroys the beauty, simplicity and excellency for which Methodist singing has been so long celebrated.<sup>108</sup>

Therefore, although the singing was led by a choir who may have used music, the congregation sang by ear in two parts, treble and bass. In all, six different versions of Wilde's pamphlet are still extant.<sup>109</sup> Wilde is described as a 'Teacher of Vocal Music' in all except the first. Wilde (or Wylde: he appears to have changed the spelling of his name) probably sold these pamphlets himself to increase his income. They would have been an inexpensive way to acquire new texts, and if enough copies were purchased the congregation may have been able to sing without lining out. Where hymns continued to be lined out until the mid 1800s (Ch.1), there is no evidence that through-composed pieces were treated in the same way, even if sung congregationally.

In some instances Wilde heads texts with the name of the piece, the tune, or the composer, but others are unidentified. However, the earliest known extant pamphlet includes at least two texts which can be classified as set pieces and which the congregation may have sung together with the choir. The first, THE PROMISED LAND, a

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 183, 196.

<sup>108</sup> Wilde, *Favourite Hymns* (n.p, 5/1797), 2.

<sup>109</sup> Wilde, *Favourite Hymns* (n.p, 5/1797); J. Wilde, *Selection of Hymns, Odes, and Anthems; as Sung at the Methodist Chapels, in the Sheffield District* (Sheffield, 1798); J. Wilde, *Selection of Hymns, Odes, and Anthems; as Sung at the Methodist Chapels, in the Sheffield and Nottingham Districts* (Nottingham, 1799); J. Wilde, *Select Hymns, intended as a Supplement to the Sheffield Edition, for the Methodist Congregations* (Leeds, 1799); J. Wilde, *Selection of Hymns, Odes, and Anthems; as Sung at the Methodist Chapels, in the Sheffield, Nottingham, and Other Circuits* (Nottingham, 1800); J. Wylde, *A Selection of Hymns, Odes, and Anthems; as Sung at the Methodist Chapels, in the Sheffield, Nottingham, and Other Circuits* (Nottingham, 1803).



setting of 'Happy beyond description he',<sup>110</sup> is by James Leach of Rochdale and is taken from his *Second Sett of Hymns and Psalm Tunes*,<sup>111</sup> where it is called CANAAN (MA 41). It is described as a 'celebrated Ode' by Wilde and contains a trio, duet, and chorus. While the trio would have been relatively simple for a congregation to sing, the duet is quite florid, and a semiquaver bass run in the chorus would have been particularly difficult to sing by ear.

The other identifiable set piece is THE FALL OF BABYLON (MA 42, CD 21). It is a setting of Isaac Watts's dramatic hymn, 'In Gabriel's hand, a mighty stone',<sup>112</sup> and is probably by John Beaumont,<sup>113</sup> although Wilde does not include the composer's name. Beaumont was a Methodist minister who preached in the Sheffield and Nottingham circuits and he would almost certainly have been acquainted with Wilde. He seems to have been a Methodist maverick because he composed anthems,<sup>114</sup> and he must have approved of the organ in the meeting house at Newark because there is an engraving of him sitting at the console.<sup>115</sup> His grandson wrote that he took pleasure in a 'blood horse and a fine Psalm tune'.<sup>116</sup> THE FALL OF BABYLON was first published some time between 1795 and 1801; a proposal by Beaumont to publish *The Harmonic Magazine* by subscription is dated 1795 and contains eighteen tunes, one anthem and a set piece, THE FALL OF BABYLON. However, all except two hymn tunes are priced separately on separate pages and so may have been printed individually at a later date.<sup>117</sup> Beaumont's

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<sup>110</sup> [C. Wesley], *Hymns for Children* (Bristol, 1763), 80.

<sup>111</sup> J. Leach, *A Second Sett of Hymns and Psalm Tunes, adapted for the use of Churches, Chapels and Sunday Schools* (London, [c.1794]), 64–69.

<sup>112</sup> I. Watts, *Hymns and Spiritual Songs [...] with an Essay Towards the Improvement of Christian Psalmody* (London, 1707), 57.

<sup>113</sup> J. Beaumont, *The New Harmonic Magazine, or Compendious Repository of Sacred Music* (London, 1801), 68–69.

<sup>114</sup> J. Beaumont, *Four Anthems [...] To which are added Sixteen Psalm or Hymn Tunes* (London, [1793]).

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, frontispiece.

<sup>116</sup> J. Beaumont, *The Life of the Rev. Joseph Beaumont, M.D.* (London, 1856), 4.

<sup>117</sup> 'Proposals for publishing by subscription in monthly numbers [...] *The Harmonic Magazine*', dated 30 March, 1795, and signed John Beaumont. Bound with J. Beaumont, *The New Harmonic Magazine*, (London, 1801), [GB-Lbl F.964].

*New Harmonic Magazine* was eventually published in 1801. In his autobiography he explained his reasons for publication, which provide further proof that congregations sang set pieces: 'My chief design [...] was, to give a few short pieces, proper to be sung before the sermon, easy to be learnt, and in which the congregation might readily join'.<sup>118</sup> THE FALL OF BABYLON is relatively simple to sing as the first section is a duet, and the second is a short chorus in four parts, with no extended runs. It is also probably the only set piece of this period still in current use; it is sung every Christmas by the carol singers of Foolow in Derbyshire, who were originally all members of the local Wesleyan Methodist chapel.<sup>119</sup>

John Wilde produced at least five later selections of words up to 1803 and the five extant editions include 53 separate texts: 27 in the 1797 edition, 16 in the 1799 supplement and 21 in the other four editions. Unsurprisingly, four texts are settings by Wilde and there are also two more pieces by Leach. The first JORDAN, to the text 'Guide me O thou great Jehovah', is another set piece and is from Leach's third psalmody collection, which was published posthumously.<sup>120</sup> It consists of a trio and a four-part chorus and would have been difficult to sing congregationally because the top part, which seems to carry the air, has a high tessitura and extends up to *a*". The other, LOVING KINDNESS, to the text 'Through many hosts of mighty foes', has yet to be found and may never have been published. One other set piece can also be identified. THE BARREN FIG TREE is again almost certainly by John Beaumont,<sup>121</sup> though no composer

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<sup>118</sup> J. Beaumont, *A Treatise on Lowness of Spirits [...] likewise, his Experience and Travels; including his Conversion to God* (London, 1809), 398.

<sup>119</sup> Personal communication from Dr Ian Russell, Director of the Elphinstone, Institute, the University of Aberdeen.

<sup>120</sup> J. Leach, *A Collection of Hymn Tunes and Anthems composed and adapted for a Full Choir* (London, [1798-]), 38-42.

<sup>121</sup> Beaumont, *Harmonic Magazine* (1801), 70.



is named. It must have been popular because it appears quite often in manuscripts,<sup>122</sup> and would have been quite straightforward to sing as it is in two parts throughout.

A few composers are named. ‘Soon will the evening star’ and GERMAN HYMN ‘Lord of the Sabbath’ are by Pleyel and may both be parodies, although only the second has been identified. Its tune is taken from Pleyel’s string quartet in G major.<sup>123</sup> Wilde probably knew the version which was later published in Beaumont’s *New Harmonic Magazine*, since this has the same title and is the only known printing of this tune and text combination.<sup>124</sup> ‘To thee our hearts we raise’ by Corelli (which may be another parody hymn) and two pieces by Sheffield composers, THE PETITION ‘Jesus seek thy wandr’ing sheep’ by Luke Proctor and ‘Though nature’s strength decay’ by William Mather, all remain a mystery and may never have been published with these words.

Five texts are set by William Miller, the son of Dr Edward Miller, the composer and organist from Doncaster. William led a dissolute life as a young man and ran away to India aged eighteen, where within six years he made a considerable fortune as a music professor and promptly spent it all. After returning to London he moved to Sheffield and would have known Wilde; he worshipped at Norfolk Street Chapel before giving up his violin and becoming a Wesleyan minister in 1799.<sup>125</sup> Miller’s tunes are slightly more complicated than normal hymns but shorter than set pieces and would not have been too difficult for congregational singing. Three can be identified: ‘Thou soft flowing Kedron’ and ‘Our souls by love together knit’ are from his tune book, *David’s Harp*,<sup>126</sup> and ‘Haste again ye days of grace’ is in his father’s book, *Dr. Watts’s Psalms*

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<sup>122</sup> Added mss: J. Leach, *A New Sett of Hymns and Psalm Tunes* (London [1789]), 168–69. RSCM: LC B5 (held at the RCM); J. Beaumont, *Four Anthems [...] Sixteen Psalm or Hymn Tunes* (London, [1793]). GB-Mp, Henry Watson Music Library: BRf370 B.15.

<sup>123</sup> N. Temperley, *HTI*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1998), I, 42.

<sup>124</sup> Beaumont, *Harmonic Magazine* (1801), 61.

<sup>125</sup> Seed, *Norfolk Street Wesleyan Chapel* (1907), 69–70.

<sup>126</sup> W. Miller, *David’s Harp [...] adapted to Mr Wesley’s Selection of Hymns* (London, c.1803), 185–87, 204–05.

*and Hymns*.<sup>127</sup> The second volume of the latter book provides further evidence that some Methodist chapels had choirs. It includes nine hymns 'for the Practise of Societies of Singers' (MA 35).<sup>128</sup> One of these is in three parts and eight in are in four. Seven of the four-part tunes have the parts clearly marked: 'Treble', 'Alto', 'Air' (with a few extra small notes for keyboard players) plus 'Bass' or 'Basso'. All the tunes are fuguing so the text overlaps and different words are sung simultaneously. While this would have provided more interest for the singers, John Wesley would not have approved, which may be why these hymns were only to be used by societies of singers and not by congregations.

It seems that Methodist congregations were also singing set pieces sixty miles or so from Sheffield in Hull, at approximately the same date as Wilde's pamphlets. In *Stories of Methodist Music*, James Lightwood, who wrote extensively on Methodist music but who rarely gave any indication of where his sources might be found, identified another pamphlet containing twenty-seven hymns and set pieces sung at the George Yard Wesleyan Methodist Chapel in Hull, dated 1798.<sup>129</sup> The whereabouts of the original is unknown, but Lightwood apparently transcribed the preface verbatim. As at Sheffield, the Hull congregation was apparently expected to learn tunes by ear. The pamphlet was issued so that:

Those detached pieces of music which are frequently sung in the Methodist Chapel in George Yard, before Sermons, may be more generally understood, which cannot fail of being accomplished in those who have any taste for sacred Music, when they have the words in their Hands, they may with ease attend to and obtain a perfect knowledge of the Tunes, so that in a very short time they will be generally sung throughout the Congregation at large.

<sup>127</sup> E. Miller, *Dr Watts's Psalms and Hymns*, 2 vols (London, [1800]), I, no. 252.

<sup>128</sup> E. Miller, *Dr Watts's Psalms and Hymns*, 2 vols (London, [c.1805]), II, nos.443-451.

<sup>129</sup> J. Lightwood, *Stories of Methodist Music* (London, 1928). 15-20.



The author, who is identified only as T.H., probably knew of the Sheffield pamphlets since he makes very similar suggestions about how the congregational singing might be improved. He could possibly be Thomas Holy, one of the benefactors and founders of Norfolk Street Chapel. Lightwood lists 27 texts but again few composers' names are given. 13 texts are the same as those in the Sheffield pamphlets and include two of William Miller's pieces, THE METHODIST PARTING and KEDRON, as well as Beaumont's FALL OF BABYLON. However, the Hull pamphlet is perhaps closer to mainstream Methodism than Wilde's because it also contains three set pieces approved by Wesley: Butts's SPRING, Madan's DENMARK and Harwood's VITAL SPARK. This would seem to provide further evidence that congregations joined in such pieces, despite their complexity.

### Nonconformists

Not all nonconformists sang as enthusiastically or so well as Methodists. In 1819 the psalmody composer William Cole investigated the 'charge of indecorum, in the practice of psalmody' and attempted to 'prescribe some rules' to remedy it.<sup>130</sup> It is not immediately evident from his tract whether he was connected with nonconformists or Anglicans and he wrote music for both.<sup>131</sup> However, John Besusan-Butt has identified him as a Colchester land surveyor, schoolmaster and astronomer who was connected with Lion Walk Congregational chapel, now the United Reformed church.<sup>132</sup>

Cole noted that the psalmody in the 'worshipping assembly', with which he had been connected for many years, was 'confined to a few individuals' and that, although

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<sup>130</sup> W. Cole, *A View of Modern Psalmody, being an Attempt to Reform the Practice of Singing in the Worship of God* (Colchester, 1819).

<sup>131</sup> W. Cole, *Divine Hymns*, i, (London, [c.1775]); W. Cole, *A Morning and Evening Service [...] with Six Anthems* (London, [1793]).

he attempted to assist, it eventually took a 'retrograde turn' and a 'thorough reformation' became necessary. However, rather than applying an 'effectual remedy' (by which he meant an organ), it was decided to continue singing unaccompanied and to 'adopt the fashionable, but inefficacious mode' of a 'single voice'. Cole wrote that the 'indecorum' at Lion Walk was also present to some degree in all other societies with which he had contact and he seems to be slightly resentful. It may be that the 'few individuals' at Lion Walk, including himself, lost the support of those in authority, perhaps because they were thought to monopolise the singing. He later described a more preferable scenario where:

In some other places, where there is no organ, the management is committed to a select company, who sing the tunes in their several parts, in such manner, however, as do not prevent the congregation from joining them.

Cole was further concerned that the singing was also led by a single voice in 'almost all the dissenting congregations in London, and by many, both of dissenters and of the establishment in the country'. He was not implying that congregations were necessarily silent, but that one voice did not give a sufficient lead for them to sing either in time or in tune, both of which could be rectified by using an organ.<sup>133</sup>

One way to encourage congregations to sing better was to initiate rehearsals. In about 1789 Isaac Smith, clerk to the Baptist meeting at Alie Street, London, had proposed that if every congregation were to practise singing for an hour or two every week 'the mistakes of those who sing out of tune or out of time' would be corrected. He also thought that singers would learn a tune sooner if they always had the notes, even if they could not actually read music.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> J. Bensusan-Butt, 'An Introduction to William Cole', *East Anglian History Workshop Journal*, 2 (1981), 3-15.

<sup>133</sup> Cole, *Modern Psalmody* (1819), [v]-vii, 5.

<sup>134</sup> I. Smith, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes in Three Parts* (London, [1779-80]), 3.



Some nonconformist churches were known for their psalmody and congregations did participate in the singing of anthems and set pieces. John Curwen quoted James Sherman, the minister of Surrey Chapel who, in the preface to the collection of music compiled for the Chapel by Vincent Novello in 1847, described the congregational singing of such set pieces as Harwood's 'Vital spark of heav'nly flame', and Madan's 'Before Jehovah's awful throne', which:

By being frequently sung are as familiar to the congregation as ordinary tunes. Nothing can be more imposing than the union of nearly three thousand voices rapturously and harmoniously singing the praises of their Saviour and God.<sup>135</sup>

The Surrey Chapel was the largest proprietary chapel in London. It was built by the evangelical, Rowland Hill, and was famous for its music and preaching.

Further north in Rossendale in Lancashire, the music in local Baptist chapels was often led by the Larks of Dean on special occasions.<sup>136</sup> In 1868 Thomas Newbigging wrote of attending the anniversary services before they purchased an organ (i.e. prior to 1858), when the 'Hallelujah' chorus was sung by the choir and by the 'majority of the congregation' who were familiar with the music.<sup>137</sup>

## Dialogue Hymns

Dialogue hymns can be distinguished from more general hymns by their antiphonal texts sung by men or women alone. They may have influenced the development of repeating tunes and illustrate one method of congregational singing which was later used at the Lock Hospital, and perhaps also elsewhere. Whitefield justified their inclusion for 'the Use of the Society' at the Tabernacle at Moorfields in London,

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<sup>135</sup> J. S. Curwen, *Studies in Worship Music*, first series (London, 2/[1888]), 443.

<sup>136</sup> S. Drage, 'The Larks of Dean: amateur musicians in Northern England', *Music in the British Provinces, 1690–1914*, ed. R. Cowgill and P. Holman (Aldershot, 2007), 195–221 (pp.198–200).

<sup>137</sup> T. Newbigging, *History of the Forest of Rossendale* (London, 1868), 265.

because the 'Celestial Choir' in Revelations answered one another in 'heavenly Anthems', and because cathedrals adopted a similar practice — i.e. antiphonal singing between cantoris and decani.<sup>138</sup> Dialogue hymns would have been particularly suitable for use at the Tabernacle where, as in other meeting houses of the period, it is thought that men and women sat separately.<sup>139</sup> In the same section of Whitefield's hymn book mentioned above, he included seven dialogue hymns taken directly from Cennick. Four have DIALOGUE in the heading, and of these, three have the second pair of lines in italics, which probably implies that they were sung antiphonally.<sup>140</sup> However, no.16 'Brethren, sing, — 'tis right you shou'd' has all the text in italics. When compared with Cennick, this seems to be a misprint because the verbal sense suggests that it would also have been sung alternately by men and women. Three more hymns in the same section have lines three and four in italics and so these were also presumably sung as dialogues as well, although they are not marked specifically as such.<sup>141</sup>

George Whitefield was probably also responsible for the anonymous *Divine Musical Miscellany*,<sup>142</sup> which was advertised in the *Scots Magazine* in May 1754 to be used with his *Hymns for Social Worship*,<sup>143</sup> and which includes settings of four of the same dialogue texts: 'Rise O ye seed of David rise', 'We sing to thee thou Son of God', 'Tell us O Woman, we would know' and 'Ho Pilgrims (if ye Pilgrims be)'.<sup>144</sup> They also have 'Dialogue' in the heading and include an additional extended 'Hallelujah' in which, presumably, all would have joined.

The *HTI* does not indicate that these four settings in *The Divine Musical Miscellany* are described as dialogue hymns and, perhaps more inexplicably, omits to

<sup>138</sup> Whitefield, *Hymns for Social Worship* (1753), [i–ii].

<sup>139</sup> R. Byrnside, *Music in Eighteenth-Century Georgia* (Athens [USA] and London, 1997), 92.

<sup>140</sup> nos. 8, 11, 15 and 16.

<sup>141</sup> nos. 9, 10, and 12.

<sup>142</sup> *Musical Miscellany* (1754).

<sup>143</sup> Temperley, *H.T.I.*, i (1998), 159.



mention a two-part strophic Dialogue hymn, a setting of 'Praised be the God of love' by John Hill of Lydd, which has alternate passages for 'Angels' and 'Men' (MA 6).<sup>145</sup> However, the *HTI* does include two other tunes, both headed 'DIALOGUE HYMN'. The first, by Charles Burney, is a florid two-part setting of 'Tell us, O women, we would know Whither so fast ye move?' with figured bass accompaniment, in which 'Men' and 'Women' sing alternately in the verses and then join together for the chorus. It was originally published in Martin Madan's collection for the Lock Hospital 'Tell us, O women', and was composed by George Breillat to be sung at the Surrey Chapel in London, also renowned for its congregational singing.<sup>146</sup>

William Cole, as always, had something pertinent to say on the subject and did not object to dialogue hymns if the text was in full sentences and fitted the purpose. He suggested that the antiphonal parts should be separated and that tenor voices accompanied by a bass could be answered by trebles accompanied by tenors or countertenors, with a chorus sung by all parts after one or more responses. It would work best if accompanied by an organ.<sup>147</sup>

## Repeating Hymns

By the end of the eighteenth century many Methodist and other nonconformist tunes contained passages which were to be sung by women and children alone. These could be arranged in various formats but most commonly the last line of text was repeated. The first time it was marked *piano* or *soft* and was sung by trebles, often in thirds and

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<sup>144</sup> *Musical Miscellany* (1754), 'Braintree Tune', 62; 'Newington Tune', 63; 'Finsbury Tune', 64; 'Kingsland Tune', 65.

<sup>145</sup> J. Hill, *A New Book of Psalmody*, (London, [c.1757]), 16.

<sup>146</sup> B. Jacobs, *Volume the Second of a Collection of Hymn Tunes, sung at Surrey Chapel* (London, [c.1807]), 56.

<sup>147</sup> Cole, *Modern Psalmody* (1819), 113–15.

perhaps with an instrumental bass, but the repeat, marked *forte* or *loud*, was sung by everyone (MA 36). These repeating tunes would have been particularly effective in congregations where men and women sat separately.

Nicholas Temperley has stated that repeating tunes were first proposed by George Whitefield in his *Selection for the Tabernacle* of 1753,<sup>148</sup> but there does not actually seem to be a hymn book of this name so he was presumably referring to Whitefield's *Hymns for Social Worship [...] for the Use of the Tabernacle Congregation in London*.<sup>149</sup> This includes only one hymn which could be considered to be 'repeating'. The first hymn in a section entitled 'HYMNS FOR SOCIETY and Persons meeting in Christian-Fellowship' is 'Who can have greater Cause to sing', in which the last line of each verse is repeated twice with both repeats printed in italics. This is also the first hymn in an earlier publication, volume one of John Cennick's *Sacred Hymns for the use of Religious Societies. Generally composed in Dialogues* of 1743.<sup>150</sup> In this printing only the penultimate line is in italics, which perhaps indicates more clearly that it would be sung as a 'repeating' hymn, but this cannot be confirmed since no specific tune seems to be connected with this text.

George Whitefield was originally associated with John Wesley but broke away in the late 1730s and became a leader of the Calvinistic Methodists.<sup>151</sup> Cennick also briefly supported Wesley but then sided with Whitefield from 1740 before joining the Moravians in 1745,<sup>152</sup> so he was working with Whitefield when *Sacred Hymns* was published and it is not surprising that Whitefield included many of Cennick's texts in *Hymns for Social Worship*, although without attribution.

<sup>148</sup> N. Temperley, 'Psalmody (ii), 3', *GMO*, ed. L. Macy (2001).

<sup>149</sup> (London, 1753).

<sup>150</sup> (Bristol, 1743).

<sup>151</sup> B. Schlenther, 'Whitefield, George (1714–1770)', *ODNB Online*, ed. L. Goldman (2004).

<sup>152</sup> P. Lineham, 'Cennick, John (1718–1755)', *ODNB Online*, ed. L. Goldman (2004).



In 1789 Thomas Williams credited the introduction of repeating tunes to Methodists, noting that they had generally stopped singing ‘song tunes, and trifling airs’ but that:

One custom, which seems to have originated among them, has certainly produced a very agreeable effect, namely, that of women singing certain passages by themselves, which are frequently repeated in full chorus.<sup>153</sup>

If Methodists did introduce repeating tunes it was not with John Wesley’s blessing. He wanted the words to be clear, so any repeated text needed to keep its meaning and not be fragmented. For instance, on a visit to Neath in 1768 he wrote:

I began reading prayers at six, but was greatly disgusted at the manner of singing; 1. Twelve or fourteen persons kept it to themselves, and quite shut out the congregation; 2. These repeated the same words, contrary to all sense or reason, six, eight, or ten times over: 3. According to the shocking custom of modern music, different persons sung different words at one and the same moment; an intolerable insult on common sense, and utterly incompatible with any devotion.<sup>154</sup>

A few days later on 16 August, the Methodist conference was convened at Bristol. Wesley’s experiences at Neath presumably influenced him to include a specific warning in the minutes:

Beware of *Formality*, in singing, or it will creep in upon us unawares. Is it creeping in already, by those complex Tunes, which it is scarce possible to sing with Devotion? Such is “Praise the Lord, ye blessed ones:” Such the long quavering Hallelujah, annexed to the Morning Song Tune, which I defy any Man living to sing devoutly. The repeating the same word so often, (but especially while another repeats different Words, the horrid Abuse which runs thro’ the modern Church Musick) as it shocks all common Sense, so it necessarily brings in dead Formality, and has no more of Religion in it than a *Lancashire* Hornpipe. Beside, that is a flat Contradiction to our Lord’s Command. “Use not vain Repe[ti]tions”.<sup>155</sup>

<sup>153</sup> T. Williams, *Psalmody Evangelica*, 2 vols (London, 1789), II, 68.

<sup>154</sup> Neath, 9 August 1768. *The Works of John Wesley: Journal and Diaries, V, 1765–75* ed. W. Ward and R. Heitzenrater, 24 vols (Nashville, 1993), XXII, 152.

<sup>155</sup> *Minutes of some late Conversations between The Rev. Mr. Wesley, and Others* (Bristol, 1768), 11–12.

No version of any tune named 'Morning Song' has been found with added 'hallelujahs', but Wesley may have been referring to MORNING SONG from *The Divine Musical Miscellany*, set to 'Once more, my soul, the rising day Salutes thy waking eyes'.<sup>156</sup> This tune was frequently reprinted in later collections including Wesley's *Sacred Melody* and *Sacred Harmony*, where it is set to 'When all the mercies of my God'. Wesley's admonition was repeated in the Large Minutes of 1770 and also in those of 1780, when a further caution was added: 'Let the Women constantly sing their parts alone. Let no man sing with them, unless he understands the Notes, and sings the Base as it is pricked down in the book'.<sup>157</sup> By 1786 it was again necessary to remind ministers to make certain that 'the Women sing their parts' and that 'none repeat the last Line, unless the Preacher does'.<sup>158</sup> This implies that, despite Wesley's opposition, 'vain repetition' may have become accepted Methodist practice and that both the music and the words could be repeated, even if they were not specifically written out.

Tunes where women sang alone were also part of the psalmody of other denominations. In his *Collection of Psalm Tunes*, Isaac Smith, who was a Baptist clerk, noted that 'Loud' referred to the passages in which 'men and women sing in full chorus' and 'Soft', to those where 'women, and boys only sing', although he did not comment on whether the text was actually repeated. He also recommended that:

As women in most congregations are not accustomed to sing loud by themselves, it will be best for the men softly to accompany them, keeping both tune and time; and the women and boys singing in the Octave, or the Eighth above, will render the melody equally pleasing.<sup>159</sup>

There seems to be a slight contradiction in this, because Smith describes women singing 'loud' in soft passages, but it is likely that he meant 'aloud'. Singers may not

<sup>156</sup> *The Divine Musical Miscellany* (London, [1754]).

<sup>157</sup> *Minutes of Several Conversations between the Reverend Mr. John and Charles Wesley, and Others, From the Year 1744, to the Year 1780* (London, [1780]), 27.

<sup>158</sup> *Minutes of some late Conversations between The Rev. Messrs. Wesley, and Others* (Bristol, 1786), 23.



necessarily have changed the volume of their voices, since the dynamics would automatically have altered depending on how many parts were singing at once. William Cole, however, was especially concerned that this was a misapplication of the term *piano* and that many people seemed to ‘suppose that diminishing the *number* of voices, will produce the same effect as softening, or diminishing the *strength* of the whole’.<sup>160</sup>

The Independent minister Stephen Addington was more precise, and directed in 1780 that: ‘Where Pia[no] is over a line it is to be sung soft, or only in Women’s Voices. For[te] signifies that the line may be sung strong or in full Chorus’.<sup>161</sup> An examination of his tunes indicates that contrast was created by using both dynamics and repeats in a variety of ways. For instance, passages with dynamic changes but with no text or music repeat; text repeated with or without dynamic changes; and text and music repeated with dynamic changes (see Table 4.1. below).

Addington also included a few tunes in which the word-fit seems extraordinary today because of text repeats, but which were apparently quite acceptable to many in the eighteenth century, excluding John Wesley. These tunes had been published previously but Addington included more text underlay than is usual and so it is possible to see exactly how they were sung. The most extreme is the tune DARTFORD (MA 29),<sup>162</sup> a setting of ‘Rise my soul and stretch thy wing[s]’, which first appeared in the second edition of Thomas Knibb’s *The Psalm Singers Help*.<sup>163</sup> This is probably the tune that was condemned by Wesley in 1765 in a letter to Thomas Rankin, an itinerant Methodist preacher:<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> I. Smith, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes in Three Parts* (London, [1779–80]), 11.

<sup>160</sup> Cole, *Modern Psalmody* (1819), 113.

<sup>161</sup> S. Addington, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes for Publick Worship* (Market Harborough, 3/1780), vi.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 136–37.

<sup>163</sup> T. Knibb, *The Psalm Singers Help, being a Collection of Tunes in Three Parts, that are now used in the Churches and Dissenting Congregations in London* (London, 2/[c.1765]), 126.

<sup>164</sup> *The Letters of the Rev John Wesley*, ed. J. Telford, 8 vols (London, 1931), IV, 311–312.

**Table 4.1.** Types of repetition and / or dynamics in Stephen Addington, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes for Publick Worship* (Market Harborough, 3/1780).

line: dynamics and repetition	page	psalm	tune name	metre
3: <i>p</i>	3	5	OXFORD	CM
4: <i>f</i>	14	27	BUCKINGHAM NEW	CM
	33	—	CAMBRIDGE	CM
	66	116	NEW YORK	CM
	67	117	CAREY'S [with added 'hallelujahs']	LM
3: <i>p</i> , text extended, fuguing 4: <i>f</i>	51	—	BATH CHAPEL	CM
4: text repeated	13	24	GEORGE'S	CM
	32	63	SALTERS HALL	CM
	77	133	STROUD	CM
4: <i>p</i> , text repeated <i>f</i>	46	—	HUDDERSFIELD	CM
3 + 4: text repeated	16–17	32	WESTON FLAVEL	CM
3 + 4: <i>p</i> , text repeated <i>f</i>	41	81	MANSFIELD	SM
	54	99	BUXTON	SM
	59	106	THOMAS'S	SM
3 + 4: text repeated, 3: <i>p</i> , 4: <i>f</i>	49	93	MADANS	LM
3: <i>p</i> , text repeated <i>f</i> 4: <i>p</i> , text repeated <i>f</i>	22	42	ELENBOROUGH	CM
3 + 4: <i>p</i> , 4: text repeated <i>f</i>	23	46	VIRGINIA	LM
3 + 4: text repeated <i>p</i> 4: text repeated <i>f</i>	68	118 pt. 4	ABINGDON	CM
3 + first ½ 4 <i>p</i> 4: text repeated <i>f</i>	34	68 pt. 3	ISLINGTON	LM
3: <i>p</i> 4: first ½ of text <i>f</i> ; repeated <i>p</i> ; second ½ <i>f</i>	78	135	LEBANON	LM
3 + 4: <i>p</i> , text + music repeated <i>f</i>	73	—	OLDFORD	CM
	52	97	EVENING HYMN	LM
3: text repeated <i>p</i> 4: <i>p</i> text repeated <i>f</i> 5–8: ? <i>f</i> 5 + 6: text repeated <i>p</i> 7 + 8: text repeated <i>f</i> .	79	136	PORTSMOUTH NEW	PM
5 + 6: <i>p</i> 7 + 8: <i>f</i>	64	114	GRANTHAM	LMD
7 + 8: <i>p</i> , text and music repeated <i>f</i>	35	69	MILTON GREAT	CMD
3 + 4 <i>p</i> 5 + 6 <i>f</i> , 7: <i>p</i> 8: <i>f</i>	56–57	102	DRESDEN	LMD
1: <i>f</i> 2: <i>p</i> 3 + 4: <i>f</i> 'Praise ye the Lord, hallelujah's': <i>p</i> , <i>f</i> , <i>p</i> , <i>f</i>	127	95	FALCON STREET	SM
2: <i>p</i>	138	93	DARBY	LM



line: dynamics and repetition	page	psalm	tune name	metre
3: <i>f</i> 4: text extended, fuguing				
2: <i>p</i> 3: first $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>f</i> , second $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>p</i> 4: <i>f</i>	74	127	JUBILEE	
4: <i>p</i> , text repeated added chorus <i>f</i> with tempo changes	36	71 pt. 2	ASHLEY	
1 + 2: text and music repeated 3: <i>p</i> with text repeat 4: <i>p</i> text repeated <i>f</i> 3 + 4: repeated as above	57–58	103	CAREY ST	SM
2: text repeated 3 + 4: <i>p</i> 4: text repeated <i>f</i>	107	–	NEW COURT	LM
2: <i>p</i> 3: first $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>f</i> , second $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>p</i> 4: first $\frac{1}{2}$ of text repeated twice, full text repeat <i>f</i> 5: <i>p</i> 6: <i>f</i> 7: first $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>p</i> , second $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>f</i> with one word repeated 8: first $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>p</i> , repeated <i>f</i> , full text repeat	115–116	–	SOUTHAMPTON [almost a set piece]	LMD
8: text repeated	81	141	KETTERING	LM[D]
	125–126	–	JACKSON'S	[LMD]
15 + 16: text repeated	119–120	–	BOWDEN [almost a set piece]	[LMD]
'Hallelujahs': <i>f, p, f</i>	24	47	BOSTON	CM[D]

They sing all over Cornwall a tune so full of repetitions and flourishes that it can scarce be sung with devotion. It is to those words, 'Praise the Lord, ye blessed ones'. Away with it! Let it be heard no more. They cannot sing our old common tunes. Teach these everywhere. Take pains herein.<sup>165</sup>

William Cole discussed the 'very disagreeable effect' of these 'improper repetitions' in some detail, and included DARTFORD as an extreme example of 'the capricious, and unmeaning use of *piano*, as well as the ridiculous, and if any thing deserves that appellation, *vain repetition*'.<sup>166</sup> His example is not precisely the same as Addington's, since it includes more dynamic changes but does not split 'portion'. As a Congregationalist Cole would almost certainly have been familiar with Addington's

<sup>165</sup> According to the *HTI* (II, 565) these words were always set to DARTFORD.

<sup>166</sup> Cole, *Modern Psalmody* (1819), 57, 75, 111fn.

*Collection*, which was compiled for nonconformist use.<sup>167</sup> Cole thought that, although most of the problems of repetition were the fault of composers, singers could rectify some of these. If such tunes were chosen 'they should be applied only to words that will admit of such repetition with propriety', and all the verses should be checked. If only part of a line was repeated, they should not always break the text in the same place for each verse and should slur or split notes if necessary; a word should never be divided, nor only part of it repeated.<sup>168</sup> While it would have been possible to follow this advice if the singing were restricted to a select group, it is unlikely that it would be successfully implemented by a whole congregation, even if they had mastered the underlay of the first verse.

### **The Lock Hospital**

The music performed at the Lock Hospital in London is not strictly part of provincial psalmody, but it is relevant here because the congregational singing of set pieces may have influenced John Wesley's choice of music and the manner in which it was sung. Its minister, Martin Madan, owed his initial conversion to the preaching of Wesley. He became a prominent evangelical clergyman and honorary chaplain of the Lock Hospital until he was forced to retire into obscurity following the unfavourable reception of his book on the social benefits of polygamy over prostitution.<sup>169</sup> At the Lock Hospital the singing had to be congregational for, as Temperley has observed, the inmates (who suffered from venereal diseases) were usually too ill to perform.<sup>170</sup> However, it was also important that the music of the chapel should be of a high standard in order to attract affluent patrons and to compete for their money with the choirs of other London

<sup>167</sup> There were fifteen subsequent editions up to about 1815, including four after Addington's death in 1796 and a penultimate one which was probably pirated.

<sup>168</sup> Cole, *Modern Psalmody* (1819), 75.

<sup>169</sup> A. Pollard, 'Madan, Martin (1725–1790)', *ODNB Online*, ed. L. Goldman (2004).



charitable institutions, such as the Asylum for Female Orphans and the Foundling and Magdalen Hospitals.

The solution was for the Lock Hospital congregation to rehearse regularly, and to sing in a style described in the Select Committee minutes of the Hospital as a 'peculiar mode of singing'.<sup>171</sup> Temperley has identified this as the way in which two vocal parts were both sung by men and women in octaves, even though the lower part occasionally went below the organ accompaniment and inverted the harmony. A cumulative collection of music for the Hospital was published by Madan.<sup>172</sup> The music was composed especially for the congregation in the florid operatic manner of the period, which would have appealed to fashionable benefactors. This three-part *galant* style, with two equally melodic upper parts and figured bass was imitated by many later nonconformist composers. Pieces from the volume soon appeared in other psalmody collections, especially DENMARK by Madan (MA 39),<sup>173</sup> which, according to Richard Crawford, became by far the most popular set piece in America.<sup>174</sup>

Further evidence that the Lock Hospital congregation sang in equal parts can be established by examination of the tessitura of the two upper parts of DENMARK. It is not immediately clear which is the tune since, although in the opening section the second seems to be predominant, later the first becomes more melodic. When both lines are sung by equal voices they interweave and the piece makes musical sense, although later editors, including the composer Charles Wesley, usually made the top part the air throughout.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> N. Temperley, 'The Lock Hospital Chapel and its Music', *JRMA*, 118 (1993), 44–72.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

<sup>172</sup> [M. Madan], *A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes [...] To be had at the Lock Hospital* ([London], 1/[c.1762], 2/[c.1765], 3/[1769]).

<sup>173</sup> [Madan], *Collection* (3/[1769]), 94.

<sup>174</sup> *The Core Repertory of Early American Psalmody*, R. Crawford (Madison, 1984), xxxiii.

## Summary

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the congregational music of Methodist and other nonconformist denominations became increasingly complex. Some congregations sang longer pieces in two parts with choir support and there was also separation between male and female voices in repeating and dialogue hymns. John Wesley promoted a few set pieces in his later tune books, but condemned tunes in which the meaning of the text was obscured by excessive repetition. It is ironic that collections of 'old Methodist tunes' published around 1900 included many of the repeating tunes which Wesley so disliked.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> C. Wesley, *Sacred Harmony. A Set of Tunes Collected by the Late Revd John Wesley* (London, 1822), 129-34.

<sup>176</sup> A. Rogerson, comp., *The Centenary Tune Book: A Selection of Old Methodist Hymns* (London, 1897); R. Humphrey, comp., *The Gosforth Tune Book: A Collection of Old Methodist Hymns* (Newcastle upon Tyne, [1902]).



## Chapter 5: The Use of Instruments

### Introduction

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first part discusses the use of wind and stringed instruments, and the second is concerned primarily with the organ. A few instruments were designed specifically to help singers to learn to pitch notes, but there is no evidence that they were used in worship. They will be discussed fully in Ch.6.

Instruments have accompanied singing in worship since biblical times and many sermons and pamphlets have discussed their lawfulness, usually in order to justify the use of an organ.<sup>1</sup> However, most provincial parish churches could not afford the initial cost of an organ, or the ongoing expense of an organist and organ blower. As has been seen, the singing in most provincial churches at the beginning of the eighteenth century was usually unaccompanied, but later in the century a variety of wind and stringed instruments were gradually introduced to accompany the psalmody. It is unlikely that this innovation will ever be precisely dated. Instruments were not necessarily mentioned in church accounts unless they had been bought by the parish, required new reeds or strings, or needed repair. Flutes, for instance, rarely required mending. There is also no way of finding out how many privately-owned instruments were played in churches. Basic analysis of the records available on the Access to Archives website does provide some useful information but it is dependent on the extent and detail of documents listed by participating archives (DCD A2A).<sup>2</sup> Three counties, in particular, have included information on instruments. There were at least five violoncellos in Gloucestershire in use in churches between 1799 and 1835 together with one viola, one flute and one

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<sup>1</sup> J. Shuttleworth *A Sermon Preached in Bridgewater [...] at the Opening of the Organ* (London, 1700); T. Macro *The Melody of the Heart A Sermon Preach'd at the Opening of an Organ in St Nicholas's Church in Great Yarmouth* (London, 1734); C. Dickens *A Sermon [...] intended to have been Preached at the Opening of the Organ in All Saints Church, Huntingdon* (Cambridge, 1776).

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.a2a.org.uk/>.

bassoon. In Cornwall during the years 1789 to 1851 there were eight violoncellos, one double bass (which may also have been a violoncello), two flutes at one church and one clarinet, whereas Devon archives listed two sets of unidentified strings, seven violoncellos, one violin and one flute between 1801 and about 1846. This might seem to indicate that violoncellos were most common, but this evidence is partial and cannot be regarded as conclusive.

While instruments supported the singing and so helped maintain pitch and tempo, the mixed bands in country churches may also have contributed to the isolation of the choir from the congregation. They would have enabled singers to learn a wider variety of music which was likely to be too difficult for congregational participation.

## Wind and Stringed Instruments

### a. Bass

The first instrument acquired by a church was commonly a bassoon or a violoncello, often described as a bass viol. As Temperley has noted, there is no evidence of any instrument in church records before 1742,<sup>3</sup> when All Saints, Youlgreave in Derbyshire paid 8d. for re-hairing 'the bow of the viole'.<sup>4</sup> Temperley took this reference from Charles Cox, who examined hundreds of churchwardens' accounts up to 1913,<sup>5</sup> and who must have been extremely thorough, since the date 1742 still apparently stands despite the assiduous research of many members of the WGMA. Youlegreave's 'viole', or violoncello, may have been in use for some time before that date, and may not even

<sup>3</sup> Researchers may inadvertently misinterpret documents because of poor spelling or handwriting. A 'bason' owned by a parish in about 1700 and catalogued by Gloucestershire Archives under 'music' proved to be a basin for baptisms. An online reference noting that Ribchester, in Lancashire acquired a 'violincello' in 1701 is wrong ([www.westgallerychurches.com/galleries.html](http://www.westgallerychurches.com/galleries.html)). Examination of the churchwardens' accounts prove that the date should be 1801.

<sup>4</sup> N. Temperley, *MEPC*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1979), I, 148.



have been owned by the church. According to a loose sheet of paper in the church chest, they bought a 'Base Voile' in 1785, although this could have been a replacement instrument.<sup>6</sup> A bassoon must also have been in use at Youlgreave church by 1751 because parish accounts record that Ben Jones was given 3s to 'buy Reeds for y<sup>e</sup> Basoon',<sup>7</sup> although again it may have been privately owned.

The earliest known reference to a bassoon actually being played in church is dated 1748. At Rodborough, Gloucestershire the ninth rule drawn up after the singing seat dispute (Ch.2) stated: 'That Peter Plane of Stroud Parish Shall have Liberty to sit in the said Pew & make use of his Bassoon but that No instrument of Musick but a Bassoon Shall be used there'.<sup>8</sup> This implies that a bassoon was already in use, but whether it was at St Laurence, Stroud or at St Mary Magdalen, Rodborough is unclear. Peter Plane may only have played at the latter church occasionally.<sup>9</sup>

The first reference to a separate part for a bassoon in psalmody books occurs in about 1755. The title-page to *A Set of Anthems and Psalm Tunes* by Jonas Pratt of Spalding states that as well as being 'Figured for the Harpsichord or Organ' it includes 'Instrumental Bases for a Bassoon, Violoncello, &c.'. <sup>10</sup> The bass to two of the anthems is marked 'Fagotto';<sup>11</sup> another has an accompaniment for 'two Bassoons';<sup>12</sup> and there is also one for 'Organ'.<sup>13</sup> Temperley gives an earlier date of c.1748 for the first printed bassoon reference, and states that there are scales for bassoon and oboe in William

<sup>5</sup> J. Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts from the Fourteenth Century to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1913), 205.

<sup>6</sup> When the church chest was stolen a few years ago, all the documents were left behind, but this sheet of paper now seems to be lost or has been misplaced within other church records.

<sup>7</sup> Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts* (1913), 205.

<sup>8</sup> GB-GLr, P272 IN 1/1: Rodborough Parish, Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, 1692–1771.

<sup>9</sup> Rodborough is one mile southwest of Stroud, where, according to the IGI, a Peter Plane was baptised on 26 February 1712.

<sup>10</sup> (London, [–1756]).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Anthem Psalm XXXIX, 10–16; Anthem Psalm CVI, 21–25.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Psalm 111th, New Version, 'Praise ye the Lord', 2.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, Anthem Psalm CXXII, 'I was glad when they said unto me', 17–20.

East's second edition of *The First Book of the Voice of Melody*.<sup>14</sup> This can now be disregarded because closer examination shows that the fingering charts for the bassoon and oboe are actually added in manuscript. They are in the same hand as that of the owner William Costall, who was the parish clerk and schoolmaster at Caythorpe in Lincolnshire.<sup>15</sup> A piece of leather inside the front cover, apparently cut from the original binding, is embossed 'Wm Costal, 1750', so the charts could have been added at any date from 1750 until Costall's death in 1797. Other manuscript additions in the same volume include a marking 'Bassoon' for the bass to a Nunc Dimittis by Thomas Tudway, and a 'Table for Tuning ye Organ, Harpsichord, or Spinnet'. It would seem that the book was also used for unaccompanied singing since some pieces have pitching notes 'Pipe G#' etc..

By 1761 the psalmodist John Arnold of Great Warley, Essex could write that:

The Bassoon being now in great Request in many Country Churches [...] it makes an exceeding good Addition to the Harmony of a Choir of Singers, where there is no Organ, as most of the Bass Notes may be played on it, in the Octave below the Bass Voices: The Bassoon requires a pretty strong breath to blow it, but is not at all difficult to learn to play upon, all the Instructions, belonging to it, being only a Scale of its Notes.<sup>16</sup>

Arnold seems to have expected higher voices to sing without instrumental support. He also mentions harpsichords, spinets, guitars, German flutes, violins and barrel organs, but only the latter is described as being used in churches.

As an organist, Arnold perhaps underestimated the difficulty of playing the bassoon. In 1784, Thomas Billington also recommended a bassoon as the 'properest' accompaniment and, like Arnold, does not comment on the use of any other instruments, except to discuss the tuning problems of the flute (Ch.5). However, he was

<sup>14</sup> W. East, *The Second Edition of the First Book of the Voice of Melody with Great Additions* (Waltham, 1750), GB-Lbl, A.914.

<sup>15</sup> Costall Family History: [www.costall.net](http://www.costall.net).

<sup>16</sup> J. Arnold, *The Compleat Psalmodist* (London, 5/1761), iv.



not as confident as Arnold about the ability of some bassoon players or of their need for good lungs, because they were:

Apt to render that instrument very displeasing to a musical ear; for instead of going on with smoothness, they give every note a kind of a sudden jerk, which is very disagreeable and totally unconnects their whole performance. There are others who, thinking it requires better lungs than judgement or a good manner, over-blow the instrument.<sup>17</sup>

John Antes Latrobe also had a low opinion of the bassoon and of most other instruments, and in a discussion on how the clergy could improve country church music, commented that:

The bassoon must be dispensed with at all hazard; and if a violoncello can be introduced into its place, an important object is effected. The fife may be easily put down, and even though the clarinet should be suffered to remain with the flute, the evils arising from bad performance will be less perceived, when the tune is restored to its proper character. If, however, considering the usual coarseness of country performances, the clergyman can reduce his instruments to a single violoncello, he will possess every requisite support for plain psalmody.<sup>18</sup>

As noted above, there is no mention of a stringed bass instrument in church accounts until 1748, and although six psalm tunes ‘as they are now in use in the Churches where there are Organs’ were included in *The Compleat Violist*,<sup>19</sup> there is no indication that they were intended to be played by a bass viol in church.<sup>20</sup> They are set in the treble clef and are highly ornamented. It must be noted that bass viols and bass violins are different instruments; for instance, Playford provided separate instructions for tuning them.<sup>21</sup>

Brenda Neece’s suggestion that the term ‘bass viol’ was preferred to a ‘beertainted name such as ‘bass violin’ or ‘violoncello’ because the latter had ‘acquired a

<sup>17</sup> T. Billington, *The Te Deum, Jubilate, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis* (London, [1784]), 3–4.

<sup>18</sup> J. Latrobe, *The Music of the Church Considered in its Various Branches, Congregational and Choral* (London, 1831), 91–92.

<sup>19</sup> *The Compleat Violist or An Introduction to ye Art of Playing on ye Bass Viol* (London, [1699]).

<sup>20</sup> Temperley, *MEPC*, 2 vols (1979), I, 148.

<sup>21</sup> J. Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (London, 15/1703), 64–66, 97; also in earlier editions.

bad reputation as a street musician's instrument', has no obvious foundation,<sup>22</sup> but the names do seem to have become interchangeable. It is possible that when the genuine bass viol, or viola da gamba, began to be used to play solos around 1720, rather than bass parts, the term could then be applied, at least colloquially, to another bass instrument. By the mid 1700s when church records refer to the 'bass viol' (or 'base', 'vial', 'vile' etc.), the instrument in question was almost certainly the violoncello.<sup>23</sup> In 1834, the 'Township' of Grindleton, on the border of Lancashire and Yorkshire, bought a 'Violincello and Bow' for '£4 15s.', but when they drew up a set of rules to restrict its use, the instrument is referred to as a 'Bass Vial'. Also, in 1893 Francis Galpin, writing about Dorset church bands, noted that 'base viol' was the 'common but erroneous name for the violoncello'.<sup>24</sup> Equally convincing evidence can be found in a letter of 1902 from Thomas Hardy to Nathaniel Sparks, a violin-maker and repairer. Hardy thanked Sparks for a violoncello, describing it as both a 'viol' and a 'cello' within a few lines.<sup>25</sup>

It is quite possible that a genuine bass viol may have been used in to accompany psalmody, but there is no real evidence to support this. Gordon Ashman, one of the co-founders of the WGMA, believed that 'in many instances a true bass viol was used', arguing incorrectly that because its resonance was greater than the violoncello it was more suitable for accompanying singers, when in fact it would have been less resonant. He provided no documentation except for citing two entries in the churchwardens' accounts from Cockshutt in Shropshire which, he reasoned, suggested that a 'true' bass viol was used as well as a violoncello, since in 1819 they purchased '6 Strings for the Bass Viol', and in 1820 '4 Violloncello Strings'.<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately, this is not adequate

<sup>22</sup> B. Neece, 'Decline [and] fall', *The Strad*, 115 (2004), 1183.

<sup>23</sup> K. Macdermott, *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels* (London, 1948), 27.

<sup>24</sup> F. Galpin, 'The Village Church Band, an Interesting Survival', *Musical News*, 5 (1893), 31.

<sup>25</sup> Letter to Nathaniel Sparks, 22 November 1902: *The Collected Letters of Thomas Hardy*, ed. R.L. Purdy and M. Millgate, 7 vols (Oxford, 1978-88), III, 38.

<sup>26</sup> G. Ashman, 'Bass-viol or Cello - and does it matter?' *West Gallery*, 7 (1994), 16-20.



proof because they could equally have bought two extra strings in 1819. If a 'true' bass viol were used it could have supported the tenor air, while the violoncello played the bass line. Indeed, if a violoncello played the bass, it is also possible that a bassoon could have doubled the tenor or even the alto.

The genuine bass viol was the last member of the viol family to be used regularly in England, and was particularly popular among amateurs from the 1730s.<sup>27</sup> In *New Grove* Frederick Selch noted that 'in the 18th and 19th centuries in the USA and occasionally in Britain', the term 'bass viol' referred to:

A four-stringed instrument tuned in 5ths like a cello. It was probably a shortened version of the term 'bass violin'. Such instruments were of two kinds: the first like a cello except for certain local constructional details, the second of larger body size but with the same string length and fingerboard as a cello, with a short neck (accommodating playing only up to the second position without recourse to thumb positions) [...] The large-sized instruments are called 'church basses'.<sup>28</sup>

Selch, writing from an American perspective, does not seem to have known the extent to which 'bass viol' was used to describe the 'violoncello' in English church records, but he is probably correct that it is an abbreviation for 'bass violin'.<sup>29</sup> Musical dictionaries in psalmody books of the period, such as those by Green, Arnold and Tans'ur, all define a 'Violoncello' or 'Violincello' as 'the Bass Violin'.<sup>30</sup> It is quite possible that they copied this information from each other, but it is also corroborated in an unconnected secular source, *Apollo's Cabinet: or the Muses Delight*, which describes a 'Violincello' as a 'Bass Violin with four strings, sometimes even five or six: but those are not common, the first being most used among us'.<sup>31</sup> Also, in 1769 Thomas Saxby of Nottingham, 'Musical Instrument Maker' and 'Musick Shop' owner, advertised a wide variety of instruments for sale, including 'Violins and Tenors' and 'Bass Violins'. He

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<sup>27</sup> Personal communication from Professor Peter Holman.

<sup>28</sup> F. Selch, 'Bass Viol', *GMO*, ed. L. Macy (2001).

<sup>29</sup> All further comments about a bass viol should be presumed to refer to a violoncello unless specifically noted.

taught most instruments: 'Bassoon, Tineroon, Hautboy, German Flute, Fife, Violin, Tenor Viol, Voxhumane, Clarinet, and Violoncello'.<sup>32</sup> It would seem that a 'Tenor' (i.e. viola) was synonymous with a 'Tenor Viol', and a 'Bass Violin' with a 'Violoncello'. Furthermore, at Lechlade in Gloucestershire, the nominations book belonging to the trustees of the singing gallery includes a subscription list towards the purchase of a 'bass violin' in 1776,<sup>33</sup> and the churchwardens at All Saints, Oakham in Rutland bought three strings for the 'base violin' in 1808.<sup>34</sup>

There are a number of extant English violoncellos that are known to have been played in churches, and a detailed analysis of their proportions could prove that they have some characteristics in common with American 'church basses', as described by Selch. For instance, at St Peter's, Winchcombe in Gloucestershire, a violoncello, now in a glass case, was played at its chapel of ease at Gretton until this closed in 1868, and is described in a typewritten notice as 'for the most part of rustic amateur construction' with 'odd and irregular' proportions and 'curiously asymmetrical', slightly longer than a normal violoncello, with the lower part of the body 'narrow in relation to the upper part' (DCD Winchcombe cello). Other violoncellos were made of metal, perhaps because they would have been more robust and made a louder sound. As noted in Ch.2, a copper

<sup>30</sup> J. Green, *A Book of Psalmody* (London, 10/1744), 142; J. Arnold, *The Compleat Psalmist* (London, 5/1761), [40]; W. Tans'ur, *A New Musical Grammar* (London, 3/1756), 172.

<sup>31</sup> *Apollo's Cabinet: or the Muses Delight*, 2 vols (Liverpool, 1757), I, 253.

<sup>32</sup> 'Advertisement for Thomas Saxby's Music Shop (1769)', R. Evans, 'Music in Eighteenth-Century Nottingham', M.A. thesis (University of Loughborough, 1983), fig. 2, [unnumbered page].

<sup>33</sup> GB-GLr, P197 MI 3: Lechlade Parish, Trustees of the Singing Gallery, Nominations Book, 1745-1827.

<sup>34</sup> Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland Record Office, DE3178/2/4: Oakham Parish, Churchwardens' Receipts.



one is thought to have been played at Clodock, and there is an iron one in a case at Briston church in Norfolk, which was apparently made by a local blacksmith.<sup>35</sup>

### b. Alto and Tenor

Alto and tenor instruments are rare in psalmody, not necessarily because the alto or tenor voices were unsupported instrumentally, but because they were more likely to be doubled an octave higher than they were sung by a treble instrument. Even the Larks of Dean, the Baptist musicians from Rossendale in Lancashire, who were noted for their performances of Handel and who owned many of his oratorios in full score, are only known to have played violin, violoncello or double bass.<sup>36</sup> There is a solitary reference to a viola in Samuel Compston's series of newspaper articles about the Larks.<sup>37</sup> He commented that John Bury, who played the 'tenor fiddle', took part in the anniversary services at Lumb, although Bury does not seem to have been one of the core members of the group.<sup>38</sup> Macdermott discovered no violas in Sussex, though he noted that they were used in Dorset,<sup>39</sup> and, in Northamptonshire, Stephen Weston found only one at Geddington, and possibly another at Clipston.<sup>40</sup>

However, there are always exceptions. A tenor viol, or more probably a viola, is known to have been used at Brightwalton in Berkshire in 1780. William Savory, a local surgeon, described in his commonplace book how his father, William Savory senior, the village wheelwright and parish clerk, had written a petition to raise funds in 1755 'For the better performance of Church Music [...] the Singers are very desirous of having a

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<sup>35</sup> C. Gutteridge, 'Coincidences, Contradictions and Confusion in Norfolk', *West Gallery*, 24 (2002), 14–17.

<sup>36</sup> S. Drage, 'The Larks of Dean: amateur musicians in Northern England', *Music in the British Provinces, 1690–1914*, ed. R. Cowgill and P. Holman (Aldershot, 2007), 199.

<sup>37</sup> S. Compston, 'The Music and Men of the "Deighn Layrocks," Rossendale - 1750 to 1860', *Rossendale Free Press*, 17 September 1904–7 January 1905.

<sup>38</sup> Rawtenstall Library, RC 785 ROS: J. Elliott, 'The Deighn Layrocks Story 1750–1890 edited from the notes of Samuel Compston, Moses Heap, Edwin Waugh and others', typescript (1961 and 1984), 28.

<sup>39</sup> K. Macdermott, *Sussex Church Music in the Past* (London, 1922), 44.

Bass Vial (or some instrument) for the use and ease of the Choir'. £2 10s. 4d. was raised, but since the bass viol cost three guineas his father paid the remainder and then played it in church, possibly until his death in 1772. At the age of twelve, in 1780, the younger William Savory 'began playing on the tenor Vial at Church', together with Joseph Harris on the 'Bass Vial' and John Fisher on the 'Hoboy'. A year later he started to learn the flute, and then the bassoon.<sup>41</sup> In Gloucestershire, at St Bartholomew's, Redmarley D'Abitot, the churchwardens' accounts for 1834 to 1835 include payments for strings for a viola and 'violin base',<sup>42</sup> and also in Gloucestershire, at Berkeley, Joseph Bennett remembered a 'very competent band' at the Independent Chapel in the mid 1800s consisting of two violins, viola, violoncello, double bass, and flute, although there was no choir or instrumentalists at the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel.<sup>43</sup> As will be seen, even pieces with quite elaborate scoring such as those by Thomas Collins did not always include violas.

### c. Treble

Composers and compilers responded to the needs of instrumentalists by setting all the upper parts in the treble clef, even though the alto and tenor were actually sung an octave lower than written. In 1750, Thomas Moore, who taught psalmody in Manchester, wrote how the treble clef is 'much more commodious for Persons who play on the Violin, Flute, Hautboy, and many other Instruments',<sup>44</sup> but does not actually say whether these instruments were used in church. John Arnold, from Great Warley in Essex, was also influenced by this innovation. In 1761 he had condemned other

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<sup>40</sup> S. Weston, 'Choir-Band Instrumentation: Two County Surveys', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 52 (1999), 312.

<sup>41</sup> Reading Local Studies, B/TU/Sav/1928 (strong room: Manuscript, William Savory's Commonplace Book, 'Memorandums, Memoirs, Remarks, &c. on the Nativity (and Life) of William Savory, 1768-1791', 25, 29, 49, 55.

<sup>42</sup> GB-GLr, P265 CW 2/2: Redmarley D'Abitot, Churchwardens' receipts and disbursements 1834-1929.

<sup>43</sup> J. Bennett, 'Some Recollections', *MT*, 39 (1898), 452.



compilers who used the G clef because they were incapable of handling C clefs correctly,<sup>45</sup> but eighteen years later the situation had changed and he stated:

I have [...] set the three upper Parts in the G Cliff, as I find it more eligible for country Choirs than the C Cliff; and since of late Years several Kinds of musical treble Instruments have been introduced into many country Churches, to accompany the Voices, as Violins, Hautboys, Clarinets, Vauxhumanes, &c. which Cliff is also much more suitable to those Instruments, and have placed the Tenor, which has the principal Air, and is designed for the leading Part, next the Bass, which also renders it much more convenient for Performers on the Organ, &c. and have also figured the Bases for the Organ.<sup>46</sup>

It was rare for treble instruments to be used without a bass and, despite Arnold's list of instruments, most churches of the period had only one or two, usually woodwind or strings. The most common treble woodwind were probably hautboys (i.e. oboes) and flutes, and later clarinets, and, as will be discussed, the most usual scoring was for two treble instruments and a bass. Clarinets were usually pitched in C (DCD Lamport clarinet) but if an instrument in B flat was used it is likely that the player would change the fingering rather than play from a transposed part.

Stephen Weston's research suggests that stringed instruments had become more popular than woodwind in the early nineteenth century, at least in the east midlands.<sup>47</sup> However, the violin was regarded by some as too secular for use in church since it was usually played for dancing, or worse, in public houses. The 'old parson' at Winterborne Abbas objected to the violin as late as 1893, claiming that it 'savoured of the public house'<sup>48</sup> and Latrobe, who, as noted above, was against the use of nearly all instruments in churches unless played well, was even more vehemently opposed:

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<sup>44</sup> T. Moore, *The Psalm Singer's Compleat Tutor and Divine Companion*, 2 vols (London, 2/1750), I, 23. No first edition is known.

<sup>45</sup> J. Arnold, *The Compleat Psalmist* (London, 5/1761), vii.

<sup>46</sup> J. Arnold, *The Complete Psalmist* (London, 7/1779), iv.

<sup>47</sup> S. Weston, 'Double-reed Instruments in the English Church Choir-Band', *Double Reed News* (1997), 45.

<sup>48</sup> F. Galpin, 'The Village Church Band, an Interesting Survival', *Musical News*, 5 (1893), 32.

In country places, as has already been noticed, instruments are introduced without much discrimination; though the violin is very properly excluded, since, besides its weakness as a solitary instrument, its continued use to wait upon the drunken ditties, trolled forth in the alehouse, or regulate the dances that grace a village festival, renders it a very unfit medium for Sabbath praise.<sup>49</sup>

#### d. Unusual Instruments

Although woodwind or stringed instruments were most widespread, psalmody could be accompanied by whatever instrument was available, provided the minister did not object, and sometimes even when he did. Nevertheless, more unusual instruments may not have been as common as some commentators on psalmody, such as Kenneth Macdermott and Rollo Woods, have suggested.<sup>50</sup> Many museums which include instruments may have a serpent or two in their collection, but these could have been preserved more for their curiosity value than for their popularity in church bands, since they were more usually played in militia and town bands (DCD serpent). A serpent in Rossendale Museum is reputed to have belonged to a member of the Larks of Dean, but there are no serpent parts in their extensive collection of music. In 1819, one member of the Larks, Thomas Shenton, is thought to have played the serpent at Peterloo in Manchester before it was supposedly cut in half by a Hussar during the ensuing massacre.<sup>51</sup>

The serpent is considered to be a member of the brass family, although it was usually made of wood. Brass instruments in church bands seem to have been rarer than woodwind or strings, probably because, except for the trombone, they were limited to playing notes in the harmonic series until the introduction of valves in the early 1800s.

<sup>49</sup> Latrobe, *The Music of the Church* (1831), 328.

<sup>50</sup> MacDermott, *Gallery Minstrels* (London, 1948); R. Woods, *Good Singing Still: A Handbook of West Gallery Music* (Ironbridge, 1995).



A few churches did use brass instruments before this date, and players may have been connected with the local waits (a town band that played at civic ceremonies). St Wilfred's, Standish bought a 'new french horn &c.' and a flute for £7 5s. 0d. in 1789;<sup>52</sup> in 1782 St Michael and All Angels, Mottram in Longdendale 'Paid for a Trumpet and other Things for the Use of the Singers £5 15s. 6d';<sup>53</sup> and in 1807 All Saints, Oakham bought a bassoon with 'extra keys' and a 'trumpet sop'.<sup>54</sup> There are also some later references to keyed bugles, invented in 1810, which could play more notes although the intonation was poor, and to the ophicleide, which was a redesign of the serpent.<sup>55</sup> Macdermott notes that ophicleides were played at Penhurst in Kent and at Rockhampton in Gloucestershire. Apparently the latter was not appreciated by at least one member of the congregation, since in 1850 the vicar wrote in his diary 'Spoke to Woodward about not playing the ophicleide which obliged Farmer Pinnell to go out of church'.<sup>56</sup>

Another nominal brass instrument is the vamp-horn, which *New Grove* describes as a 'type of speaking-trumpet or megaphone invented in 1670'. It was originally designed to call 'labourers to and from the fields' or to make 'announcements to the village community', and was later used 'musically to give out the first line of a psalm or hymn, to lead congregational singing or to supply vocally a missing line of harmony'.<sup>57</sup> However, there is still no primary evidence to support this view, and the eight remaining vamp-horns, like serpents, may only have been kept for their novelty value (DCD Whitby vamphorn).

A few church bands may even have been accompanied by percussion. Macdermott recorded a single instance of a triangle, which was part of the band at

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<sup>51</sup> Drage, 'The Larks of Dean', *Music in the British Provinces* (2008), 199.

<sup>52</sup> Lancashire Record Office, PR184: Standish churchwardens' minutes and accounts 1779–1839.

<sup>53</sup> Cheshire Archives, P25/10/1: Mottram in Longdendale churchwardens' accounts 1782–1794.

<sup>54</sup> Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland Record Office, DE3178/2/4: Oakham Parish, Churchwardens' Receipts.

<sup>55</sup> H. Woodhouse *Face the Music: Church and Chapel Bands in Cornwall* (St Austell, 1997), 39, 44.

<sup>56</sup> MacDermott, *Gallery Minstrels* (London, 1948), 31.

Rustington in 1846, and also noted two barrel organs that apparently included Drum and Triangle stops.<sup>58</sup> One was originally used in a Gloucestershire church, and another at Camborne, Cornwall, but both no longer seem to be extant.<sup>59</sup> Drums may have been slightly more common; a pair of kettle drums which are reputed to have been used during services are still kept at St Alkelda's, Giggleswick (DCD Giggleswick kettle drums).<sup>60</sup> In 1830 the singing at St Michael's, Brierley Hill in Staffordshire was usually accompanied by violins, flute, flageolet and bass viol, but they also had a trumpeter and a drummer.<sup>61</sup> An inventory of the books and musical instruments owned by Mottram in Longdendale church in 1795 records two kettle drums and a bassoon, as well as the trumpet noted above. However, the drums and trumpet may not have been played regularly in services, and may have been used by a musical society connected with the church. No evidence of such a society has been found in the locality, but its existence is also suggested by the music collection owned by the church in 1795, which includes sonatas and songs by Purcell, a full score of Handel's *Judas Maccabeus*, three volumes of *Messiah*, and sundry vocal oratorio part books.<sup>62</sup>

More unusually, in 1732 the services at St Wilfred's, Standish are reputed to have been accompanied by a harp.<sup>63</sup> However, the churchwardens' accounts for 1732/3 just state 'Pd for cleaning the Harp',<sup>64</sup> which could perhaps refer to a picture of David playing the harp. Further verification is needed, but it would be a unique occurrence since no non-keyboard instrument is known to have been used in churches before this date,

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<sup>57</sup> P. Bate, N. Temperley and S. Weston, 'Vamp-horn', *GMO*, ed. L. Macy (2001).

<sup>58</sup> MacDermott, *Gallery Minstrels* (London, 1948), 36.

<sup>59</sup> L. Langwill and N. Boston, *Church and Chamber Barrel Organs: Their Origin, Makers, Music and Location. A Chapter of English Church Music* (Edinburgh, 2/1970), 71. The Camborne organ is listed as non-existent, and there is no mention of the Gloucestershire organ.

<sup>60</sup> Personal communication from Professor Richard Rastall.

<sup>61</sup> Langwill and Boston, *Church and Chamber Barrel Organs* (Edinburgh, 2/1970), 15.

<sup>62</sup> Cheshire Archives, CR63/1/34/19: Memorandum of all the Music Books and Musical Instruments belonging to the Parish Church of Mottram, 25 May 1795.

<sup>63</sup> Porteus, *A History of [...] Standish* (1927), 79.

<sup>64</sup> Lancashire Record Office, PR182: Standish overseers' accounts and minutes 1679-1739.



and there is no other record of a harp. Even Macdermott failed to find one, although he did note that in the mid-nineteenth century the organist at All Saints, Lindfield in Sussex used a harp in his own home to train his singers, because the boys would have been afraid of the bats and owls in the church at night.<sup>65</sup>

A few portable reed instruments were also used to accompany psalmody. In about 1848, at St John the Baptist, Pebmarsh in Essex, the band, which accompanied a choir of children, apparently consisted of flute, violin, violoncello, double bass, and concertina.<sup>66</sup> The handbook to an exhibition of Essex Church Music held at Chelmsford in June 1955 noted that there was an accordion at All Saints, Hutton in 1837, and another at an unspecified date at St Martin's, White Roding.<sup>67</sup> Also, at St Edward's, Cheddleton in Staffordshire, Thomas Wardle used a concertina to train the choir in the 1850s although they may have sung unaccompanied in services.<sup>68</sup> More research may uncover further instances of accordions and concertinas, since at least one tune book is known to have been published for their use.<sup>69</sup>

## Part Allocation with Instruments

Psalmody collections could be published with a bewildering variety of part allocations. Many books include no separate parts for instrumentalists, who would have doubled the voices. A few pieces include independent instrumental parts throughout, for instance the orchestral settings of John Foster and John Fawcett (see below), whereas others have voice parts interspersed with short symphonies, in which case it is likely that

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<sup>65</sup> MacDermott, *Gallery Minstrels* (1948), 29.

<sup>66</sup> T. Bayley, *Pebmarsh Church, Essex* (Oxford, 1946), 48.

<sup>67</sup> J. Hughes, *The Singing Church in Essex*. Handbook to the Exhibition of Essex Church Music, 3–12 June 1955 (Chelmsford, [?1955]), 13.

<sup>68</sup> Information in a handout from a textile exhibition at the Nicholson Institute, Leek, summer 2009. Wardle was a dyer, a supporter of the Arts and Crafts movement and an amateur composer.

<sup>69</sup> J. Warren, *Select Psalm Tunes arranged for Wheatstone's Patent Concertina or Symphonion* (London, [c.1850]).

instruments continued to play with the voices at the end of symphonies. In some instances, pieces could be performed with or without instruments, and symphonies could be omitted. Benjamin Cuzens advertised this on the title-page of his *Divine Harmony* which was 'Interspersed with Symphonies but may be occasionally Performed without them',<sup>70</sup> and, as will be considered, Joseph Key provided an alternative section for voices alone in one anthem.

Most compilers and composers seemed to expect that the singing would be accompanied by two treble instruments and a bass, even though there were usually four vocal parts. There are many instances of symphonies in three parts, and apart from the compositions of John Barwick and Joseph Key (discussed below); other examples can be found in the works of William Flackton, John Valentine, Thomas Tremain and Henry Tolhurst.<sup>71</sup> However, the convention of using the treble clef for the three upper voices to assist instrumental participation makes it difficult to decide which vocal parts should be played by the two treble instruments. Even where there is possible evidence, for instance, where changes between voices and instruments occur on the same system, the choice of staves for the treble instruments may have been made at the whim of the engraver or printer.

The introductions to a few tune books do refer to the part allocation of instruments. In the 1790s William Gresham noted that when the air was in the tenor, the treble was 'often omitted' for 'want of sufficient Voices', and the 'Counter made completely to overpower the Air, by being played on a Clarinet or two, in the Treble

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<sup>70</sup> B. Cuzens, *Divine Harmony Six Anthems and a Christmas Ode, each in Score calculated for Country Choirs and Interspersed with Symphonies but may be occasionally performed without them* (London, 1787).

<sup>71</sup> W. Flackton, *Hymns for Three Voices* (London, [1778]); J. Valentine, *Thirty Psalm Tunes [...] with Symphonies, Interludes, and an Instrumental Bass, Op.7* (London, [1784]); T. Tremain, *Hymns and Psalms [...] with Accompaniments for Clarinets, Hoboys, Ger<sup>n</sup> Flutes & Bassoons, 2nd Sett* (London, [c.1785]); H. Tolhurst, *Six Anthems, and Six Psalms [...] for the Use of Country Choirs* (London, [c.1813]).



Octave'.<sup>72</sup> William Dixon reminded performers that the alto and tenor are written an octave higher than sung, and that particularly if an instrument doubled the alto it 'should be played in the Octave below; otherwise it will cause an inversion of the Harmony throughout, which is generally productive of bad Effect'.<sup>73</sup>

Robert Willoughby's *Sacred Harmony* was published in five separate part books: treble and hautboy, contratenor and flute, tenor and second violin, bass, and organ.<sup>74</sup> The 'Rules to be observed in the following work', stated that the C clef 'which every master has used' for tenor, countertenor and 'very frequently' for treble had been replaced by the G clef because of 'so many complaints in societies'. The part allocation was further qualified:

The first violin to play the upper stave in the organ part or with the treble, the hautboy the same, the flutes to accompany the counter tenor. The second violin and the viola, &c. to play tenor, the violoncel[l]o and bassoon to play the lower stave in the organ book, which part being figured will serve either the organ, harpsichord, piano forte, or spinnett; but where there is not so many instruments let every one use his ow[n] discretion.<sup>75</sup>

Willoughby's book is unusual, not just because each part was published separately, but because of its contents. He noted in the preface that he had visited 'many societies in Town and country' and had formed a 'tolerable idea of the pieces that are most useful'. The title-page lists these as a 'choice Collection of Anthems, and other Church Services, Selected from the Works of Doctors Boyce, Croft, & Green, Mess<sup>rs</sup> Blake, Bond, Clark, Kent, King, Purcel, Travers, &c.', which while admirable would seem to be more 'useful' to cathedral choirs, than to parish singers accompanied by a motley collection of instruments. Willoughby may have been aiming to reform

<sup>72</sup> W. Gresham, *Psalmody Improved* (London, [-1797]), iv.

<sup>73</sup> W. Dixon, *Six Anthems in Score, Designed for the Use of Country Choirs* (London, [c.1790]), [i].

<sup>74</sup> R. Willoughby, *Sacred Harmony in Parts*, 5 pts (London, [1799]).

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

psalmody without openly declaring his intention, by charging a low price for his books. He comments that the 'best and most useful music being generally printed in very large books amongst other pieces not so valuable', it would be 'an enormous expence [sic] to buy scores of each author's work containing the pieces wished for'.<sup>76</sup> Fortunately, he had a 'sufficient number of subscribers' to sell his books at 'less than one fifth of the price the same would cost in score'.<sup>77</sup>

As late as 1856 the compiler of the *Universal Psalmodist*, East Westrop, still considered it necessary to offer advice on the correct part allocation for instrumentalists, and in so doing provides evidence that the tenor line could be played by bassoon:

In Choirs where Instruments are used, such as Flutes, Clarinets, Bassoons, &c. care should be taken to play the proper notes, especially in the line for Tenor voices, which are written, *an octave above the actual sounds*. It would be best, in most cases, for the Bassoon to play *the upper notes in the Bass Stave of the Organ part*, especially where there is a Violoncello to take the lower ones: the Flute or Violin the top Stave of the Voice part; and the Clarinet the Stave next to the top; the harmony would then be kept complete, and *if well performed*, assist the voices, and add to the general effect.<sup>78</sup>

Whereas such directions provide basic insight into how compilers thought instruments should be used, evidence of whether they were actually put into practice is rare. However, there is one late account written in 1893 by Galpin, which describes the performance of the band at Winterborne Abbas in Dorset, and which may also be indicative of earlier practice. Psalm 100 (probably 'All people that on earth do dwell') was accompanied by three instruments, flute, clarinet in C, and a violoncello. They could, perhaps, have played a version similar to that in a late eighteenth-century Leicestershire manuscript owned by William Seal (MA 9, CD 4). Although the tune at

<sup>76</sup> Willoughby would seem to be describing folios of cathedral music, not smaller psalmody volumes.

<sup>77</sup> Willoughby, *Sacred Harmony* ([1799]), I, [1].

<sup>78</sup> 'Hints on Singing', E. Westrop, *The Universal Psalmodist* (London, [1856]), [ii].



Winterborne Abbas was treble led, it was not played over, presumably because it was well-known, but the first verse was read in full and the key was set:

For the first verse the trio of musicians divided itself thus, the clarinet played the air, the flute the tenor (an octave above the voice) and the violoncello the bass. The tune "going" thoroughly well, in the second verse the clarinet proceeded to play the alto an octave higher, so for the remainder of the Psalm we were in this order, alto (8ve higher), tenor (8ve higher), air, bass, an arrangement which apparently did not distress the performers or disconcert the singers. The clarinet, moreover, did not forget to add such grace notes as the words required, with an occasional low "Chalumeau" note and an equally occasional tap on the head of some recalcitrant youngster in front.<sup>79</sup>

Galpin also described three other Dorset bands from the nearby villages. In about 1850 Winterborne Monckton had a band of a violin, a clarinet, a violoncello and an occasional flute. At Winterborne Steepleton the band consisted of a violin, a flute, two clarinets and bass, which survived until 1881, when the last remaining instrument was the bass. In 1820, at Winterborne St Martin, a group of 20 singers was accompanied by four clarinets, an oboe and a violoncello. Two clarinets played the treble air and two the alto, the oboe played the tenor an octave higher than sung and the violoncello doubled the bass.<sup>80</sup>

### **Giving Out the Tune**

In general there is no indication whether tunes without symphonies were played over in part or full. At Winterborne Abbas Galpin recorded that although the band of flute, clarinet and violoncello did not play over the tune, they did play a short phrase in the correct key. It was described as 'Sounding off the tune' (Ex. 5.1.), and could also be played in a more elaborate version (Ex. 5.2.).<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> F. Galpin, 'The Village Church Band', *Musical News*, (1893), 32.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

**Example 5.1.** Winterborne Abbas 'Sounding off the tune', first version.



**Example 5.2.** Winterborne Abbas 'Sounding off the tune', second version.

There is no way of knowing how common this method was, but a symphony which could be added to any tune was used at Silverstone in Northampton, some time in the mid-nineteenth century (Ex. 5.3.). The large band, which is thought to have contained, unusually, 'two copper key-bugles, two trombones, two clarionets, a two-valve cornopean, a shanked trumpet, a piccolo, a flute, a fiddle or two, and a venerable-looking bass viol' played it before the first verse, in between the others and at the end, presumably transposing it into a different key where necessary, and perhaps adding the harmony.<sup>82</sup>

**Example 5.3.** The Silverstone symphony.



<sup>82</sup> J. Linnell, *Old Oak, the Story of a Forest Village* (London, 1932), 58-59.



However, there was a slight problem with both the Silverstone symphony and the Winterborne Abbas 'Sounding off the tune'. Since neither provided any indication of the tune which was to follow, the congregation must have been unable to start singing at the beginning.

### **Specific Scorings in Psalmody Books**

Numerous psalmody collections contain some instrumental parts, and Temperley has provided two comprehensive lists.<sup>83</sup> Complete analysis of all these books is beyond the scope of this thesis, so the decision was made to consider the work of a few composers in greater detail. John Barwick and Joseph Key both used a variety of scoring to cater for churches with and without instruments, whereas Thomas Collins and John Foster wrote music with more elaborate instrumental parts. The scoring of James Leach and John Fawcett will be discussed in detail later in this chapter in the section on nonconformist instrumental music.

#### **a. John Barwick**

John Barwick was a Canterbury grocer, who played the bassoon, flute and oboe in local musical groups.<sup>84</sup> His first volume of psalmody, *Harmonia Cantica Divina* of 1783, was composed for the 'Use of Country Churches'.<sup>85</sup> No instruments are mentioned in his introduction and there are no separate instrumental parts, although the bass is figured. However, it is likely that this book was used by at least one instrumentalist since a fingering chart of the 'Compleat scale in D for the one-keyed flute' is added in

<sup>83</sup> Temperley, *MEPC* (1979), I, 150; Temperley, *HTI* (1998), I, 55.

<sup>84</sup> The Marsh Warblers, A West Gallery Quire: <http://tonysing.me.uk/MW/Comp.htm>.

<sup>85</sup> J. Barwick, *Harmonia Cantica Divina or the Kentish Divine Harmonist [...] for the Use of Country Churches* (London, [1783]).

manuscript to one copy.<sup>86</sup> The subscription list includes three organists, one 'Select Company of Singers' from Minster on the Isle of Sheppey, one 'Music-Master', one 'Teacher of Psalmody' and five singing masters, one of whom bought ten copies and one an unprecedented thirty copies, probably for re-sale at a profit to their own pupils.

When Barwick's second book of 23 psalm settings was published at least two years later, he used a variety of different scorings, (Appendix Table 5.1).<sup>87</sup> Five have no separate instrumental parts and so could have been sung unaccompanied. Psalm 106 only has a separate unnamed bass part for a bass solo, and solo passages in other pieces are always accompanied by bassoon. All upper parts are in the G clef except for a short section in Psalm 108,<sup>88</sup> where the tenor C clef is used for the bass and the alto C clef for the tenor (MA 14); it is unclear what instrumentalists played at this point. Psalm 108 includes symphonies for two oboes and two bassoons and there is a separate bass part throughout, so the other bassoon probably doubled the vocal bass line and one voice would be unsupported, unless a fifth instrument was used. The other 16 psalms all include symphonies for two oboes and a bassoon; the instruments presumably doubled the voices when there are no separate parts. However, Psalm 84 is for three voices with a separate bassoon part,<sup>89</sup> and three more include a separate bass in vocal sections.

Barwick gives no clear indication as to which voice parts should be played by the oboes. Most of the opening symphonies are on separate systems unconnected with the vocal sections and the evidence from the music is inconsistent. The oboes seem variously to double the alto and tenor, the treble and tenor, and the treble and alto. In Psalm 8 the middle symphony shares a stave with the alto, tenor and bass, as do the first

<sup>86</sup> British Library B.512.gg. The flautist could have been William Kite, whose name is inscribed on the cover.

<sup>87</sup> J. Barwick, *Harmonia Cantica Divina or the Second Part of the Kentish Divine Harmonist [...] with Symphonies for Two Oboes and a Bassoon* (London, [-1796]).

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 17-23.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 28-29.



notes of the final symphony of this and Psalms 11, 30 and 148.<sup>90</sup> The same instrumental doubling is also suggested in Psalms 136 and 66, where the first note of the first oboe part in the concluding symphony is placed on the alto staff.<sup>91</sup> However, Psalm 108 (with two bassoon parts) has the first note of the oboe parts in the last symphony on the treble and tenor staves.<sup>92</sup> Also, in the opening symphony to Psalm 43 and in the concluding symphonies to Psalms 81 and 34, there are rests on the tenor staff even though the pieces are tenor led.<sup>93</sup> It is possible that Barwick really did want this part doubling, but equally, he may have been unconcerned and have left instrumentalists to make their own decisions. Most, if playing these settings from the printed score, would probably not have been concerned about the staff allocations for the middle and concluding symphonies. They would have made their own choice about which part to double, perhaps depending on whether there were enough singers for all voice parts or whether certain voices needed the most support. If there were at least three treble instruments there would have been no problem in doubling each voice.

### **b. Joseph Key**

We know of four books of psalmody by Joseph Key, a customs officer from Nuneaton, two of which were published posthumously. His first book, *Eight Anthems [...] also Te Deum*, was published in 1774,<sup>94</sup> and the second edition of 1776 also includes a setting of the Jubilate.<sup>95</sup> According to the subscription list, the volume was bought by six groups called choral societies, who were probably church singers: Ratby, Warton and

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 1–5; 10–13, 14–16 and 24–27.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 6–9 and 78–80.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 17–23.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 66–68; 61–63 and 69–71.

<sup>94</sup> J. Key, *Eight Anthems, on Various Occasions [...] also Te Deum* (London, 1774).

<sup>95</sup> J. Key, *Eight Anthems, on Various Occasions [...] also Te Deum, To which is now added Jubilate* (Nuneaton, 2/1776).

Whymeswould in Leicestershire, Narborough and Long Itchington in Warwickshire, and Ruddington in Nottinghamshire.

The scoring is varied (Appendix Table 5.2). Two anthems and the Te Deum contain no separate instrumental parts, indicating that Key did not expect every church to use instruments. Anthem V also seems to be unaccompanied apart for an extra bass run of four quavers which could be instrumental.<sup>96</sup> In Anthem I (MA 24),<sup>97</sup> instrumental symphonies are scored for violin, oboe and 'Basso' at bars 1, 51 and 97, with the addition of a 'Trum[pet]' at bars 73, 84, 89 and 92. 'Basso' may refer to either a bassoon or a violoncello, but Key's usual scoring suggests the former. At bars 86 and 91 the indication 'Voice' above the upper stave for the single part phrases, 'and the Dead shall be raised incorruptible' and 'incorruptible', may imply that these passages should be sung unaccompanied. Elsewhere, except for four lower bass notes in bars 17 and 18, there is no indication as to where or what the instruments should play. There are also no voice allocations; the three upper staves all use the treble clef, so one can only surmise that the part order is SATB. Where the music changes mid-system between three-part instrumental symphonies and four voice parts, the violin part shares the upper stave, the oboe the second, the trumpet the third, and the bassoon the lowest. Key may not have known the capabilities of a trumpet. An instrument of 1774 would not have been able to play all the notes and so the tenor would be less supported in the four-part sections. Key also envisaged that this anthem (and presumably others in the set) might be performed unaccompanied because he gave instructions at the end: 'Whenever the above Anthem is performed with Voices alone, then after the Words "At the last Trump" Sing as below'. He included an alternative 13-bar section for unaccompanied Treble and Tenor

<sup>96</sup> Key, *Eight Anthems* (1774), 21–24.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 1–7.



to replace 22 bars of alternating voices and instruments. No instructions on how to deal with the three other symphonies are given but the music is complete without them.

Anthems II and VIII both include symphonies scored for 'Vio.', 'Haut.' and 'Basso.' placed on the same staves as in the first anthem (the two upper and bass).<sup>98</sup> However, the two-part symphonies in Anthems III and IV are scored for 'Haut' and 'Basso' with the oboe part on the top or third staff; the alto is in the C clef and so it was presumably unaccompanied.<sup>99</sup> The *Jubilate Deo*, added in the second edition, has a lower part on the bass vocal staff which includes semiquaver runs and which would presumably be played by either a bassoon or violoncello.<sup>100</sup>

Key's second book, *Eleven Anthems on General and Particular Occasions*, was, according to the title-page, 'particularly design'd for the Use of Parochial Choirs'.<sup>101</sup> It was apparently meant to provide either instrumental or keyboard accompaniment because the anthems are 'interspersed with Symphonies and Thorough Basses, for two Hautboys and a Bassoon'. However, Key may have misunderstood the meaning of 'thorough bass' since, although there are some separate bass parts, none of them are figured. The layout of the symphonies is complicated (Appendix Table 5.3). The alto and tenor voice parts are in C clefs so the upper parts of the symphonies are usually placed together on the top staff. Some of these are three- and four-part chords and may have been intended for keyboard accompaniment.

After Key's death in 1784,<sup>102</sup> two further books of his music were published, which would have provided income for his widow and surviving family. The first, *Five Anthems, Four Collects, Twenty Psalm Tunes, Three Carols, a Magnificat and Nunc*

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 7-12, 13-16.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 17-20, 21-24.

<sup>100</sup> Key, *Eight Anthems* (2/1776), 47-48.

<sup>101</sup> J. Key, *Eleven Anthems on General and Particular Occasions* (Nuneaton, [1779]).

<sup>102</sup> Warwickshire Record Office, DR0061/5: Nuneaton Parish Records Register of Baptisms and Burials 1755-1812, 'buried Sept 20 1784 Joseph Key Officer of Excise'.

*Dimittis*,<sup>103</sup> may have been compiled by Key since a request for subscribers to 'his last new Book' from 'Mrs Elizabeth Key, Widow of the above, who intends publishing the same very soon' was included in the announcement of his death in the *Coventry Mercury*.<sup>104</sup> Nearly half the pieces include separate instrumental parts. No instrumentation is usually given but there is one mention of a 'Hoboy' in Psalm XVIII, short sections of untexted bass parts in Anthem III and the first Collect are marked 'Bassoon' and the bass line of the opening two-part symphony to Psalm XXXIV is headed 'Two Bassoons', even though there is only one line of music.<sup>105</sup> The instrumental bass part is separate throughout this psalm so one may have doubled the vocal bass.<sup>106</sup> Psalms XXIII and CXXII also have a separate bass,<sup>107</sup> and in other pieces occasional extra bass notes are added, usually an octave lower, to bass vocal lines. The number of staves used for symphonies varies. They are usually set on three separate staves and would have been more easily played by instruments than by a keyboard player. However, Anthem I and the second Collect have opening symphonies in three parts written on two staves, although the stems of the two upper parts on the top staff are separate.<sup>108</sup> This may indicate that they could have been played by either two treble instruments or a keyboard. It is possible that Key's last two books were compiled without alteration from his unpublished compositions, and that had he been alive these inconsistencies would have been eliminated.

Key's last collection, *Five Anthems and Four Hymns, on General and Particular Occasions, Ten Psalm Tunes, Seven Carols &c.*, again contains pieces in a variety of

<sup>103</sup> J. Key, *Five Anthems, Four Collects, Twenty Psalm Tunes, Three Carols, a Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis* (London, [1785]).

<sup>104</sup> 4 October 1784: *Jopson's Coventry Mercury or, The British Advertising Gazette*.

<sup>105</sup> Key, *Five Anthems* ([1785]), 27, 11, 21, 31.

<sup>106</sup> This doubling is common in military band music of the period.

<sup>107</sup> Key, *Five Anthems* ([1785]), 29, 40.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, 23.



formats.<sup>109</sup> Most are seemingly unaccompanied, but Anthem 5 includes short two-part symphonies marked 'Hoboy' and 'Bassoon', and Psalm CIV has two-part symphonies for unnamed instruments.<sup>110</sup> Also, the opening sections of the second and third carols are in three parts, treble and two bass, but only the upper two are texted, so they were presumably sung as duets with instrumental bass accompaniment.<sup>111</sup>

### c. Thomas Collins

Some of the scoring provided by Thomas Collins of Nuneaton in his *Collection of Anthems and Psalms* is very elaborate (Appendix Table 5.6), although four psalms have no independent instrumental parts.<sup>112</sup> All the orchestrated pieces include an unspecified 'Instrumental Bass', as described on the title-page, which could have been played by a bassoon or a violoncello. The only time a bass instrument is named is in Psalm CL where a slightly ungrammatical note is added below the music: 'The Horn parts and Symphonys maybe play'd on Bassoons, when there is no Horns'.<sup>113</sup> The second Anthem is in two parts throughout, and could have been sung unaccompanied except for a few additional low bass notes and an eighteen-bar Adagio duet which has a separate bass line.<sup>114</sup> The provision of an alternative vocal bass for three psalms, I, IX XCV 'to be Sung when there is no Instrument' could imply that the other instruments would still be required, but it is more likely that the pieces could have been sung unaccompanied, in which case the symphonies would have had to have been omitted.<sup>115</sup> It is also possible that they could have been performed with just an instrumental bass, again without the symphonies. Perhaps surprisingly, Collins only used violins in eight out of the thirteen

<sup>109</sup> Book 4 (London, [c.1790]).

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 15–16, 22.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 32–33, 34.

<sup>112</sup> T. Collins, *A Collection of Anthems and Psalms, for Two Three and Four Voices: with Accompaniments for two Violins, two Horns, two Hoboys, Clarinets or Flutes, a Tenor and an Instrumental Bass* (N[un]eaton, [c.1790]).

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 9–13.

scored pieces, and of these, Psalm II has oboes as an alternative in the chorus,<sup>116</sup> and four other pieces include some oboe doubling: the third anthem, 'O Lord the King Almighty', and three psalms IX, XCII and CXXX.<sup>117</sup> Another three psalms, I, XCV and CXXV,<sup>118</sup> also include the viola (or 'Tenor' as on the title-page) although this, together with other tenor instruments, was rarely used in churches. Oboes are the most common wind instrument and are used in twelve pieces, though they double the violins in three and could be replaced by clarinets, violins, horns, or flutes in five others. Horns are nearly as prevalent and are included in eleven pieces with only two alternative scorings for oboes or bassoons. Flutes appear three times, in psalms XCII, XCV and CXXV,<sup>119</sup> and of these only the first does not give an alternative instrument. Clarinets are used only twice, in the first anthem, 'Blessed be the Lord', and in Psalm CXXV, but could be replaced by oboes in the former, and by flutes or oboes in the latter.<sup>120</sup>

Collins's scoring may have been dictated by the instruments available when the pieces were first performed. His preference for wind instruments could perhaps indicate that some players belonged to a militia band, but further research is necessary. It is also possible that Collins did not intend his music to be performed in church, since the resources required would seem to be beyond most, if not all, church bands at this date. Psalm XCV (MA 11) is his most fully-scored piece with four-part strings, flutes or oboes and horns. The voice parts are quite simple but he must have capable instrumentalists, perhaps from a local secular musical society.

There seems to have been a nucleus of psalmody composers around Nuneaton. Collins, Joseph Key and John Geary all wrote sacred music with instrumental

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 26-28; 32-33; 39-42.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 28-30.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 14-25; 32-33; 37-38; 45-46.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 26-28; 39-42; 42-44.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 37-38; 39-42; 42-44.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 1-9; 42-44.



accompaniments,<sup>121</sup> and Key also composed some secular pieces: *Eighteen Marches etc.* for a mixed ensemble, of which only the first violin part is now extant.<sup>122</sup> It is tempting to speculate that there was a musical society in the area where their music could have been performed, though its members might also have played in local churches, at least on special occasions. It is also possible, though completely unproven as yet, that some musical societies may have preferred to perform religious music during Lent, in the same way that London theatres replaced operas with oratorios. A search in Nuneaton archives for information about a possible society proved negative but, as discussed previously, it is probable that there were far more musical societies in England than existing evidence suggests.

The subscription list to Collins's *Collection* includes the names of seven 'Choral Societies': Arley, Bedworth, Barkwell, Coleshill and Nether Whitacre in Warwickshire; Great Brington and Killsby in Northamptonshire; and Ellford in Staffordshire. There is no clear indication that these groups were connected with churches, although the 'Choir of Singers' at Great Brington is named in the subscription list to John Valentine's *Thirty Psalm Tunes*,<sup>123</sup> Confusingly, it is perhaps listed twice in Capel Bond's *Six Anthems*: 'Choral Society of the Parish[,] Brington, near Northampton' and 'Choral Society, Great Brington',<sup>124</sup> but if these two groups are separate the latter must have been more affluent since they bought three copies.

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<sup>121</sup> Collins and Geary both subscribed to Key's *Eight Anthems*.

<sup>122</sup> J. Key, *Eighteen Marches etc, for Two Violins (Flutes or Hautboys), Two French Horns, ad libitum, and a Bass* (London, [c.1790]). Sibley Music Library, University of Rochester, New York, preservation microfilm, acc. no.1558368.

<sup>123</sup> (London, [1784]), [ii].

<sup>124</sup> C. Bond, *Six Anthems in Score, One of which is for Christmas Day* (London, 1769), [i].

#### d. John Foster

John Foster of High Green, Sheffield (1752–1822) is a later psalmody composer whose two collections are particularly unusual because of the scoring, which at its most expansive reaches that of a small Classical orchestra.<sup>125</sup> *The New Oxford Book of Carols* includes a setting of ‘While shepherds watched their flocks by night’,<sup>126</sup> which is a keyboard reduction of Foster’s setting of Psalm 47, ‘Ye people all with one accord’,<sup>127</sup> and which, as part of the Sheffield pub-carolling tradition, is known colloquially as ‘Old Foster’. The editors suggest that Foster may have had some connection with a local Methodist chapel or with two Methodist local industrial families, the Newtons and Ridleys, who ‘supported local choirs, instrumental bands and at least one full-scale orchestra for the recreation of their employees’, but they provide no clear evidence.<sup>128</sup> Examination of Foster’s texts (Appendix: Tables 5.2. and 5.3.), seems to indicate that if he was writing for any specific denomination, it was probably for the Church of England, since all but four are from the Old Version of the psalms. He may originally have composed these psalm settings for Ecclesfield parish church, where he is buried in the middle of the nave. The Reverend Alfred Gatty, vicar of Ecclesfield, wrote that ‘Prior to the new pewing of the church in 1826, the choir with both stringed and reed instruments— “flute, violin, bassoon” —were seated in the west gallery, and possessed a noted violoncello known as the “Ecclesfield Bass”’. He added that ‘They sang florid music in an oratorio style; the method was not cultivated, nor ecclesiastical, but showed native ability. On the anniversary, when a collection was made for their benefit —and it was generally Feast Sunday— I have seen the church crowded’.<sup>129</sup>

<sup>125</sup> J. Foster, *Sacred Music* (York, [c.1817]); J. Foster, *A 2d Collection of Sacred Music* (York, [c.1817]).

<sup>126</sup> H. Keyte and A. Parrott, eds, *The New Oxford Book of Carols* (Oxford and New York, 1992), 140–142.

<sup>127</sup> Foster, *A 2d Collection* ([c.1817]), 25–33.

<sup>128</sup> Keyte and Parrott, eds, *New Oxford Book of Carols* (Oxford and New York, 1992), 144.

<sup>129</sup> A. Gatty, *A Life at One Living* (London, 1884), 34–35.



In the preface to his first collection, Foster also commented on the quality of local singers:

The extraordinary diligence and success with which CHORAL MUSIC has been cultivated in the western parts of Yorkshire, and the adjacent borders of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire, presents a peculiar feature in the local history and habits of that part of England.

Almost every Village has its Choir, accompanied by Instruments; which in some cases, both in respect of numbers and efficiency, may be said to approach the dignity of an Oratorio.

From amongst the numerous voices that every where abound, the Metropolis, and most of the Cathedrals in the Kingdom, derive their best Choristers.<sup>130</sup>

Foster described the choirs as belonging to villages, but they could have been connected with churches. His extensive subscription list includes twenty-four choirs 'of singers': Barlow, Brampton, Castleton, Church Sterndale, Eyam, Longnor, North Wingfield, Taddington, Wormhill and Wittington in Derbyshire; Barnby Dun, Braithwell, Brayton, Drax, Ecclesfield, Handsworth, Harewood, Horbury, Thorncliffe Chapel, Thornhill, Tickhill, Wath and Wortley in Yorkshire; together with the 'Harmonic Society' at Morley, Lancashire,<sup>131</sup> and the 'Sunday-Schools' at Stockport, Cheshire, which were renowned for the quality of the music performed at anniversary services.<sup>132</sup>

The extended symphonies and elaborate scoring of Foster's pieces in both his publications (Appendix: Tables 5.2. and 5.3.) suggest that they may have been composed for special occasions such as the 'Feast Sunday' at Ecclesfield. His instrumentation varies, and resources may have differed from year to year. Extra instrumentalists were probably recruited, perhaps from the orchestra run by his industrialist neighbours, or from the immediate locality. Gatty mentions that Ecclesfield

<sup>130</sup> Foster, *Sacred Music* ([c.1817]), [no pagination].

<sup>131</sup> Morley, Lancashire has not been identified. There are places with that name in Derbyshire, and near Leeds in Yorkshire.

had both a village and a church band, who were 'rivals for popular favour'.<sup>133</sup> It is also possible that Foster had connections with professional instrumentalists and could afford to pay them, since he was the local coroner and 'belonged to an old-established family'.<sup>134</sup>

Every piece has a keyboard reduction for organ, and five also include the piano as an alternative, although this is not likely to have been used in church. All are set for four-part strings with the violoncello doubling the keyboard bass, apart from one piece, Psalm 106 & Psalm 105, 'Praise ye the Lord for he is good'.<sup>135</sup> This suggests oboes in place of violins, and a bassoon instead of a violoncello, but no alternative is given for the viola. Oboes or flutes are always included, except in a setting of psalm 23, 'My shepherd is the living Lord', which is for strings and organ.<sup>136</sup> Brass and percussion may not have been so readily available as woodwind and strings; one piece, Psalm 117, adds horns and trumpet,<sup>137</sup> and two more, Psalm 47 and Anthem Psalm 89, include horns, trumpet and drum.<sup>138</sup>

Despite Foster's substantial orchestral scoring, his vocal parts are relatively simple. The texts are all strophic, including Anthem Psalm 89, which is set to a metrical text and so is more properly a set piece.<sup>139</sup> It is noticeable that all his pieces could equally be performed with just keyboard accompaniment, and that all could be sung unaccompanied. Two, HYMN, 'Grateful notes and numbers bring', and DISMISSION both have a two-bar symphony within the verse, but these could easily be omitted.<sup>140</sup> It seems likely that Foster purposely composed with these performance alternatives in

<sup>132</sup> W. Wild, *The History of the Stockport Sunday School, and its Branch Schools* (London, 1891), 239.

<sup>133</sup> Gatty, *A Life* (1884), 38.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>135</sup> Foster, *A 2d Collection* ([c.1817]), 36-45.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 34-35.

<sup>137</sup> Foster, *Sacred Music* ([c.1817]), 29-45.

<sup>138</sup> Foster, *A 2d Collection* ([c.1817]), 25-33, 46-58.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 46-58.

<sup>140</sup> Foster, *Sacred Music* ([c.1817]), 46-52; Foster, *A 2d Collection* ([c.1817]), 1-7.



mind, since it would also have made his music accessible to choirs with little or no instrumental support.

### Alternative Scorings

Not all composers provided full instrumental parts, even though they could be used in performance. For instance, Thomas Jarman included some of his own compositions in his *Voice of Melody*,<sup>141</sup> which, according to the title-page, contained pieces by the ‘most distinguished authors’.<sup>142</sup> The longest piece, Jarman’s EMANCIPATION, AN ODE [...] IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ABOLITION OF COLONIAL SLAVERY,<sup>143</sup> is set for chorus with two short recitatives. Various registrations are given for organ accompaniment, including ‘Pastorale Flute and Dulciana Choir Organ’ for the introduction to a ‘Semi Chorus’ section, ‘Now lovely freedom sweetly smiles’. However, the marking ‘Trumpets proclaiming liberty to the Captives’ at the beginning of the first chorus is more ambiguous and could refer to actual instruments. This is confirmed by a footnote at the bottom of the first page: ‘N.B. Full Orchestral parts to this Piece may be had of the Author, Clipston, Northamptonshire: at 1s. per sheet, or of the Publisher’. Another piece in the same volume, an anthem, THERE WERE SHEPHERDS, &C: FOR CHRISTMAS DAY, is subtitled ‘Also adapted for those who celebrate the birth of Christ, in the open air, early in the morning’,<sup>144</sup> although it includes figured keyboard accompaniment with an opening symphony and three intervening ones. No other version is known, but the heading implies that Jarman either arranged it for unaccompanied singing by removing the symphonies, or provided parts for more portable instruments.

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<sup>141</sup> T. Jarman, *The Voice of Melody*, (London, [c.1840]).

<sup>142</sup> Apart from Mozart and Avison the majority are now forgotten, if, indeed, they were ever famous.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 241-252.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 118-120.

Other composers may also have made alternative instrumental arrangements of their work, but the only known piece published in two versions is *Zion. A Celebrated Anthem*, a setting of 'How beauteous are their feet' by William Matthew of Nottingham.<sup>145</sup> The accompaniment to the opening solo in the first version is marked 'Piano Forte', and the following chorus has added instrumental parts for four-part strings with first and second flutes and clarinets doubling. In the second version, the solo is also accompanied by a 'Piano Forte', but four-part strings are included from the beginning, and the chorus has parts for trumpet in B flat, flute with first clarinet doubling, and second clarinet, but no second flute.

### **The Use of Instruments in Nonconformist Churches**

It should be noted that a 'band' in Methodism may have nothing to do with instruments, and is more likely to refer to a group belonging to a class meeting. Likewise, the 'orchestra' in a chapel or meeting house was the space in front of the pews, and did not necessarily have any musical connotations. It is also important to distinguish between music with separate instrumental parts written for use in regular worship, which was usually Anglican in origin, and more elaborate extended pieces composed for special occasions such as church anniversaries and Sunday school sermons, which tend to be nonconformist. The latter are generally more fully scored and many psalmody books designed principally for Methodist or nonconformist use, including those by James Leach and John Fawcett, as discussed below, contain one or two longer set pieces at the end of the book. However, as in Anglican church music, the lack of separate instrumental parts in a book of nonconformist psalmody does not necessarily mean that the music was unaccompanied.

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<sup>145</sup> (London, [?1816]); (Nottingham and London, [?1817]).



### a. Methodism

After the death of John Wesley in 1791, and despite the concerns of the Methodist conference, instruments seem to have been used to accompany services more often. In 1805 and 1813 Conference republished the regulation that no instrument should be used except a 'bass viol, should the principal singer require it',<sup>146</sup> but this seems to have been disregarded. For instance, at St John's Methodist Church, Hayfield in Derbyshire, there must have been some instrumental accompaniment in 1803, since there is an entry in the accounts 'To one reed to John Turner 2s.'<sup>147</sup> Also, Alan Rose has noted that Joseph Thornley, the treasurer of the Sunday school at Red Hall Methodist Church in Audenshaw, was an accomplished cellist and 'conducted the chapel choir and string orchestra' prior to 1828.<sup>148</sup>

The Methodist conference was particularly uneasy about the more elaborate music performed at special services, and by 1800 capital letters were required:

Q.15. Can anything be done to prevent, what appears to us a great evil, namely, BANDS OF MUSIC and THEATRICAL SINGERS being brought into our Chapels, when charity sermons are to be preached?<sup>149</sup>

In theory the answer was simple: 'Let none in our Connexion preach Charity Sermons, where such persons and such music are introduced'.<sup>150</sup> In practice chapels needed money, and as at the Lock Hospital, affluent worshippers were more likely to attend special sermons and to contribute generously if the service was lightened with some musical interludes by fashionable composers. Handel's music was universally popular.

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<sup>146</sup> *Minutes of Several Conversation[s] [...] between the Preachers of Late in Connection with the Rev. John Wesley* (London, 1805), 290; *Minutes of the Methodist Conferences, from the First, held in London, by the late Rev. John Wesley, A.M. in the year 1744*, 2 vols (London, 1813), II, 290.

<sup>147</sup> *St John's Methodist Church Hayfield 1782-1982 A Bicentenary History* ([n.p.], [c.1982]), 7.

<sup>148</sup> A. Rose, *The Heritage of the Red Hall Methodist Church Audenshaw 1782-1982* ([n.p.], [c.1982]), 15.

<sup>149</sup> *An Extract of the Minutes of the Several Conversations [...] between the Preachers late in Connexion with the Rev. John Wesley. deceased* (London, 1800), 26.

His oratorios were already important at provincial music festivals and the performance of *Messiah* at Bristol Cathedral in 1758 provided further impetus. It was the first occasion it was sung in a church, except at the Foundling Hospital Chapel in London. John Wesley was present, and wrote in his journal that in many parts, 'especially several of the choruses, it exceeded my expectation'.<sup>151</sup> As noted previously, the north of England was the cradle of Anglican psalmody in the early eighteenth century and maintained a strong choral tradition. Lancashire singers became nationally famous, and some of them sang at the Handel Commemoration at Westminster Abbey in 1784. It was probably inevitable that excerpts from Handel's oratorios accompanied by instruments, if not complete works, would soon become a feature of charity and anniversary sermons, particularly in the north of England.

In 1805, the Methodist conference made further regulations:

Let no *Pieces*, as they are called, in which *Recitatives*, by single men, *Solos*, by single women, *Fuguing*, (or different words sung by different voices at the same time,) are introduced, be sung in our chapels.

Let the original, simple, grave, and devotional style be carefully preserved, which, instead of drawing the attention to singing and the singers, is so admirably calculated to draw off the attention from both, and to raise the soul to God only.

Let no musical *Festivals*, or, as they are sometimes termed, *Selections of Sacred Music*, be either encouraged or permitted in any of our chapels: in which performances, the genuine dignity of spiritual worship is grossly abused, under the pretence of getting money for charitable purposes, which we have sufficient proof, has been procured as amply, where nothing of the kind has been introduced, but the charity recommended to the people in the name of God.<sup>152</sup>

However, 'Selections of Sacred Music' were a money-spinner, and many chapels seem to have taken little notice of these regulations, and continued to hold special services where music was provided by an augmented choir and instrumentalists.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

<sup>151</sup> Bristol, 17 August 1758. *The Works of John Wesley: Journal and Diaries, IV, 1755-65* ed. W. Ward and R. Heitzenrater, 24 vols (Nashville, 1992), XXI, 161.

<sup>152</sup> *Minutes* (1805), 290-291.



## b. Sunday Schools

Donations were also needed by Sunday schools, many of which were opened in the industrialised towns of northern England to educate both child and adult factory workers. By 1784 there were apparently 1800 pupils in Manchester and the same in Salford and Leeds,<sup>153</sup> and by 1837 Stockport had just under 5,500 pupils, and had educated over 40,000.<sup>154</sup> Many Sunday schools were interdenominational, but they were often managed by nonconformists, particularly Methodists, and, again, the music performed at special services could cause dissent. In 1824, Dr Thomas Chalmers of Glasgow was invited to preach the annual sermon at Stockport. Having travelled solidly for nearly three days he was not amused by the notice of the event in the local newspaper and, according to a history of the Stockport Sunday School, he wrote in his memoirs:

On reading the advertisement I was well-nigh upset by the style of it. They are going to have a grand musical concert along with the sermon [...] this is really making it a theatrical performance, and me one of the performers.

The musical resources consisted of:

Three rows of female singers, so many professional male singers, and a number of amateurs', accompanied by 'one pair of bass drums, two trumpets, bassoon, organ, serpents, violins (without number), violincellos [sic], bass viols, flutes and hautboy.

Dr Chalmers only agreed to preach if his sermon and prayers were not mixed up with the music and he stayed in the vestry during the performance. Whatever his misgivings

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<sup>153</sup> T. Kelly, *A History of Adult Education in Great Britain* (Liverpool, 1962), 75.

<sup>154</sup> J. Morgan, *A Brief Account of the Stockport Sunday School* (London, 1838), 12, 18.

there were 3,500 in the congregation and £401 was raised.<sup>155</sup> The music at Stockport Sunday School was exceptional. Not all Sunday schools or, indeed, nonconformist chapels could assemble such a large number of singers or such a wide variety of instrumentalists. Many wanted to perform special music but some would have found Handel's music to be too difficult.

### c. James Leach

A possible solution was to be found in the work of an enterprising Methodist, James Leach (1761–1798), who was the first psalmody composer to write extended set pieces with instrumental accompaniment for amateur performance, and specifically for Sunday schools. He came from Rochdale, north of Manchester, and would no doubt have known Handel's music since many oratorio performances were held in that region. Leach's own music has Handelian characteristics, which would also have been familiar to performers, but does not pose so many technical difficulties. An early biographer stated that he played in the King's Band, and sang in 'one of the great musical festivals' at Westminster Abbey.<sup>156</sup> No evidence has been found to support the former claim, but he may have been the 'Mr Leach', who was one of the countertenors in the chorus at the Westminster Abbey Handel Commemoration in 1784.<sup>157</sup> He was killed in a stagecoach accident, aged about thirty-six.<sup>158</sup>

<sup>155</sup> W. Wild, *The History of the Stockport Sunday School, and its Branch Schools* (London, 1891), 221–224.

<sup>156</sup> T. Hirst, *The Music of the Church, in Four Parts* (London, 1841), 136–137.

<sup>157</sup> C. Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey and the Pantheon [...] in Commemoration of Handel* (Dublin, 1784), 22. Leach would have sung with another Lancastrian countertenor, Edward Harwood, the composer of 'Vital spark'. Coincidentally, they were both originally handloom weavers, and both died young.

<sup>158</sup> S. Drage, 'Leach, James (bap. 1761, d. 1798), composer' *ODNB Online*, ed. L. Goldman (2004).



Two set pieces with instrumental accompaniment are included in his first book of sacred music, *A New Sett of Hymns and Psalm Tunes*, and three in his *Second Sett*.<sup>159</sup> The title-page of both states that the music was ‘adapted for the Use of Churches, Chapels & Sunday Schools, with Accompaniments & a Thoro’ Bass’ and that ‘the whole’ was ‘figured for the Organ, Harpsichord or Piano-forte’. After Leach’s death, a volume of his previously unpublished compositions was issued in periodical numbers to support his widow and children.<sup>160</sup> All Leach’s bass parts are figured but the hymns and psalms could equally be performed unaccompanied, and particularly in the first *Sett*, most follow John Wesley’s constraints that there should be no ‘vain repetitions’<sup>161</sup> or overlapping text. The melodies, like so many others sung by Methodists during the later eighteenth century, are light and tuneful in the popular operatic style of the day.

Leach’s two through-composed pieces in his first *Sett* both have separate instrumental parts. THE TRIBUNAL to Charles Wesley’s ‘He comes, he comes the judge severe’ consists of a chorus, a trio with a separate figured bass, and a chorus with three unidentified treble instrument parts and a bass.<sup>162</sup> THE SECOND COMING OF CHRIST is an extended setting of ‘Lo he comes with clouds descending’, Charles Wesley’s adaptation of John Cennick’s ‘Lo he cometh, countless trumpets’. Indeed, only the first line of text is used for the opening thirty-eight bars. It includes a bass solo accompanied by two C clarinets, a chorus with the addition of a further unidentified treble instrument, a short treble duet in which this is named as a violin, a chorus with three treble instruments (presumably clarinets and violin), a bass solo, a treble duet, a chorus with an extra violoncello part and a final chorus with named clarinets and violin. A separate

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<sup>159</sup> J. Leach, *A New Sett of Hymns and Psalm Tunes* (London, [1789]); J. Leach, *A Second Sett of Hymns and Psalm Tunes* (London, [c.1794]).

<sup>160</sup> J. Leach, *A Collection of Hymn Tunes and Anthems composed and adapted for a Full Choir* (London, [1798]).

<sup>161</sup> *Minutes of some late Conversations between The Rev. Mr. Wesley, and Others* (Bristol, 1768), 12

undesigned instrumental bass continues throughout the piece. It is essentially a short thirty-two page oratorio and, although the pagination is continuous with the rest of the book, it may also have been sold separately since it is headed 'Pr. 1<sup>s</sup>.'. <sup>163</sup> Perhaps it was considered to be too ambitious for anniversary and charity services, for the three extended pieces in Leach's second *Sett*, REUMAH, CALVARY and CANAAN, <sup>164</sup> are simpler and contain no separate instrumental parts, though they could, of course, be performed with instruments doubling the voice parts, since all three upper parts are in the G clef. CANAAN (MA 41) has been discussed in Ch.4; it must have been sung congregationally since it was included in John Wilde's pamphlets, and also in the one from George Yard Methodist Chapel in Hull.

The selection of set pieces and anthems in Leach's posthumous *Collection*, 'Composed and adapted for a Full Choir', is more diverse. According to an appeal for subscriptions added to the second edition of Leach's first *Sett*, it was made up from his unpublished manuscripts and engraved plates. <sup>165</sup> Most of the set pieces consist of choruses alternating with solos, duets or trios, usually with some instrumental accompaniment. Some are oratorios in miniature and two, THE LAST TRIAL and ASYLUM, end with extended eight-part choruses, which would have taxed many smaller choirs. <sup>166</sup> Nine can be sung unaccompanied since figuring is added to the bass vocal part, and a further ten have a separate figured instrumental bass. NEW YEAR'S DAY and GILEAD each include a duet in which the separate bass is marked 'Violoncello'; <sup>167</sup> in a few other pieces it is identified as 'Organ' or 'Organo'. If an organ were available it could have been used as the sole accompaniment, or played together with instruments.

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<sup>162</sup> Leach, *New Sett* ([1789]), 25–36.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 37–58.

<sup>164</sup> Leach, *Second Sett* ([c.1794]), 52–57; 58–64; 65–69.

<sup>165</sup> Leach, *New Sett* (2/[1798]), [i].

<sup>166</sup> Leach, *Collection* ([1798]), 75–93; 178–225.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 54–56; 171–173.



Some sections of other pieces are scored for various treble instruments, but none play continuously. INNOCENCE includes a duet with symphonies for two unidentified treble instruments; the opening solo of ANTHEM, 'Lay not treasure up on earth', is accompanied by an unnamed treble instrument; and ANTHEM FROM THE 122D PSALM also contains an unidentified treble part.<sup>168</sup> Six longer pieces are scored more extensively. Some sections of RESURRECTION, ANTHEM FROM THE 41 PSALM and ASYLUM<sup>169</sup> have parts for two oboes and two violins and three other pieces, NEW YEAR'S DAY, THE LAST TRIAL, and MILLENIUM [sic]<sup>170</sup> include two horn parts as well. In common with Anglican psalmody, there are no parts for violas or other tenor instruments.

#### d. John Fawcett

Other composers followed Leach's example and began to add one or more set pieces to their collections of hymn tunes. In particular, John Fawcett, a shoemaker from Kendal, successfully imitated Leach's Handelian style, and produced a succession of orchestral set pieces, some of which were written for local choral societies. Like Leach, he was a self-taught composer, but became more accomplished musically. He led the local militia band and later trained the choir and instrumentalists at the Wesleyan Methodist Sunday School in Farnworth, before moving to Bolton to become a full-time professional musician. He was also conductor of a reed band at Edgefold Colliery, Worsley,<sup>171</sup> and further research may reveal that psalmody bands had industrial as well as military connections.

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<sup>168</sup> Ibid., 24–37; 164–170; 137–151.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 7–20; 116–130; 178–225.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., 54–66; 75–93; 226–258.

<sup>171</sup> W. Millington, *Sketches of Local Musicians and Musical Societies* (Pendlebury, 1884), 57. For more information on Fawcett see S. Drage, 'John Fawcett of Bolton: The Changing Face of Psalmody', *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*, 2, ed. J. Dibble and B. Zon (Aldershot and Burlington, 2002), 59–79.

Fawcett's early collections of psalm and hymn tunes are written in the traditional florid nonconformist style. According to the title-page, his first book, *A New Set of Sacred Music*, was designed to be interdenominational, probably in the hope of wider sale.<sup>172</sup> It includes one short set piece, DISMISSION, with keyboard accompaniment but no extra instrumental parts. Fawcett's *Second Sett*, published when he was at Farnworth, contains six 'Select Pieces', as they are described on the title-page.<sup>173</sup> The first of these, THE PROMIS'D LAND, may be the 'oratorio' of the same name, which, according to Fawcett's obituary, 'obtained a widespread reputation'.<sup>174</sup> It would probably have seemed like an oratorio to some, for it is eleven pages long and the chorus sections include parts for two horns, two violins or flutes.<sup>175</sup> There is a separate figured bass for organ, with some of the harmony realised in small notes in the treble part. The Sunday school band at Farnworth may have included horns, or members of the local militia band may have joined it occasionally, since five hymn tunes in the same collection include parts for two horns with organ.

There are two more set pieces in Fawcett's *Third Sett*. 'Hark me thinks I hear a voice' is headed ANTHEM, but the text is metrical. The opening and closing choruses are scored for two violins, two oboes, two trumpets, bassoon and violoncello with organ. The second set piece, 'Blessed be the name of the Lord', is headed CHORUS and uses the same mixed wind and string instrumentation. There are no extended pieces in Fawcett's *Seventh Set*,<sup>176</sup> and his fourth, fifth and sixth sets are missing so their contents cannot be examined. However, there are three set pieces in his *Harp of Zion*; A FUNERAL PIECE,

<sup>172</sup> J. Fawcett, *A New Set of Sacred Music [...] Sung by Different Denominations of Christians* (London, [c.1811]).

<sup>173</sup> J. Fawcett, *A Second Sett of Psalm and Hymn Tunes [...] Composed in a Familiar Style* (London, [1813-14]).

<sup>174</sup> 'Death of Mr John Fawcett', *Bolton Chronicle*, 2 November 1867.

<sup>175</sup> It seems that the term 'oratorio' could be used to describe an extended piece, at least in Lancashire. The unpublished, 'Salvation O the joyful sound' by James Nuttall, is sixteen pages long and is headed 'An oratorio' in one manuscript (Rossendale Museum, SM-10: Moses Heap, '255 Tunes as sung by the Deighn Layrocks', c.1880-94, 97-112).



DEDICATION and CELEBRATION all have written-out organ accompaniment.<sup>177</sup> Instrumental parts for pairs of violins, flutes, clarinets, horns and trumpets are printed in a separate section at the back of the book.

Fawcett's most extensive collection of orchestral set pieces is unfortunately incomplete. *The Voice of Harmony* contained ninety pieces, and was published in three volumes, made up of 59 sections in six books.<sup>178</sup> However, apart from the first volume of 30 pieces, only another 21 are known, and ten of these have only survived in tonic sol-fa, without the 'Complete Orchestral Parts' described on the title-page. This also stated that the music was 'suited for Sunday School and other Anniversaries, and for Missionary Meetings'. It was 'complete without the Orchestral Parts, but the addition of these renders this work more useful to those Societies which number instrumentalists among their members'. The scoring is varied and some pieces are for full Classical orchestra, including violas and even timpani.

By the later 1800s the music at most Methodist anniversary services had dwindled back to hymns, with perhaps a simple piece sung by the children, or a more traditional anthem sung by the choir, all accompanied on the organ. John Wesley would have approved.

#### **e. Other Nonconformist Denominations**

Not every nonconformist chapel could provide an adequate group of musicians and there was continuing opposition to any instrumental support in worship, particularly among Baptists (the Larks of Dean are an exception). However, the Colchester

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<sup>176</sup> J. Fawcett, *A Seventh Set of Hymn Tunes* (Leeds, 1830).

<sup>177</sup> J. Fawcett, *The Harp of Zion, consisting of Original Tunes and Pieces* (London, [c.1834]).

<sup>178</sup> J. Fawcett, *The Voice of Harmony: Anthems and Pieces in Full Score*, 3 vols (London, [c.1858]).

psalmody composer and Congregationalist, William Cole, echoed the views of his Anglican colleagues when he stated that:

A collection of instruments ... commonly called a band of music, if well chosen, and judiciously managed, seldom fails to produce a striking effect ... such a band will rarely, perhaps never be found in any one worshipping assembly. Single instruments too, are of little use, except to accompany the bass, when the voices are too weak in that part. For this purpose a Violoncello, or Bassoon, may be used with some degree of propriety; but treble instruments are very improper, especially if there be no bass instruments to accompany them.<sup>179</sup>

David Music has noted that many Baptist churches eventually began using instruments during the first part of the nineteenth century. When Wellington Baptist chapel in Somerset was rebuilt in 1833 the psalmody was accompanied by two flutes, violoncello, double bass and serpent, although they continued to line out the hymns until 1864.<sup>180</sup> In Nottinghamshire, East Leake used a bass viol from 'at least 1823' until a harmonium was purchased in 1868, and Beeston had a 'bass viol' and a 'clarionet' from 1838 till they acquired a harmonium in 1854. Here again, they lined out until 1863.<sup>181</sup>

Many nonconformists shared John Wesley's reservations regarding organs and probably had similar concerns about the financial costs. Perhaps this is why William Cole found it necessary in 1819 to write a tract on *Modern Psalmody* supporting the use of an organ.<sup>182</sup> He considered that without an organ the singing in many 'worshipping assemblies' was 'dull and lifeless', although instrumental music should only be part of worship if it was used 'as a means of assisting and regulating the voices'. He also thought that when an organ was not used, the singing of a large congregation could

<sup>179</sup> W. Cole, *A View of Modern Psalmody, being an Attempt to Reform the Practice of Singing in the Worship of God* (Colchester, 1819), 43.

<sup>180</sup> N. Temperley, 'Psalmody (ii), 3', *GMO*, ed. L. Macy (2001).

<sup>181</sup> D. Music, 'Baptist Church Music', *GMO*, ed. L. Macy (2001).

<sup>182</sup> Cole, *Modern Psalmody* (1819).



‘never be properly managed by a single voice’. A ‘company of singers’ was necessary, ‘the effect of which would be much improved by the addition of a violoncello, or other bass instrument’.<sup>183</sup>

## 2. Organs

The only known instance of a keyboard instrument other than an organ being played in church can be found at King Charles the King and Martyr, Peak Forest in Derbyshire. In 1781 Mrs Mary Bower ‘left her harpsichord to the chapel, with an endowment for the player’.<sup>184</sup> This is corroborated by a record on a Charity Board which is still kept in the present church building of 1876. The brother of Mary Bower, Samuel Needham, who died in 1801, left ‘yearly for ever the sum of £14. 0. 0. [...] to be paid to the organist or the person for the time being playing the harpsichord or organ either of them in the church or chapel’.<sup>185</sup> This may mean that the church owned both a harpsichord and an organ, or it may have been making provision for the later acquisition of an organ.

### a. Pipe Organs

Following the destruction of organs during the Commonwealth, many provincial parish churches did not acquire another organ until the early nineteenth century. Most could not afford to pay for an organ, organist and organ blower, together with tuning and any repairs, and so organs were more likely to be found in affluent town churches, unless they were provided by a local benefactor.

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<sup>183</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>184</sup> J. Cox, *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire* 4 vols (Chesterfield, 1875–79), II, 282.

<sup>185</sup> Personal communication from Jenny Coxon.

After the Restoration there were still concerns that organs were popish and that it was unlawful to use instruments in worship. As noted previously, St Peter's, Tiverton, acquired an organ in 1696 after ten years of campaigning by the Rev. John Newte. In a sermon preached at the opening of the organ he stated that it would 'Regulate the untunable Voices of the Multitude, and make the Singing in the Church more orderly and harmonious', adding, prosaically, that the playing of voluntaries would drown the 'indecent Noise which is too often made by the opening and clapping fast of Pew-doors [...] and the nauseous Rawkings, and unnecessary Coughing and Spitting' made by the congregation.<sup>186</sup>

An organ was the most obvious means to improve psalm singing, though competent organists were rare even if a church could find the necessary funding. A solution was suggested as early as 1676 by Thomas Mace, who wrote of the '*whining, toting, yelling or skreekng* there is in many *Country Congregations*', and said that even the best singers could not keep in tune without organ accompaniment because the singing was so slow.<sup>187</sup> Mace's proposal was that everyone in the parish should contribute a small amount towards buying an organ, which would cost between thirty and sixty pounds depending on its size. He then devotes a whole chapter on 'How to procure an Organist'. Apparently it was easy. First a '*Musick Master*' or one of his '*Inferiours*' was needed to teach the parish clerk how to '*pulse or strike*' the '*common Psalm-tunes*' for a fee of between one and two pounds. Then the clerk would earn his salary by teaching the young people of the parish how to play psalm tunes, which '*any such Child or Youth* will be able to do in a *week or fortnights time very well*', and so '*the Parish* in a short time will *swarm*, or abound with *Organists*'.<sup>188</sup> Mace does not record a success rate, but organs remained a rarity for at least another hundred years,

<sup>186</sup> J. Newte, *The Lawfulness and Use of Organs in the Christian Church* (London, 1696), 20, 30–31.

<sup>187</sup> T. Mace, *Musick's Monument; or a Remembrancer of the Best Practical Musick* (London, 1676), 9, 6.



particularly in country parishes. As late as 1824 the parochial visitation for Derbyshire reported that, out of 130 churches which responded, only 23 had organs and of these three were barrel and two others were broken.<sup>189</sup>

### b. Barrel Organs

In 1761, John Arnold describing 'that most noble Instrument, the Organ' commented that it was 'now brought to such a great perfection' that he had:

seen some Advertisements in the News-Papers of Church Organs, of the Machinery Kind, which are so contrived as to play (having Barrels fitted to them for that purpose) a Set of Voluntaries, also most of our ancient Psalm-Tunes, with their Givings-out and Interludes, &c. which are commodious for Churches in remote Country Places, where an Organist is not easily to be had or maintained, and may also be played by a Person (unskilled in Music) who is only to turn a Winch round.<sup>190</sup>

Organs of the 'Machinery Kind' soon became popular and Christopher Turner reckoned that at least 500 barrel organs were installed in English churches between 1700 and 1879. Now only 80 survive and some of these are in poor repair.<sup>191</sup> In churches where they could raise the funds, perhaps by subscription, a barrel organ could solve quite a few problems at once. It was less expensive to pay someone to turn the handle, rather than paying both an organist and organ blower; the choice of tunes could be limited to those approved by the minister; and other musical instruments, whose players tended to select tunes independently, could be removed. Barrel organ tunes were restricted to one turn of the barrel so there was no room for longer fuguing or repeating tunes. The only

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<sup>188</sup> Ibid., 10–11.

<sup>189</sup> *The Church in Derbyshire in 1823–4: The Parochial Visitation of the Rev. Samuel Butler, Archdeacon of Derby in the Diocese of Lichfield and Coventry*, ed. M. Austin (Derby, 1974).

<sup>190</sup> Arnold, *Compleat Psalmist* (5/1761), [iii].

<sup>191</sup> C. Turner, *Sing unto the Lord: being the History of Music used in Worship at St Andrew's Church, Fingringhoe* ([n.p], 1987), 2.

problem was fitting the words to chants because the speed had to be kept constant but the text lengths differed.<sup>192</sup>

One firm of organ builders, Flight and Robson, is thought to have issued tune books for at least five churches where they installed barrel organs: Aberystwyth, Milton Abbot, Stow on the Wold, Stowe and Sutton on the Forest.<sup>193</sup> The wording on the title-pages is identical: *A Selection of Psalms and Hymns, as set on the Organ*, with the addition of the name of the church and of any benefactor.<sup>194</sup> However standard-length tunes were not necessarily plain, and Langwill and Boston have drawn attention to:

The amazing degree of musical ornamentation in the way of trills, grace notes, passing notes and gathering notes which can be found in profusion growing around even the most austere tunes as they are pinned on many a barrel.<sup>195</sup>

This elaboration can be seen in the version of Tallis's Canon transcribed by Langwill and Boston from the 1810 Bryceson barrel organ at Shelland in Suffolk, which is still in regular use (MA 16).

It was possible to adapt a barrel organ to be played manually, or vice versa. In about 1845 at St Mary's, Widford in Essex, the church band was replaced with an organ, but this had to be converted to a barrel organ when the rector's sister left the village and no one could be found to play it.<sup>196</sup> Alternatively, the church could have retained the finger organ but purchased a dumb organist. This was a long box containing a barrel organ mechanism attached to rods, which was positioned over the lowest organ keyboard and automatically pressed down the keys when the handle was turned. In

<sup>192</sup> Temperley, *MEPC* (1979), I, 234–39.

<sup>193</sup> The *HTI* (I, 108–109) attributes the publication of these books to [Flight and Robson?]. The tunes presumably matched those on the barrels but cannot be checked because the organs are not extant.

<sup>194</sup> [...] *in the Chappel of Aberystwyth* ([London], [c.1811]); [...] *the Gift of [...] the Duke of Bedford to the Parish Church of Milton Abbot* ([London], [c.1818]); [...] *the Gift of [...] the Marquis of Buckingham to the Parish Church of Stowe, Bucks* ([London], [c.1817]); [...] *in the Parish Church of Stow [on the Wold], in Gloucestershire* ([London], [c.1814]); [...] *in the Parish Church of Sutton on the Forest in Yorkshire* ([London], [c.1809]).

<sup>195</sup> L. Langwill and N. Boston, *Church and Chamber Barrel Organs: Their Origin, Makers, Music and Location. A Chapter of English Church Music* (Edinburgh, 2/1970), 20.

<sup>196</sup> 'Music in the Old Church', *Widford Parish Magazine* (January 1914), [2].



1850, All Saints, Easton on the Hill, Northamptonshire, kept their options open and bought an organ and a dumb organist at the same time.<sup>197</sup> These were restored in 1992 and two barrels of six tunes each are still playable.<sup>198</sup>

### c. Reed Organs

In 1828 Charles Wheatstone obtained a patent for a reed organ, described as an Aeolina, and the next year he patented another, the Symphonium, and also the concertina, for which he is more famous. These two reed organs, together with the Royal Seraphine built in 1830 by John Green, started a revolution in psalmody accompaniment, which reached its zenith in the mid-nineteenth century following the invention of the harmonium in France in 1842.<sup>199</sup> Unlike pipe or barrel organs, the pitch was more stable and, at least in theory, they would rarely need repair.<sup>200</sup> Had these reed instruments not been developed, it is possible that church bands would have continued for much longer.

## Organ Accompaniment

The main advantage of an organ was that it helped regulate the speed and pitch of the psalmody. After the Restoration in 1660 organs were very gradually re-introduced into more prosperous churches, and a few examples of accompaniments to psalm tunes began to be published. In 1663 four 'Tunes of Psalms to the Virginal or Organ' were bound into the back of John Playford's *Musicke's Hand-maide*.<sup>201</sup> The tunes are clear

<sup>197</sup> [www.bowerorgans.co.uk/easton.html](http://www.bowerorgans.co.uk/easton.html)

<sup>198</sup> H. Davidson, *Choirs, Bands and Organs: A History of Church Music in Northamptonshire and Rutland* (Oxford, 2003), 92.

<sup>199</sup> B. Owen, 'Reed Organ'; B. Owen and A. Dick, 'Harmonium', *GMO*, ed. L. Macy (2001).

<sup>200</sup> Some models which were exported to the colonies had repair instructions pasted onto the back.

<sup>201</sup> J. Playford, *Musicke's Hand-maide* (London, 1663), [no pagination].

because there are no ornaments and the accompaniment is plain, with full chords in both hands and final bass notes at cadences added after the beat.

### a. Givings out and Interludes

Present-day organists normally play over a line or two of a tune exactly as it will be sung, but by the early eighteenth century it was common for a tune to be hidden by excessive ornamentation. The 'giving out' could be barely recognisable and short flourishes also began to be played between each line of text. Many players would have improvised these play overs and interludes, although some do appear in print. A collection of 14 psalm tunes arranged by John Blow was published in 1718, ten years after his death. The tune is still obvious although each line is preceded by a short flourish ending in a trill. Blow's psalm tunes are bound with a set by Daniel Purcell, which were also published posthumously, since he died in 1717. According to Purcell's title-page the psalm tunes were '*Set full for the ORGAN or HARPSICORD as they are plaid in Churches and Chappels in the maner given out*' and include '*Interludes of great Variety*'.<sup>202</sup> Purcell's settings are more embellished than Blow's and the tune is cloaked in ornaments and semiquaver runs (MA 2, CD 2). The interludes between the lines are usually 24 semiquavers in length, so congregations presumably became familiar with them and knew when to start singing again.

A later collection of psalm settings for organ by Starling Goodwin shows that by the middle of the eighteenth century the giving out of the tune was still disguised by ornamentation. Interludes, at least in print, were only played between verses, although they were longer and more varied in style with no thematic link to the tune (MA 8, CD

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<sup>202</sup> D. Purcell, *The Psalms Set full for the Organ or Harpsic[h]ord* (London, [1718]).



3).<sup>203</sup> In Goodwin's settings each line of the tune is preceded by a trilled gathering note. Perhaps short flourishes, such as those written out by Blow and Daniel Purcell, were played at this point, but there is no printed evidence of this.

John Arnold wrote that it was the duty of an organist to 'give out the Tune in a very plain Manner with only a few necessary Graces',<sup>204</sup> but did not specify what these should be. However, towards the end of the eighteenth century two compilers provided clear instructions on how to accompany psalm tunes. William Gawler, organist at the Asylum for Female Orphans in London, wished to 'promote one uniform and correct manner of performing Church Service' and offered the following rules, which were 'in general observed by the best Masters in London':

In giving out a Psalm Tune, play it as plain and distinct as possible, only making a Shake, Turn, or Appoggiatura, where it may be thought necessary, in order that the Congregation may hear the melody of the Tune to be Sung.

In Common Time Tunes, the Shakes have a very fine effect between every Stanza, But in Triple Time, they in some measure destroy the connection of the Air; therefore the Shake is better omitted, care having been taken to confine the Interludes, in the same time with the Tunes, to keep up a Similiarity.<sup>205</sup>

William Gresham of Dunstable, who considered that singing in two parts, air and bass, was preferable to 'four parts attempted, and not well performed', set all the music in his *Psalmody Improved* on two staves, with the bass and treble in full-size notes and the harmony in small notes for the right hand (MA 15, CD 5).<sup>206</sup> He agreed that the play over should be simple, but was also prepared to omit complete interludes and not just trills:

Where there is an Organ, it is, I believe, the general custom — and it is very proper — to play the Tune once over before the People begin to sing. This I think should be done in exactly the same style in which it is intended to be sung,

<sup>203</sup> S. Goodwin, *The Complete Organists Pocket Companion [...] with [...] Givings-out, and Interludes, as used in Parish Churches* (London, [c.1775]).

<sup>204</sup> J. Arnold, *Church Music Reformed: or the Art of Psalmody* (London, 1765), iv.

<sup>205</sup> W. Gawler, *Harmonia Sacra, or, a Collection of Psalm Tunes, with Interludes, & a Thorough Bass* (London, 1781), 4.

<sup>206</sup> Gresham, *Psalmody* ([-1797]), iv.

Air and Bass, entirely without Chords, and with very few ornaments indeed, but in a communicating manner; as it is intended to convey to the Congregation a just idea of the Melody.

The Interludes here introduced are very short, that they may not seem impertinent; but give a respite to the Voices, between the Verses, without interrupting the Sense, which must be the intention of Interludes, and should therefore be omitted where the Sense of the Verse is incomplete.<sup>207</sup>

Both commentators were concerned about dynamics but held differing views. Gawler advised that:

When two Verses are to be sung, they should both be play'd pretty full, when three, the first and last loud, the other soft, when four, the first and last loud, the intermediate two, on the Swell, or Choir Organ, and the Interlude immediately before the last Verse, which makes a pleasing Variety.<sup>208</sup>

Gresham disagreed, and was more concerned that the dynamics should match the words:

The Interlude should, in general, be softer than the rest of the Tune; but it may be varied by the judicious Performer, according to the import of the Words, which in this Work will always be seen at the same view as the Music; and which are marked as they ought to be performed, Loud or Soft. It is much to be wished that the custom of performing on the Organ the first and last Verses of a Psalm loud, and the intermediate ones soft, were abolished, as it often causes a glaring impropriety in Musical Expression.<sup>209</sup>

Despite such advice, it seems that organists were unwilling to change their ways. Fifty years later in 1819 William Cole of Colchester was still complaining that tunes were given out with 'so many flourishes and variations' that they were unrecognisable. His advice is worth quoting in detail as it exemplified the ongoing problems in many churches. Like Gresham, Cole recommended that tunes should be played over without any embellishment and with no harmony except the melody and the bass, unless the

<sup>207</sup> Gresham, *Psalmody* ([-1797]), vi.

<sup>208</sup> Gawler, *Harmonia Sacra* (1781), 4.

<sup>209</sup> Gresham, *Psalmody* ([-1797]), vi-vii.



tune were double-length, in which case it should be contracted and written out as a prelude.<sup>210</sup> It also seems that there was still some interruption to the flow of the text, since Cole warned that extra ‘flourishes’ at the end of every line were to be avoided although sometimes a ‘few passing notes’ might be ‘proper’. However, these should be ‘duly considered’ and then written into the tune so that they were always played, for ‘if notes of this kind be too insignificant to be written, they ought not to be used’. ‘*Extemporaneous* interludes’ between verses were equally objectionable, especially when ‘an extraneous air, inapposite to the subject, and protracted to an enormous length’ was introduced, because this distracted a congregation. More importantly, when an organist, ‘after tickling the ears of his audience with a succession of unmeaning flourishes, and exhibiting the dexterity of his fingers’ returned ‘abruptly to the subject, without any previous preparation’, the congregation was unable to join in the start of the next verse unless the organist waited for them on the first note. Nevertheless, a ‘short interlude, suited to the melody’ was not ‘only proper, but in some degree necessary, that the congregation may have sufficient time to take breath’. Cole, as always, provided some practical advice. He recommended written-out symphonies for each psalm tune. These should be ‘short, and strictly adapted to the melody’, with ‘perhaps a repetition of the last line, or at most, of the last two lines, with very little variation, or embellishment’. They should be ‘constantly adhered to, without any alteration, whenever the tune is brought into use’, so that the congregation would learn when to start singing again, especially if the organist played the interlude strictly in time.<sup>211</sup>

Despite the efforts of psalmody reformers such as Gresham and Cole, the last

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<sup>210</sup> Cole, *Modern Psalmody* (1819), 48–49.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, 47–49.

collection of psalm tunes with harmonically extravagant givings out and interludes was published in about 1842.<sup>212</sup>

A possible alternative use for interludes was suggested by Kenneth Long:

Often short interludes were played to provide a musical background to 'lining out'. The first note of each line was treated as a 'gathering' note; that is it was held long enough for the entire congregation to gather on it before moving off in measured tread along the next phrase of the tune.<sup>213</sup>

However, Long gives no indication of where he obtained this information and so it must be treated with caution. Nicholas Temperley has observed that:

In the Church of England it is evident that lining out became associated with the Old Way of Singing, and lasted only until the Old Way was superseded by organs (in town churches) or by voluntary choirs (in country churches).<sup>214</sup>

Although it seems that lining out continued in nonconformist churches where the singing was accompanied by instruments, one would also have expected to have found some primary evidence in Anglican records of churches if both lining out and organ interludes were in use at the same time.<sup>215</sup>

#### **b. Figured bass**

The figured bass in psalmody books may initially have been provided to facilitate domestic performance, but by the mid-eighteenth century even compilers writing for country churches began to make occasional reference to organ accompaniment. James Green, in the tenth edition of his *Book of Psalmody*, marked the bass voice parts of the

<sup>212</sup> S.S. Wesley, *A Selection of Psalm Tunes* (London, [c.1842]).

<sup>213</sup> K. Long, *The Music of the English Church* (London, 2/1991), 232.

<sup>214</sup> N. Temperley, *Studies in English Church Music, 1550–1900* (Farnham and Burlington, 2009), 91.

<sup>215</sup> In a recent email to the author Professor Nicholas Temperley commented further on this. 'There would clearly have been difficulties, rivalries, and discussions in vestry meetings or in the press, so the fact that none have emerged [...] seems to me to be fairly strong presumptive evidence that the two practices were rarely if ever combined.'



Te Deum and Jubilate chanting tunes, 'Organo',<sup>216</sup> but provided no indication of accompaniment for the other four chanting tunes, Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis, Venite and Cantate Domini. This mention of an organ seems to be an anomaly since the same music for the Te Deum and Jubilate is unmarked in Green's ninth and eleventh editions. In 1761, John Arnold noted that he had 'figured the Basses for the Organ',<sup>217</sup> and John Chetham added figuring to a few psalm tunes in his *Book of Psalmody* from the fifth edition onwards, but not to the anthems or chanting tunes, which seems inconsistent.<sup>218</sup> In common with other psalmody composers, he may have copied music from a selection of sources, so performance indications could vary. He made no comment about instrumental accompaniment in his prefaces, but in his tenth edition, Anthem 10, 'Behold how good and joyful', seems to have an unfigured instrumental bass part for the 'Verse' section, since the text underlay does not fit.<sup>219</sup>

Some psalmody compilers may have included a reference to organs to increase the saleability of their music without considering the full implications. The title-page of John Wright's *Essex Melody, or Psalmist's Recreation [...] for the Use of Country Choirs* states that it contained a 'Thorough Bass for the Organ or Violoncello, &c.' but although the markings 'Ripieno' and 'Ground Bass' are included, there is no figuring.<sup>220</sup> Joseph Key, as noted above, also declared that he had added a thorough bass without actually doing so.

By the late eighteenth century compilers had begun to fill in the harmony for keyboard players in small notes, although Samuel Arnold and John Callcott ostensibly chose not to fill in the chords to the 'old tunes' in their *Psalms of David*, since the basses were correctly figured, and it would provide performers with practise in

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<sup>216</sup> J. Green, *A Book of Psalmody*, (London, 10/1744), 2, 12.

<sup>217</sup> J. Arnold, *The Compleat Psalmist* (London, 5/1761), ix.

<sup>218</sup> J. Chetham, *A Book of Psalmody* (London, 5/1736).

<sup>219</sup> J. Chetham, *A Book of Psalmody* (Leeds, 10/1779), 150–55.

'thorough bass, by adding the other parts in harmony'.<sup>221</sup> (One cannot help wondering if they ran out of time in meeting the publishing deadline.) However, other psalmodists realised that a growing number of keyboard players were unable to read figuring, and most nineteenth-century books include full accompaniment. For instance, John Fawcett still placed the air in the tenor when he published his first book and figured the bass without any added chords.<sup>222</sup> He must have decided that this was old-fashioned since by the time his second book was published about two years later, the air was placed in the treble and the harmony was filled in.<sup>223</sup>

### c. Organs with Other Instruments

Although organs often replaced one or more wind or stringed instruments, they were not mutually incompatible unless they were tuned to different pitches. At St Giles, Matlock in 1870 a 'small organ' was accompanied by 'fiddles, clarionet and a basoon'.<sup>224</sup> Some psalmody books contain a figured bass and separate treble instrumental parts,<sup>225</sup> and, as noted above, Robert Willoughby provided individual part books for organ and singers and also allocated instruments to each vocal part.<sup>226</sup> Later composers such as John Fawcett and William Matthews placed the treble air directly above the bass to assist keyboard players and sometimes filled in the harmonies in small notes, even when instrumental parts are included.<sup>227</sup> However, John Foster is most unusual because he

<sup>220</sup> (London, [c.1790]).

<sup>221</sup> S. Arnold and J. Callcott, *Psalms of David for the Use of Parish Churches* (London, [1791]), 4.

<sup>222</sup> Fawcett, *A New Set* ([c.1811]).

<sup>223</sup> Fawcett, *A Second Set* ([1813-14]).

<sup>224</sup> W. Statham, *History of Matlock Parish Church* (Matlock, 1925), 14.

<sup>225</sup> Examples include J. Alcock junior, *Parochial Harmony, or a Collection of Divine Music [...] with Symphonies [...] expressly composed for the Use of Country Choirs* (London, 1777); H. Tolhurst, *Six Anthems, and Six Psalms [...] for the Use of Country Choirs* (London, [c.1813]).

<sup>226</sup> Willoughby, *Sacred Harmony*, 5 pts, ([1799]).

<sup>227</sup> Fawcett, *A Second Set* ([1813-14]); W. Matthews, *A Christmas Anthem [Angels from the Realms of Glory]* (London, [c.1820]).



provided instrumental parts together with a keyboard accompaniment printed in full on a stave separate from the vocal parts.<sup>228</sup>

## Summary

From the middle of the eighteenth century the use of wind and stringed instruments in churches would have had a profound effect on the psalmody, regulating both speed and pitch, if players were sufficiently accomplished. Instruments helped isolate singers still further from the congregation, since introductions did not necessarily make any thematic references to tunes. Also, singers could choose more difficult music and widen their repertoire more quickly because instrumental support would have facilitated faster learning. Scoring in psalmody books was varied and catered for a wide range of instruments but made provision for unaccompanied singing, as well as for performances in which an organ and orchestral instruments played together.

Organs were rare in less affluent parishes until the early nineteenth century. Although they were meant to support the singing, elaborate givings out and interludes could disguise tunes and make congregational participation difficult. Psalmody reformers attempted to remove the worst excesses, and figured basses were gradually replaced with fully-harmonised accompaniments.

Nonconformists were not so enthusiastic about the use of instruments in worship. The Methodist conference took particular exception to the Handelian set pieces with elaborate scoring which were performed at anniversary services, especially in the north of England.

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<sup>228</sup> Foster, *Sacred Music* ([c.1817]); Foster, *A 2d Collection* ([c.1817]).

## Chapter 6: Further Performance Considerations

### Introduction

The notes of a musical score only provide a basic framework. Once the instrumental and vocal resources have been assembled, performers still need to make a number of decisions before they begin. Obviously, an overall pitch has to be agreed, but the choice of tempo is paramount and will affect a performance more than any other factor. Dynamics and ornamentation may be more variable, especially if they are not included in the music edition. Some performers would have added them instinctively without any written indication, whereas others may not have had either the inclination or the skill.

Many psalmody singers and instrumentalists would have had only a basic grounding in music before they began to lead the singing in churches and chapels and may have had difficulties understanding even the basic notes and time. If they relied on the theoretical instructions provided at the front of many printed tune books, they would usually have found standard advice on how to read music and on the length of notes. However, other information was more variable and the interpretations of time signatures were particularly inconsistent.

### Time

By the mid-seventeenth century, the fixed tactus or beat of the Renaissance was superseded by a more flexible concept of tempo, and the remnants of mensural notation had begun to be replaced by the modern system of common or triple time. The practice of beating a tactus, however, continued in psalmody, and is used by American shape-note singers today. The normal method was for singers to move the hand or foot down and up, equally for common time, but making the downbeat twice as long in triple time.



### a. Time Keeping

As has already been discussed, during the 1600s unaccompanied psalm singing in many parish churches had deteriorated into an unrhythmical and extremely slow jumble of notes, lined-out by the parish clerk and sung apathetically, if at all, by the congregation. Samuel Pepys diary entry for 6 January 1661 gives some indication of the very slow speed of singing: '(Lord's Day.) My wife and I to church this morning. To church again, where, before sermon, a long Psalm was set that lasted an hour, while the sexton gathered his year's contribution through the whole church'.<sup>1</sup>

Whereas today most congregations sing to an organ or to other instrumental accompaniment, and many choirs rely on a conductor to maintain a steady beat, seventeenth-century singers had to find alternative means to keep in time, and even if they all beat a tactus there was no guarantee that they would maintain a uniform speed. One solution was to make every note length the same. T. M., who has been identified as Thomas Mathew,<sup>2</sup> compiled *The Whole Book of Psalms, As they are now sung in the Churches* in 1688,<sup>3</sup> and described the length of a breve as about eight beats of the pulse of 'a person in good health and temper'. However, he pointed out that although breves, semibreves and minims should be used in psalm singing:

the Clerks are seldom so exact as to keep these distinct Times in the Churches: They do generally observe but one *Time*, as indeed is most easie, and therefore most agreeable to the capacities of the greater number in Congregations and Families, and that is (usually) about a *Minim* and a half, or three pulses, or three quarters of a *Semibrief*.<sup>4</sup>

If a pulse was 60 beats a minute, each note would have lasted for about three seconds, which is slow but singable. While noting that it would be 'more musical' to keep to the

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<sup>1</sup> *Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys F.R.S.*, ed. R. G. Braybrooke, i (Philadelphia, 1855), 138.

<sup>2</sup> N. Temperley, *HTI*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1998), I, 128.

<sup>3</sup> T. M[athew], *The Whole Book of Psalms, As they are now sung in the Churches* (London, 1688).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, [vii].

correct note lengths (and easier for singers if they had a copy of his book) Mathew recognised that it was better for parish clerks to:

proceed in their old fashion, of one *Time*, for a while, until the people may become acquainted with the different *Times* of the *Notes*, and the right way of singing them; [...] wherein also the Clerks must remember to declare, with an audible voice, to the Congregations when they will keep their accustomed one *Time*, or when the proper musical *Times*.<sup>5</sup>

The success of such an announcement is not recorded, and the scheme does not seem to have been proposed in any other source. It is probable that many congregations would have kept to the normal practice of singing all notes roughly the same length, until a choir of sufficiently strong singers was introduced to lead the psalmody more rhythmically. This is confirmed by William Rogers, who observed in 1686 that beating time was not necessary in ordinary psalm tunes because the notes were usually equal, but that it was necessary in anthems and some hymns, where there were notes and rests of different lengths.<sup>6</sup>

The music may still have been protracted even when lining out was not used. Perhaps one of the strangest suggestions to enable singers to keep in time was made by John Gaunt, who, according to the title-page of his *Psalm-Singer's Guide*, had received the 'Advice and Approbation of the Best Masters':<sup>7</sup>

Observe, that between every two Notes you make a short Rest, while you may take your Breath to sing again, and by this Rule you will move your Voices together, and not sing one before nor after another, which is Unhandsom[e], and this way of keeping your *Time*, is easier perform'd in singing Psalms, than beating your *Time* with Hand or Foot; and 'tis as Graceful.<sup>8</sup>

This rather eccentric idea would only have worked if singers all paused for exactly the same time, and if it were ever employed it must have made even more nonsense of the

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., [viii].

<sup>6</sup> [W. Rogers], *A New and Easie Method To Learn to Sing by Book* (London, 1686), 70.

<sup>7</sup> J. Gaunt, *The Psalm-Singer's Guide: or the Tutor to Singing* (London, 1701).

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 10.



words than lining out, as well as slowing down the music to an even greater extent. However, seventeen years later Robert Bennet repeated exactly the same instruction;<sup>9</sup> either he was cribbing from Gaunt without considering the impact of the directive, or he thought it to be a reasonable method of time keeping.

Pauses in the music may have been more common than one might expect because, even if Bennet and Gaunt's stipulated rests were not used, the general speed was so slow that congregations would still have taken frequent breaths. In 1700 the anonymous compiler of *The Psalm-Singer's Necessary Companion* noted that congregations which sang without lining out took 'great time in singing, especially betwixt every two Lines, or at every Line end, that their Voices may recover a little strength'.<sup>10</sup> Although a gap was not needed for the next line to be read, the ensuing pause may still have made it difficult to maintain time and also pitch. Pauses between lines in singing may have remained common practice, particularly in unaccompanied singing, until the nineteenth century. In 1819 William Cole was still concerned about a 'constant practice in many congregations, to make a kind of pause at the end of every line, either by protracting the last note beyond its limited time, or by making a short rest between the lines'. He thought this was only acceptable where the words indicated a pause, and if a rest were introduced, it should still be in time.<sup>11</sup> William Gresham agreed but preferred no break at all:

In the Psalm Tunes, no pause, I think, is required, but at the end of the Verse, except a short one where the sense is perfect; and that should be made rather by shortening a long Note, than by breaking the regular order of the Time; for if the Rhythm, or natural phrases are observed, there will always be found a sufficient number of places for the purpose of taking breath.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> R. Bennet, *The Psalm-Singer's Necessary Companion* (London, 1718), 11.

<sup>10</sup> *The Psalm-Singer's Necessary Companion* (London, 1700), [iii].

<sup>11</sup> W. Cole, *A View of Modern Psalmody* (Colchester, 1819), 70-71.

<sup>12</sup> W. Gresham, *Psalmody Improved* (London, [-1797]), vi-vii.

John and James Green were more practical when they advised singers to be careful to 'observe your Leader: Not begin any Note before him, nor stay on any Note after him, for there cannot be greater Discords made by crossing one another'.<sup>13</sup> By 1718 it seems that John Green had died, because James Green had become the sole compiler of the fourth edition of their psalmody collection.<sup>14</sup> In the introduction he expressed further concerns about time keeping:

But the greatest Difficulty is to sound every Note according to its due Measure of Time; and here it is that the Singers in most Country Churches go quite out of Rule, by drawing out the Sound of some Notes twice or thrice longer than they ought to do, thereby spoiling the Musick, and this so affectedly too, that they seem to think it makes the very finest Harmony: So have I observ'd them in some Places to strain themselves in forcing out some, and especially the last Note in a line, that they have hardly had the Strength to begin again: and whereas they should have sounded the longest of their Notes no longer than a *Semibreve*, and the rest proportionably, they have made no Difference in singing five or seven Notes together, but have sounded each of them so long, that I could distinctly count five or six: but whilst they were sounding the last Note, I could count nine or ten, which is most irregular, tedious, and intolerable, and takes up as much Time in singing what they call two Staves, as would serve very well for five or six.<sup>15</sup>

This means that each note probably lasted five or six seconds and that the speed was almost twice as slow as that of Thomas Mathew's healthy, good-tempered singers. This speed seems extreme today, but for singers used to the old way of singing it would probably have been quite normal, particularly if they still added grace or passing notes to tunes. Whereas Gaunt's cure was to make a break between every two notes, Green preferred the more usual method of beating the tactus, or of relating time to a clock pendulum which ticked in seconds.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> John and James Greene [Green], *A Book of Psalm-Tunes in Two, Three and Four Parts* (London, 2/1713), [iii]. No first edition is known.

<sup>14</sup> J. Green, *A Collection of Psalm-Tunes* (London, 4/1718).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, [viii]. Not repeated in later editions.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, [viii].



The ingenious suggestion that tempo should be measured by a watch was first made by Christopher Simpson in his *Principles of Practical Musick* of 1665, which, two years later, formed the basis of the first part of his more substantial *Compendium*.<sup>17</sup> Simpson considered that beating time with the hand; the foot 'if the hand be otherwayes employed'; or, if the foot were 'also ingaged', the imagination alone, should be sufficient. He explained that four crotchets should be counted one, two, three, four 'in an equal length as you would (leisurely) read them'. However, as an alternative, he noted that 'Some speak of having recourse to the Motion of a lively pulse for the measure of *Crotchets*: or to the little Minutes of a stedy going Watch for *Quavers* by which to compute the length of other Notes'.<sup>18</sup> While Simpson's suggestion would have provided an approximate idea of tempo, this would still have had to be relayed to other singers, and there was still no method that enabled everyone to relate their speed to the same fixed source.

A possible solution was provided in Purcell's revision of Playford's *Introduction*, which included instructions on how to work out the speed of minims in the 'slow sort' of Common time, C. 'Stand by a large Chamber-Clock, and beat your Hand or Foot [...] to the slow Motions of the Pendulum, telling *one, two*, with your Hand down as you hear it strike, and *three, four*, with your Hand up.' (The description, 'strike', presumably refers to the tick of the clock rather than to the chime.) The speed of the quickest common time,  $\Phi$ , was also related to a time-piece, since four crotchets in a bar should be counted 'almost as fast as the regular Motions of a Watch'.<sup>19</sup> The flaw with both Simpson's and Playford's suggestions, as Rebecca Herissone has noted,<sup>20</sup> was that the exact speed of a clock's pendulum or a watch's tick, or indeed of a pulse, was not stated. However, this did not prevent psalmodists from giving similar advice. The anonymous author of the introduction to Thomas Bray's *Collec[t]ion* considered a breve

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<sup>17</sup> C. Simpson, *The Principles of Practical Musick* (London, 1665); C. Simpson, *A Compendium of Practical Musick, in Five Parts* (London, 1667).

<sup>18</sup> Simpson, *Principles* (1665), 21–23.

<sup>19</sup> J. Playford, *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* ([London], 12/1694), 26.

<sup>20</sup> R. Herissone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 2000), 52.

to be as long as four pulses, without specifying the length of a pulse,<sup>21</sup> and the didactic preface added to the sixth edition of *A Supplement to the New Version of the Psalms* stated that a semibreve should take the same time 'as you may tell 1, 2, by the slow motion of a Pendulum Clock'.<sup>22</sup> Both these tempo directions would seem to be twice as fast as Simpson suggested. Bray's book just gives the note lengths but does not mention time signatures and the *Supplement* only gives C for common time. Simpson gives both C and C but makes no distinction between them.<sup>23</sup> It may be incidental to the overall speed, but the *Supplement* adds the comment that 'although you may find often 4 *Minims* in a Bar, in Strictness there ought to be a Bar between every two *Minims*, and you must keep Time to them as if they were so barr'd,<sup>24</sup> which implies that singers were to maintain a steady rhythm.

At least one psalmody teacher seems to have followed Playford's suggestion of using a clock to keep in time. Elias Hall of Oldham recorded how when the newly-formed choir began to sing during worship, they stood as near as they could to the clock.<sup>25</sup> The parish church of St Mary's, Oldham, was rebuilt in the 1820s, but the original clock may have survived. Giles Shaw included a photograph of the 'Old Church Clock' (which had a pendulum), on the opposite page to an extract from Hall's manuscript describing how the singers stood by the clock,<sup>26</sup> and until recently the clock in the photograph was on display at Oldham Museum, although staff could not provide a date for it.

Some precise details on the length of beats were eventually provided by Daniel Robinson in 1715, who observed that while there was no 'Standard of Time, by which the length of Notes were to be strictly squared or adjusted' because of the 'great

<sup>21</sup> [T. Bray], *A Collec[t]ion of Psalms, Proper to be Sung at Churches* (London, 1704), 10.

<sup>22</sup> N. Tate and N. Brady, *A Supplement* (London, 6/1708), vii.

<sup>23</sup> Simpson, *Principles* (London, 1665), 19; Simpson, *A Compendium*, ed. Lord (1970), 8.

<sup>24</sup> Tate and Brady, *Supplement* (6/1708), viii.

<sup>25</sup> Higson MS, 8 (DCD Elias Hall MS).

<sup>26</sup> G. Shaw, *Annals of Oldham and District*, 2 vols (Oldham, 1904), I, 225.



diversity of Men[']s Fancies in their allowance of Time to the Measure of this or that Mood', Common time, C, could be measured by:

the Motions or beats of a Clock, having a Pendulum or Swing of about Forty-three Inches long; most Clocks which have large square Dial-Plates have such Swings, every one of these Beats or Motions is the sixtieth Part of a Minute, which being suited to a Cro[t]chet, makes a fourth Part of one of these Measures.<sup>27</sup>

William Tans'ur recommended a slightly faster time, describing the 'Royal Standard' pendulum as measuring 39 and 2/10ths inches, but then three pages later in the same book, he suggested using one of about 30 inches long, and also provides a diagram of a pendulum to show the proportional string lengths (Diag. 6.1. below).<sup>28</sup> Tans'ur's first measurement was more accurate than Robinson: a modern pendulum tape measure marked with metronome speeds swings at 60 beats per minute at 37.75 inches.

Even if it were possible to set the tempo with a pendulum, the difficulty of maintaining a steady speed was perennial and nonconformists, unsurprisingly, encountered similar difficulties to Anglicans. In 1801 John Beaumont commented that 'drawling out the Notes beyond their due bounds' was a 'prevailing fault in most Congregations', partly because they did not understand time, and even among groups of singers, there were very few who sang and played 'exactly together' so that:

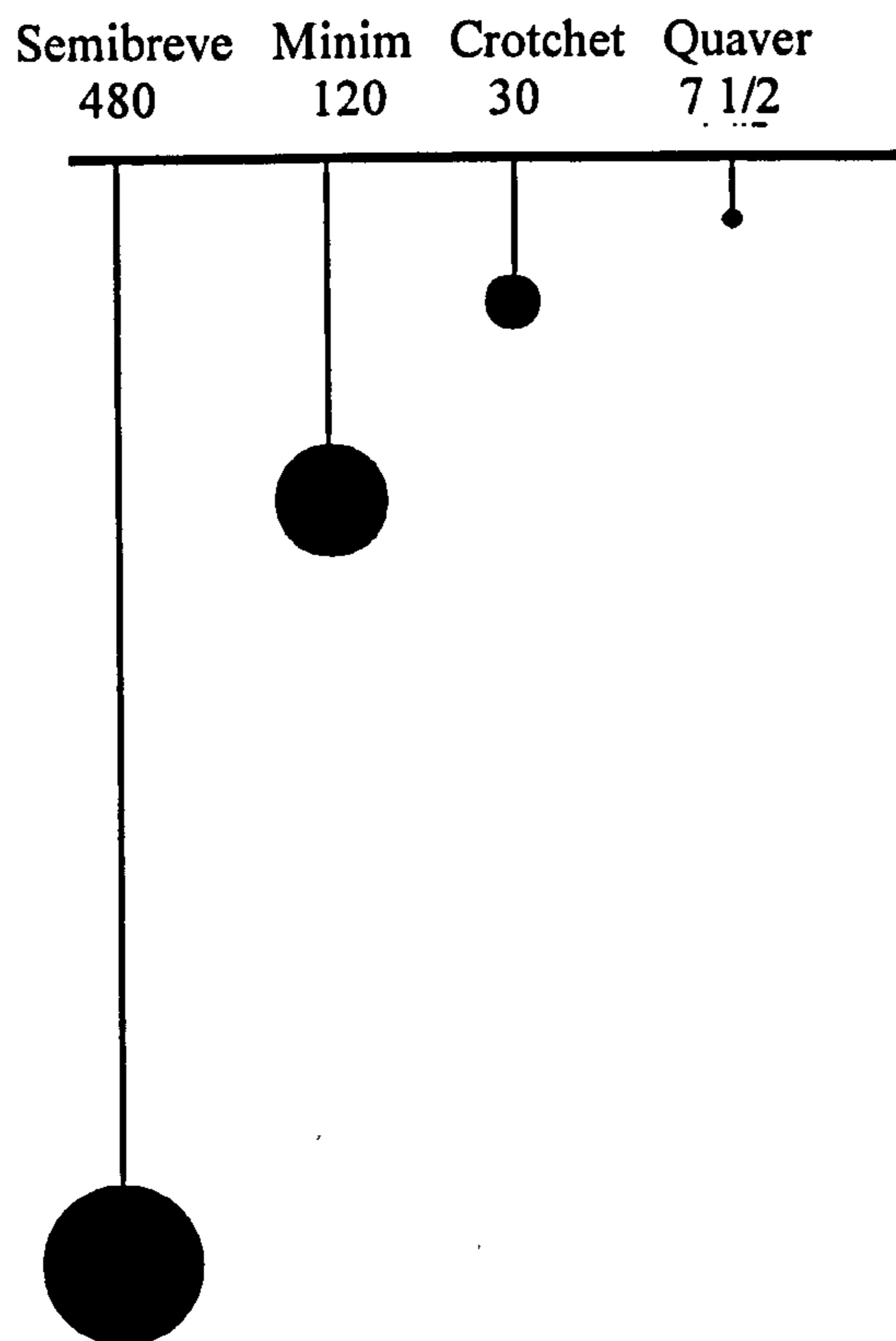
Wherever this defect prevails, it renders singing very unpleasant to the Congregation [...] Time well attended to, gives great energy to Music: without it, there can be no true spirit in performing. Hence Military Music proves so very animating; chiefly on account of the Time with which it is performed.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> D. Robinson, *An Essay upon Vocal Musick* (Nottingham, 1715), 16.

<sup>28</sup> W. Tans'ur, *A New Musical Grammar: or, the Harmonical Spectator* (London, 1746), 41, 44–45.

<sup>29</sup> J. Beaumont, *The New Harmonic Magazine, or Compendious Repository of Sacred Music* (London, 1801), 8.

**Diagram 6.1.** The proportional lengths of a pendulum in W. Tans'ur, *A New Musical Grammar: or, the Harmonical Spectator* (London, 1746), 45.



If the leading singers did manage to keep together, there could be still be uncertainty between verses. Isaac Smith was concerned about those who either started the next verse before the clerk or held on to the last note after he had finished, and suggested that the solution was for the clerk to ignore such irregularities and to deliberately count *one, two* between each verse, which would ‘add very much to the solemnity, and give time for the congregation to breathe’.<sup>30</sup> In 1819 William Cole still considered that unaccompanied singing usually resulted in the congregation following each other rather than the leader. One was ‘compelled to hear a number of voices striking the same note in succession’ and there was also a lack of adherence to the correct note lengths. In ‘many places’ one of the principal singers ‘beat the time’ or exhibited ‘some visible mark of its division’, but this was of little use unless the singers

<sup>30</sup> I. Smith, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes in Three Parts* (London, [1779–80]), 3–4.



could keep to the correct rhythm by themselves and in that case a conductor was unnecessary.<sup>31</sup>

### b. Time Signatures

Once some effort was made to adhere to note lengths, the meaning of time signatures became more important, especially since descriptive tempo directions such as Allegro or Lento were rarely used in psalmody books until the later eighteenth century. However, the precise meaning of time signatures around 1700 remained unclear, since traces of the old concept of proportional notation still lingered and compilers gave conflicting explanations. If students of psalmody read more than one theoretical introduction they must have been as bewildered as researchers are today.

In 1658 the third edition of Playford's *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (which may be the edition referred to by psalmody compilers because it also included psalm tunes for the first time) still described the 'Foure Moods or Proportions of Time', but noted that only the 'Imperfect of the More' and the 'Imperfect of the Less' were in common use for both voices and instruments. The Imperfect of the More (an example of which was wrongly headed 'The Perfect of the More') or triple time was marked  $\text{C}\underline{3}$  (the 3 is actually placed below), in which three minims equalled a dotted semibreve, or  $\text{3i}$ , in which there were three crotchets to a dotted minim. The Imperfect of the Less, 'Duple or Semibrief Time' or '*Common Time*, because most used', was marked  $\text{C}$ . However, no clear indication of an actual speed was included.<sup>32</sup> Playford used time signatures and modern bar lines in the section headed 'Hymns and Psalms [...] for [...] young Learners', but although time signatures were also used for 'Tunes of the Psalmes As they are commonly Sung in Parish-Churches', bar lines were only used to indicate new lines of text.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Cole, *Modern Psalmody* (1819), 5, 70.

<sup>32</sup> J. Playford, *A Brief Introduction To the Skill of Musick* (London, 3/1658), 25–30.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 44–48; 51–63.

Not all psalmody compilers discussed time signatures. Both Daniel Warner and Henry Hunt (who revised Warner's *Collection*) used time signatures in the actual music, but made no reference to them in their brief didactic introductions. Instead, they referred readers to Playford *Introduction* if they required more information.<sup>34</sup> Conversely, in 1686 William Rogers described time signatures, but did not include them in the music, perhaps because bar lines were only used to indicate the beginning of each line of text.<sup>35</sup>  $\text{C}$  indicated a speed of four crotchets counted in 'ordinary reading time', which should be beat 1, 2 with the hand up and 3, 4 with the hand down, and cut common retorted,  $\text{C}$ , should be twice as fast. Triple time,  $\text{C}3$ , should have a 'light and swifter motion as in *Jiggs* and *Airy Songs*' and indicated a dotted minim or three crotchets to a bar. This should be beat in one, the first bar with the hand up, the second with the hand down.  $\text{C}3$  could also be used for a dotted semibreve or six crotchets to a bar, but this should be beat in two, which would seem to describe compound duple rather than triple time. Three minims to a bar should also be beat as one, and the minims should be the same length as crotchets in common time.<sup>36</sup>

Two years later in 1688 Thomas Mathew, unlike Rogers, headed each tune with a time signature, but again only employed bar lines to show the division of the lines of text. He obviously did not think bar lines were important since he remarked that they were 'put by the Printer more oft than needful in some cases'. In the preface he described only two time signatures without specifying the length of beats, and used the near-obsolete terms favoured by Playford:  $\text{C}$ , the 'more usual slow time' 'dupla' or the 'imperfect of the less', with two minim beats to a bar; and  $\text{C}$ , the 'less usual swift' 'Tripla' or the 'imperfect of the more', in which a semibreve is divided into three minims.<sup>37</sup> The latter was used for 33 tunes, while the remaining 117 were in cut common time.

<sup>34</sup> D. Warner, *A Collection of some Verses out of the Psalms of David* (London, 1694), vi; H. Hunt, *A Collection of some Verses out of the Psalms of David* (London, 1698), vi.

<sup>35</sup> [W. Rogers], *A New and Easie Method To Learn to Sing by Book* (London, 1686), 49–53.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 49–51.

<sup>37</sup> M[athew], *Whole Book of Psalms* (1688), [xvii].



The anonymous compiler of *The Psalm-Singer's Necessary Companion* of 1700 also put time signatures in the music, and used bar lines to indicate the division of the text, even though words were not actually included. The three time signatures corresponded with Rogers, and were archaically described as 'Moods, or Proportions'. No indication of a basic tempo was specified, and they were interpreted slightly differently. Common time,  $\text{C}$ , lasted for two semibreves, i.e.  $4/2$  time, and not  $2/2$  as in Rogers, but similarly,  $\text{C}$  was twice as fast.  $\text{C}3$  denoted that three minims equalled a semibreve instead of the usual two, so it was half as fast again and should really be written as  $6/2$ .<sup>38</sup> One tune has no time signature, one is marked  $3/2$  although this is not explained in the introduction and eleven are in  $\text{C}3$ . The remainder are in cut common time.

In 1701 John Gaunt observed that  $\text{C}$  was the only one type of common time used in psalm singing, and referred back to Simpson, giving the same basic speed indication for a semibreve which should last as long as one may leisurely say '1, 2, 3, 4', but as already noted, he must have intended the singing to be very slow, since he advised singers to make a short rest between every two notes in order to take a breath. He does not comment on whether the same pauses should also occur in Triple time, which he marked  $3i$ , and which, unlike previous compilers, he described as twice as fast because a semibreve was equal to a minim in common time. He also explained that he did not use bar lines as they might 'Puzzle young Beginners', and, like Rogers, he suggested that beating time with the hand or foot was not necessary because psalm tunes moved by even notes.<sup>39</sup> (The use of time signatures in his music has not been discussed because the only known copy of his book is held in America and I have only been able to examine his preface.)

Elias Hall included three time signatures. Common time,  $\text{C}$  'slower', or  $\text{C}$  'swifter', and '*Tripla*'  $\text{C}3$ , in which, as before, a semibreve equalled three minims.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> *Necessary Companion* (1700).

<sup>39</sup> Gaunt, *Psalm-Singer's Guide* (1701), 8, 10.

<sup>40</sup> E. Hall, *The Psalm-Singers Compleat Companion* (London, 1708), 10.

Hall, as always, had his own views, which were probably shared by others who were also frustrated by the lack of uniformity in the meaning of time signatures:

*Common-time* (and why not *Tripla*?) is swifter or slower, the swifter marked as before[,] the slower, thus **C**. At Ps.104 is this *Mood*  $\frac{3}{2}$ , some say the slowest of *Tripla*'s, as much swifter than *Common-time*, say some, as 3 is to 2; But where the lesser Number is above, so much slower: And tho' some make no difference of  $\frac{3}{4}$ [,] **3i**, and  $\frac{3}{4}$ , yet why the Character should be changed and not the Quality of the Time, I know not; nor why all sorts of *Tripla*'s are swifter than *Common-time*, from the beginning it was not so: But antiquated *Authors* must not be follow'd.<sup>41</sup>

Hall's use of time signatures may explain his confusion, since it seems likely that he copied the music from a variety of sources. Most tunes are in cut common, but thirteen are unmarked, nine are in **C3**, five are in **3i**, one is in  $\frac{3}{2}$ , another is in **C3i** and three anthems by Croft are marked  $\frac{3}{4}$  although the music is in  $\frac{3}{2}$ .

The various editions of John and James Green's psalmody books, published over a period of about thirty years, show a gradual modification in the definition of time signatures. Their first extant book of 1713 gave the same meanings as William Rogers,<sup>42</sup> but five years later there were alterations to James Green's fourth edition.<sup>43</sup> Common time was still marked as **C** with two minim beats and was counted in a leisurely four as Simpson had recommended, but there were three types of triple time: **3**, which was twice as fast (a triple time semibreve was the equivalent of a common time minim);  $\frac{3}{4}$ , which was used for some anthems; and  $\frac{3}{2}$ , which was 'the slowest Triple-Time now in use', in which three minims equalled two in common time. As usual, common time was to be beat in minims, one down and one up and triple was two down, and one up.<sup>44</sup>

By the fifth edition of 1724, the triple time, **3**, had been omitted but the others remained the same,<sup>45</sup> whereas the tenth edition of 1744 included further changes, with a

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>42</sup> [Green], *Psalm-Tunes* (2/1713).

<sup>43</sup> [Green], (2/1713); Green, *Psalm-Tunes* (4/1718).

<sup>44</sup> Green, (4/1718), [vii, ix, x].

<sup>45</sup> J. Green *A Book of Psalm-Tunes* (London, 5/1724), [v].



more extensive introduction. 'Whole' common time, **C**, based on semibreves was described as a '*Quadruple proportion*'. This was equivalent to the older **♩**, in which a semibreve was as 'long as one may distinctly count, or leisurely read, One, Two, Three, Four'; **♩** was 'swifter'; and **♩** or **2**, 'was 'still more swift' and was 'counted the quickest Movement in *Common Time*'.<sup>46</sup> Triple time was also made up of 'Proportions'. **3/1**, 'Whole' triple time or three semibreves to a bar, was 'seldom or never used in Teaching'. **3/2**; 'Half' triple time' or '*Sesquialtera Proportion*' was one third faster than common time; and **3/4**, '*Three-quarter Time*' or '*Sesquitera Proportion*', should be sung 'quicker' than **3/2**. **3/8**, '*Half Three-quarter Time*', is described but no tempo is given and compound time signatures are also mentioned without explanation.<sup>47</sup>

Two other Midland psalmodists from the second decade of the eighteenth century disagreed with some of the definitions of time signatures given by John and James Green. George Sparrow, singing master of Radcliffe on Trent, Nottinghamshire, used the same explanation of **♩** as in Green's 1718 edition, but described **♩** more precisely as twice as fast. He also included **3** as an alternative for **3/2** and, like Green, he stated that three minims in this time equalled the length of a semibreve in common time,<sup>48</sup> (This seems to have been the most usual description of triple time at this date.) Another Nottinghamshire psalmodist, Daniel Robinson, provided more information. As noted, he supplied the first details of the length of a clock pendulum which, at least in theory, gave a basic tempo for **C** of  $\text{♩} = 60$ . This provided a basis for other common time signatures. The most usual, **♩**, should be 'about a third' quicker than **C**, i.e.  $\text{♩} = 80$ , and **♩** or **2**, should be twice as fast as **C**, i.e.  $\text{♩} = 120$ . He was less specific regarding triple time. The slowest was **C3**, or **2/3** (which is probably a misprint of **3/2**) and the 'other sort' was **31** or **3/4**, but he included no tempo information except that 'in both of these the Notes are sung not much differently from those belonging to the middle sort of Common-Time, tho' I presume the latter of these is generally sung a little quicker than

<sup>46</sup> J. Green. *A Book of Psalmody* (London, 10/1744), 5-6, also in (London, 11/1751).

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 7-8.

<sup>48</sup> G. Sparrow, *An Introduction to Psalmody* (Nottingham, [1710-19]), 8.

the former'. More unusually, he also described compound time; 'six Cro[t]chets, or six quavers in a Measure' should be beat half a bar down and half up and the crotchets in 6/4 should be about the same speed as those in  $\Phi$ , i.e.  $\downarrow = 120$ .<sup>49</sup>

There were more changes about ten years later in nearby Derbyshire. Robert Barber of Castleton who, with his brother John, had previously plagiarised John Chetham's preface, provided a new introduction in dialogue to his second publication, *The Psalm Singer's Choice Companion*, subtitled *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Musick*.<sup>50</sup> He included the expected common time signatures: **C**, a leisurely one, two, three, four;  $\mathcal{C}$ , swifter; and  $\Phi$  or **2**, twice as fast as **C**. However, he defined the quickest triple time as **3**, three quavers to a bar (the equivalent of  $\frac{3}{8}$ ), or, more unusually, **3i**, one dotted minim to a bar. He also discussed compound time, stating that one bar of 6/4 equalled one bar of **C**, which is slower than Daniel Robinson suggested, for if  $\downarrow = 60$  in **C**, then  $\downarrow = 90$  in 6/4.<sup>51</sup>

Similar advice continued to be given in the mid eighteenth century. In 1765, John Arnold still advocated using a pendulum clock to beat seconds and described **C** time as 'Adagio, Very Slow' as used in 'ancient Psalm-Tunes' and 'Diapason-Pieces' in organ voluntaries, whereas  $\mathcal{C}$ , 'Allegro, quick', was twice as fast and was suitable for anthems or for 'Cornet' or 'Trumpet' pieces.<sup>52</sup>

The eventual understanding was that the slowest common time, **C**, often described as Adagio, equalled one crotchet per second; the next,  $\mathcal{C}$ , Largo, was half as quick again; and Retorted time,  $\Phi$ , Allegro, was twice as fast as Adagio.<sup>53</sup> Descriptions of triple time are more varied and William Tans'ur sensibly advised that although the different types of triple time may be compared to those of quadruple, a suitable tempo is better judged by the main subject of the words. He also suggested that triple time

<sup>49</sup> D. Robinson, *An Essay upon Vocal Musick* (Nottingham, 1715), 15–17, 21–22.

<sup>50</sup> (London, 1727).

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 12–13.

<sup>52</sup> J. Arnold, *Church Music Reformed: or the Art of Psalmody* (London, 1765), xiii.

<sup>53</sup> Examples include U. Davenport, *The Psalm-Singer's Pocket Companion* (London, 1755), x; B. West, *Sacra Concerto: or, the Voice of Melody* (London, 1760), xi.



signatures should be modified by putting the appropriate common-time signature before them, or at least by indicating the tempo with either Adagio, Largo or Allegro.<sup>54</sup> Modern performers need to be aware of the gradual increase in tempo during the first half of the eighteenth century. It is significant that it was impossible to find a really slow recording of a plain psalm tune, and one had to be made especially for this dissertation (CD 1, MA 1).

### c. Tempo Indications

Although tempo markings are rare in early psalmody, this does not necessarily mean that composers and compilers wanted all the music to be sung in the same slow unrhythmical manner, though if the text was lined out they would have had little choice. In 1621 Thomas Ravenscroft directed singers to observe three rules: 'Psalmes of Tribulation *be sung with a low voice and long measure*'; 'Psalmes of Thanksgiving *be sung with a voice indifferent, neither too loud, nor too soft, and with a measure neither too swift nor too slow*'; and 'Psalmes of Rejoycing *be sung with a loude voice, a swift and jocund measure*'.<sup>55</sup> Despite the generally slow speed of psalm singing by the end of the seventeenth century, other psalmodists thought Ravenscroft's instructions worth repeating, although Elias Hall seems to have made a copying error, because he stated that psalms of tribulation should be sung with a 'loud' not a 'low' voice.<sup>56</sup>

Other psalmodists included more general information on appropriate speeds. Daniel Warner described the tunes in his *Collection* as 'neither swift nor slow, but of a fit mean between Dulness and Precipitancy'.<sup>57</sup> This was not necessarily helpful since, unlike some other compilers, he provided no indication of how fast they should be sung and merely referred readers to Playford's *Introduction to the Skill of Musick*.

<sup>54</sup> Tans'ur, *New Musical Grammar* (1746), 40.

<sup>55</sup> T. Ravenscroft, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes: with the Hymnes Evangelicall, and the Songs Spirituall* (London, 1621), [iv].

<sup>56</sup> Hall, *Compleat Companion* (1708), 10.

One reason for singing the music at a quicker tempo was that more verses could be included. George Whitefield wrote: 'I think three or four Stanzas with a Doxology, are sufficient to be sung at one Time. – I am no great Friend to long Sermons, long Prayers or long Hymns. – They generally weary instead of edifying'.<sup>58</sup> Isaac Smith chose tunes that were 'chiefly in a quick movement' for his *Collection* because such tunes were 'generally sung the best' and because, as Isaac Watts had observed, they could therefore sing longer psalms. Smith quoted Watts directly:

It were to be wished [...] that we might not dwell so long on every note, and produce the syllables to such a tiresome extent with constant uniformity of tone; which disgraces the Music, and puts the congregation quite out of breath in singing five or six stanzas'.<sup>59</sup>

In 1801 John Beaumont was still concerned about slow singing:

Singing too slow, is another Evil I must mention; not that every Tune should be sung quick, but according to the Modulation of the Air: Yet, in general, I venture to say, most Tunes are sung too slow in Congregations. Owing to this, in most Country Churches, the Singing is remarkably dull and heavy [...] for the sake of Animation and Spirit, I would recommend rather too quick than too slow Singing: and from my own knowledge have Observed, that the former extreme has given less dissatisfaction than the latter'.<sup>60</sup>

William Cole, however, disagreed and noted that, although in the early 1700s the music in 'almost every worshipping assembly' was too slow with 'every note being extended to a disagreeable and tedious length', a hundred years later it had 'fallen into the contrary extreme' with singers 'running over their notes with too much rapidity'. He

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<sup>57</sup> D. Warner, *A Collection of some Verses out of the Psalms of David* (London, 1694), vi.

<sup>58</sup> G. Whitefield, *Hymns for Social Worship [...] for the Use of the Tabernacle Congregation, in London* (London, 1753, [i]).

<sup>59</sup> I. Smith, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes in Three Parts* (London, [1779–80]), 6.

<sup>60</sup> J. Beaumont, *The New Harmonic Magazine, or Compendious Repository of Sacred Music* (London, 1801), 10.



preferred a medium speed but thought it 'very proper to vary the rate of time according to the subject, and tendency of the words'.<sup>61</sup>

#### d. Tempo Changes

Many anthems and set pieces include time signature changes, which would have created some variety, providing that the performer could distinguish their meaning and also observed the necessary alteration to the speed. Unusually, one anthem, 'Hear my pray'r O Lord', in John Chetham's *Book of Psalmody*, which includes four time changes (**3/4**, **C**, **3/4**, **C**, **3/4**) marks the first two triple time passages 'Slow'.<sup>62</sup> This may have been taken from the original source, although there are no other tempo markings in this edition. However, a later version of the same anthem in the sixth edition of Chetham has the same time signatures but no tempo markings.<sup>63</sup>

As has been discussed, most psalmodists had their own views on the meaning of time signatures, but they may also have intended further differentiation within pieces. Thomas Billington stated that although he had used the same time signatures for both verses and choruses, i.e. **C**, or **3/2**, they must be counted 'slow' in the verses and 'somewhat faster' in the choruses.<sup>64</sup>

## Keys

Temperament at this period was unequal and difference between specific keys and between major and minor tonality in general would have been more obvious. Edmund Ireland echoed Ravenscroft when he directed that 'All *Psalms*, or *Hymns* of Praise and Thanksgiving should be Sung to sharp *Tunes*, also *Psalms* and *Hymns* of Mournful,

<sup>61</sup> Cole, *Modern Psalmody* (1819), 70–71.

<sup>62</sup> 'Anthem VIII, Psalm 39, v.13–15', J. Chetham, *A Book of Psalmody*, (London, [1717]), 99–104.

<sup>63</sup> 'Anthem V, Psalm 39, v.13–15', J. Chetham, *A Book of Psalmody* ([London?], 6/1741), 115–122.

<sup>64</sup> T. Billington, *The Te Deum, Jubilate, Magnificat & Nunc Dimittis*, op.11, (London, [1784]), 4.

Penitential Expressions are to be Sung to the flat Tunes'.<sup>65</sup> Comparison of the tunes he specified confirms that 'sharp' tunes are all in major keys and 'flat' tunes are all minor. Robert Bennet made a similar distinction when he described major tunes as 'cheerful' and minor as 'Melancholy soft and sweet'.<sup>66</sup> (It is noticeable that after 1800 far fewer tunes were composed in minor keys even if they were linked with a sorrowful text such as a funeral hymn.) John Arnold also discussed the characteristics of different keys noting that A minor is 'very pleasant', whereas G minor is 'very dull'; C major is 'sprightly', but D major is 'more sprightly'; and A major is 'more sprightly' than G major. The latter is 'very well known by most Performers, and is frequently used', while D major is 'much in Request amongst our Instrumental Performers'.<sup>67</sup>

## Pitch

Although it may seem obvious today, John Chetham still thought it necessary to warn tenors and basses when pitching their notes to be 'satisfied that the Sounds are truly harmonick, before more Parts be added, for if any Part be pitched false, tho' less than a quarter of a Note, it creates an untunable Jarring amongst all the rest'.<sup>68</sup> It must have been much more difficult to acquire a good sense of pitch when tunes could be sung at a different pitch each time and even a pitchpipe might not be in tune with itself, or with other instruments to which a singer might have access, since the overall pitch of these could also vary.

If singing is unaccompanied two particular problems with pitching occur. First, it is necessary to find the correct pitch and second, this must then be maintained. Since support by organs or other instruments was uncommon until the latter part of the

<sup>65</sup> E. Ireland, *The Most Useful Tunes of the Psalms* (York, 2/1713), 10.

<sup>66</sup> R. Bennet, *The Psalm-Singer's Necessary Companion* (London, 1718), 26.

<sup>67</sup> J. Arnold, *The Compleat Psalmist* (London, 5/1761), xvi-xvii.



eighteenth century, singers had to find other means by which to learn the notes of the scale and then pitch a starting note.

### a. Pitching

Because the tenor carried the tune, its starting note would usually be pitched first by the choir leader or another singer appointed to the task and the other voices would then find their own notes of the first chord. In 1741 John Arnold seems to have been unsure as to who should be responsible. Initially he stated 'let the Leader of the Tenor pitch the key', but then a few pages later he changed his mind and he noted 'Let the Bass give Sound of all other Parts first'. The issue was perhaps resolved in favour of the former because Arnold included a definition of 'Intonation' in the musical dictionary at the end of his introduction: 'a term commonly set a the Beginning of a Tune, which signifies the giving of a Tone, or Sound of the Key to the rest of the Quire, which is commonly done by the Leader of the Tenor'.<sup>69</sup>

Instructions for pitching were initially rather imprecise. In the third edition of his *Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, John Playford provided singers with '*Some few Directions for ordering the Voyce*', so that they could perform the psalm tunes which he had added in this edition:

First observe how many *Notes* Compass the *Tune* is, next the place of your first Note, and how many above and below him, that thereby you may give the Tune of your first note so as the rest may be sung in the Compass of the Voyce, 'without *Squeaking* above, or *grumbling* below'.<sup>70</sup>

Playford's suggestion seems to have been widely adopted,<sup>71</sup> since it was repeated in numerous later didactic introductions, either as a direct quotation or paraphrased. For

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<sup>68</sup> J. Chetham, *A Book of Psalmody*, ([1717]), [viii].

<sup>69</sup> J. Arnold, *The Compleat Psalmist* (London, 1741), 10, 16, 30.

<sup>70</sup> Playford, *Introduction* (3/1758), 44–63.

<sup>71</sup> American shape-note singers pitch tunes in the same way today.

instance, James Green noted that tunes should be pitched so that the '*Bassus* may not be put to grumble or be quite struck dumb, nor the highest Parts made to squeak or rise higher than the Singers Voices will reach with ease'.<sup>72</sup>

However, this method only provided a rough guide and it implies that there was no real concept of relating the place of notes on the stave with an exact pitch. Playford certainly did not expect singers to keep to a fixed pitch since he recommended that seven psalm tunes would 'bear a cheerful high pitch' because their compass did not exceed five or six notes, whereas six others with a range of eight or nine notes needed to be pitched lower. He also noted that because two out of four more tunes which also had a range of an octave started on the fourth, they too could be pitched higher.<sup>73</sup> If singers were free to choose the pitch of a tune, which might vary on each occasion when they sang it, it must have been difficult for them to establish an accurate sense of pitch. Even if they were successful, there must have been many local variants, since it is unlikely that each choir would choose exactly the same basic pitch.

Several psalmody compilers agreed with Playford and were equally unconcerned about maintaining a fixed pitch. Thomas Bray suggested that it was better to err by 'setting a Note too high, because you will then be certain to give a full scope for a Base to be sung, and a cheerful Pitch do's ever nearest answer the Ends of Musicik in Devotion'.<sup>74</sup> Thomas Moore disagreed and observed that tunes were more likely to be pitched too high, which might explain the references to shrill singing by some critics,<sup>75</sup> whereas William Cole thought that some tunes were pitched either too high or too low for some of the congregation. They could not sing all the words 'thus rendering the sense as unconnected, and imperfect as the sound'. Occasionally the tune had to be

<sup>72</sup> Green, *Psalm-Tunes* (4/1718), [xiv].

<sup>73</sup> Playford, *Introduction* (3/1758), [50].

<sup>74</sup> [Bray], *Collec[tion of Psalms, Proper to be Sung at Churches* (London, 1704), 11.



restarted at a more acceptable pitch, although he added that this had improved since the introduction of the pitchpipe.<sup>76</sup>

In some psalmody books pitching notes were given at the beginning of each tune to help singers, based on intervals from the tonic of the first chord. John Arnold included starting notes for all parts in his psalm tunes, except for the tenor who would choose the initial pitch. For instance, the instructions for the first psalm are 'Contra 5th', 'Treble 8th' and 'Bassus Unison'.<sup>77</sup> John Chetham stated that all the psalm tunes in his *Book of Psalmody* began with the treble an octave above the tenor, the medius a fifth above and the bass in unison or an octave below, unless marked by numbers.<sup>78</sup> Curiously, however, on the first treble note of three tunes he added the keynote as a chord under the fifth, although in the first and last instances he also included the number five over the upper note.<sup>79</sup> James Green also provided pitching notes of unison, a third, a fifth, or an octave from the tenor for Psalm 1: 'Treble. An 8th above the first Note of the Tenor'; 'Contra. A 5th above the pitch of the Tenor'; 'Bassus. Unison. That is the 1st Note upon the same Key, with the 1st Note in the Tenor'.<sup>80</sup> After the first tune Green limited his explanation to the required interval, but from his eighth edition of 1734 onwards, he noted that a few tunes should be pitched from the bass, because otherwise they would apparently have needed to be pitched a fourth or sixth from the tenor.<sup>81</sup>

### b. Choice of Pitch

By the middle of the eighteenth century there seems to have been a greater awareness of the need for a standard pitch and Arnold thought it 'highly necessary' that singers

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<sup>75</sup> T. Moore, *The Psalm Singer's Compleat Tutor and Divine Companion*, i (London, 2/1750), 24. No first edition is known.

<sup>76</sup> Cole, *Modern Psalmody* (1819), 10.

<sup>77</sup> Arnold, *Compleat Psalmist* (1741), book III, p.1.

<sup>78</sup> J. Chetham, *Book of Psalmody* ([1717]), [viii].

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, Psalm XCVIII, 28; Psalm CXXVI, 60; Psalm CXLVIII, 68.

<sup>80</sup> Green, *Psalm-Tunes* (4/1718), 1.

<sup>81</sup> J. Green, *A Book of Psalmody* (London, 8/1734), [vi].

should use the set 'Concert Keys', since they are 'always played on the Organ, Harpsichord, and all other Instruments'. Tunes would then be pitched correctly so that 'all the Voices may perform their Parts clear and strong. It would be a 'great Advantage to Learners, by giving them the true Sound of Key'.<sup>82</sup>

William Tans'ur commented on the raising of pitch in the mid 1800s: 'our *new Consort-Pitch* is [...] fitter for *Vocal Performance* than the old *Consort-Pitch*, which is half a *Tone* lower'.<sup>83</sup> This would still be approximately a semitone lower than today's standard pitch of A = 440. Old consort pitch, which was used particularly for eighteenth century wind instruments was A = 408 and new consort pitch, which became the normal pitch for church organs until the nineteenth century, was A = 425.<sup>84</sup> There seems to be no particular reason why Tans'ur made this observation, except that he was interested in all aspects of musical mechanics. He does not seem to have thought it necessary for all tunes to be sung in their printed key. In *The Royal Melody Compleat* he included a list of the tunes with key notes, so that they could be pitched by a 'Consort' pitchpipe, if there were no organ, or other instrument.<sup>85</sup> Out of 61 tunes, eighteen remained the same; two were down a tone; twelve down a semitone; fourteen up a semitone and twelve up a tone. More surprisingly, one, ST KATHERINE'S TUNE,<sup>86</sup> was to be transposed up a perfect fourth, but this may have been an engraver's error mistaking a C for a G, for the original range of the tenor from *e'* to *e''* seems quite appropriate. Two other tunes were also to be altered by more than a tone. ST LUKE'S TUNE was down a minor third making the tenor *e'* to *d''*,<sup>87</sup> but ST PAUL'S TUNE was apparently to be sung a minor third higher,<sup>88</sup> which

<sup>82</sup> Arnold, *Compleat Psalmodist*, (5/1761), xvi-xvii.

<sup>83</sup> W. Tans'ur, *A New Musical Grammar: or, the Harmonical Spectator* (London, 1746), 57.

<sup>84</sup> B. Haynes, 'Pitch I, 2, vi', *GMO*, ed. L. Macy (2001).

<sup>85</sup> W. Tans'ur, *The Royal Melody Compleat, or, The New Harmony of Sion*, (London, 1755), [253-54].

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid*, 74.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid*, 104-105.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*, 120-121.



would have made the tenor range  $f\#$  to  $g''$ . This may be another mistake as the key is E minor, and if one only looked at the key signature it would be easy to read it as G major.

Other compilers also included key notes which did not necessarily correspond with the actual key of the tune. For example, Isaac Smith placed them at the beginning of each piece in his *Collection of Psalm Tunes*. Out of 88 pieces, just over two-thirds remain unaltered, but 24 are raised by a semitone and only three are lowered, also by a semitone.<sup>89</sup> In Stephen Addington's *Collection* pitch transpositions are also usually small, and up rather than down. There are 196 pieces, of which nearly half remain unaltered, 39 move up a semitone, 37 up a tone, five up tone and a half, nine down a semitone, ten down a tone, and one down a tone and a half.<sup>90</sup> The transposition by a tone and a half is for DENBIGH,<sup>91</sup> a three-part set piece by Martin Madan. This was written for use at the Lock Hospital, where, as has already been discussed in Ch.4, the men and women in the congregation sang both upper parts an octave apart with organ accompaniment.

Addington's version differs slightly from the original because there are note changes to both the middle part and the bass, and he presumably intended it to be sung unaccompanied in three parts, since the bass is unfigured. His pitching note transposes it from G major down to the original key of E, but his reasons for printing it in the higher key rather than in the lower original remain unclear.<sup>92</sup> Even when transposed down to E, it may still have caused problems for some singers because of its wide range. The middle part on the top stave, which, in this arrangement, would probably have been sung by countertenors or tenors an octave lower than written, is  $d'\#$  to  $f''\#$ , the air which would have been sung by trebles and / or tenors is  $b$  to  $g''\#$  and the bass is  $E$  to  $b$ .

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<sup>89</sup> Smith, *Psalm Tunes* ([1779–80]).

<sup>90</sup> S. Addington *A Collection of Psalm Tunes for Publick Worship* (London, 6/1786).

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid*, 117–118.

<sup>92</sup> He may have copied from an unknown intermediate source in G major.

The transposition of another set piece, CHESHUNT, is more surprising and is probably a mistake (see Ch.4, MA 38).<sup>93</sup> It is set in D minor (the key of the original), but the pitching note is given as F and if this transposition were used, it would take the air up to *b*" flat.

Maintaining pitch could also be problematic. As early as 1676 Thomas Mace urged singers to keep pitch, but at the same time commented that even the 'most curious, tractablest, and best accomplish'd Voice, adjoyned to the most exact Ear' could not keep in tune for 'the length of one of our ordinary Church-Psalms [...] without the assistance of some Instrument'. This was especially difficult 'when the Key shall be given him from another person, as always the Psalm-Tunes are (in Churches) given by the Clarks'.<sup>94</sup> Consequently, the slow speed of psalm singing must have had a detrimental effect on pitch as well as on rhythm. Mace suggested using an organ so that the 'whole Congregation will be drawn (or as it were compell'd) into Harmonical unity',<sup>95</sup> but this was an impracticable and unaffordable solution for most provincial churches until the 1800s.

Isaac Smith held the same opinion as Mace and observed that 'in tunes of slow movements' the key was frequently changed, either because people did not have a good ear, or because people with strong voices, 'being weakened by dwelling so long on every note, drop from the key by a semi-tone, and sometimes more'. The rest of the congregation would also lose pitch because they could not hear the clerk, creating an 'unpleasant dissonance'.<sup>96</sup>

Another nonconformist, William Cole, agreed. He commented that, when the singing was led by the 'clerk or some one person appointed to sing the principal

<sup>93</sup> Ibid, 121-123.

<sup>94</sup> T. Mace, *Musick's Monument; or, a Remembrancer of the Best Practical Musick* (London, 1676), 6.

<sup>95</sup> Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London, 1676), 9.

<sup>96</sup> Smith, *Psalm Tunes* ([1779-80]), 6.



melody', they seldom had a sufficiently strong or musical voice to maintain pitch and even if the singing was led by a few voices, these would 'not always distinguishable'. They would be outnumbered by the congregation, who copied each other, especially as there were 'many persons who, having acquired some imperfect idea of the tune', were 'very fond of exhibiting their supposed talents'. Consequently, it was not uncommon 'to hear one part of a congregation singing a semitone flatter, or a semitone sharper, than the other part', and the leaders of the singing were also more likely to sing out of tune as they endeavoured to maintain the pitch.<sup>97</sup> He also considered that singers needed to learn to sing in tune, preferably with a 'good organ', so that 'the ear would be accustomed to hear legitimate and correct sounds, of which, without assistance, it is incapable of judging'. Because of this, if an organ was not available it was important to 'practice with those, *and with those only*, who do sing correctly'. Even if a person could sing in tune, they should still take care, since they could 'imperceptibly degenerate into the same incorrect habit' as poor singers.<sup>98</sup>

### c. Other Methods of Pitching

Although most psalmodists suggested that the best way to learn to sing in tune was to have a good teacher, other means could also be employed. Daniel Robinson presumed that there were 'but few Places so barren of Musick, as to afford none who can touch the Violin, Flute, or some other kind of Instrument' and who could, therefore, help a student by playing the exercises for pitching intervals. However, he also recommended that a keyboard instrument such as a virginal or harpsichord was preferable for learning to pitch a chromatic scale.<sup>99</sup> Robert Bennet also recommended a violin,<sup>100</sup> as did John

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<sup>97</sup> Cole, *Modern Psalmody* (1819), 4–5, 10–12.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 68–69.

<sup>99</sup> Robinson, *Vocal Musick* (1715), 25, 38.

<sup>100</sup> R. Bennet, *The Psalm-Singer's Necessary Companion* (London, 1718), 17.

Church, who added, practically that a string should be stopped an inch up for a tone, or half an inch for a semitone.<sup>101</sup>

In 1686, William Rogers had noted that it was more usual to learn to pitch from the 'Voice of one skill'd in *Music*' than from 'some tuned Instrument that hath Frets or Keys', but he also included directions on how to pitch using a 'Bass-Viol'.<sup>102</sup> The letters *a* to *h* should first be written on the frets of the viol in 'Pen or Pencil', and then (although a viol is normally tuned in fourths), one should:

tune the fifth String (or biggest save one) to a convenient pitch for a low note; then wind up the fourth String 'till it be *Unison*, or the same sound stop'd with your Finger on the *h* Fret; so will these two Strings be in Tune for the expressing of eight Notes.

After tuning the strings a perfect fifth apart, the would-be singer was then advised on how to bow a major scale using the frets on these two strings.<sup>103</sup> While this would have given a basic idea of the relative distance from one note to the next, Rogers did not think it necessary to recommend a standard pitch, presumably because he only intended the bass viol to be used as a learning tool rather than to actually accompany the psalmody.<sup>104</sup>

#### d. Instrumental Tuning

Once the psalmody was accompanied by instruments the overall pitch would presumably become more stable, but there may still have been tuning problems. Thomas Billington complained about flute players who tuned with their head up and then played with their head down, which altered the pitch by a quarter of a tone (a

<sup>101</sup> J. Church, *An Introduction to Psalmody* (London, [1723]), 13.

<sup>102</sup> [Rogers], *New and Easie Method* (1686).

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 43–44.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.



perennial problem even today).<sup>105</sup> Also, when more than one instrument was used they may have been made at different pitches. For instance, some woodwind instruments by makers such as Bressan and Cahusac were tuned to old consort pitch, whereas others were made to sound a semitone higher. Both wind and stringed instruments could alter the basic pitch to some extent, but this affected the relative tuning of wind instruments with holes.

Once an organ was brought into the equation there might be even more problems, since its tuning was also predetermined and might differ from other instruments. Rogers was concerned that instruments with 'fixed Stops' would 'seem out of Tune' when lessons were 'played in a wrong Key',<sup>106</sup> and until the middle of the nineteenth century, English organ builders such as Willis, were still using modified meantone temperament. In 1844, a correspondent to *The Wesleyan Methodist Association Magazine* expressed concern that congregations sang less strongly when accompanied by a violoncello or organ. They tried to sing in tune with them but 'They seldom play in perfect tune, some of them never do so' and, in particular, 'If the organ is not *enharmonic*, and very few, if any, yet employed in Churches or Chapels are *enharmonic*—no organist living can make the instrument give *correct intonation* in ALL keys'.<sup>107</sup>

## Pitching Instruments

### a. Psalterers

On 27 June 1699, an advertisement appeared in *The Postboy* for 'A Book of Directions to Play the Psalmody, an instrument invented by John Playford, adapted to the tunes in

<sup>105</sup> T. Billington, *Te Deum* (London, [1784]), 3.

<sup>106</sup> [Rogers], *New and Easie Method* (1686), [viii].

<sup>107</sup> C.J.K., 'Congregational Singing', *The Wesleyan Methodist Association Magazine*, 7 (1844), 235–36.

use in all churches' together with instructions.<sup>108</sup> This may be the book called *The Psalmody* which, according to Susi Jeans,<sup>109</sup> was advertised in the 1699 and 1700 editions of John Playford's *Whole Book of Psalms*.<sup>110</sup> The advertisements apparently described the book as containing plain and easy instructions for playing psalm tunes by letters instead of notes, but neither the instrument nor the book is known to have survived. Temperley has suggested that if it was invented by John Playford it must have existed before 1687, the year of his death,<sup>111</sup> but it could still have been constructed at a later date even if it were his original idea.

The 'Psalmody' may have been similar, or even identical to an unnamed nine-stringed instrument described by Richard Jones in 1705.<sup>112</sup> This 'small' instrument enabled 'any Man, without pestr'ing his Brains with *Crotchets* and *Quavers*, or putting himself to the Charge of a Musick-Master' to 'easily Sing any of the Psalms whatsoever'. Jones provides no details of how this instrument was constructed, nor the octave to which it should be tuned, although he did explain that the strings were lettered from *f* to *g'* a ninth above. No sharps or flats were used in conjunction with the letters, but tunes were to be prefaced by a sharp or flat sign depending on whether the third was sharp or flat. According to a tuning chart listing whole and half notes, the sharp key was G major with a sharpened F, and the flat key was G minor with B and E flats but no sharpened seventh. Ingeniously, the length of notes could also be indicated by the number of letter names which were 'hooked together'. The instrument was to be played 'by striking the String' with a 'small piece of Wood'. Provision was made for a 'shake', 'do but just touch the String next above the Mark with the end of your Stick, and let

<sup>108</sup> M. Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces', *RMARC*, 1 (1961), 29.

<sup>109</sup> S. Jeans, 'The Psalterer', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 39 (1986), 2-4.

<sup>110</sup> The advertisements are not in the EECO copies of these editions, although both contain other advertisements for music books printed for Henry Playford.

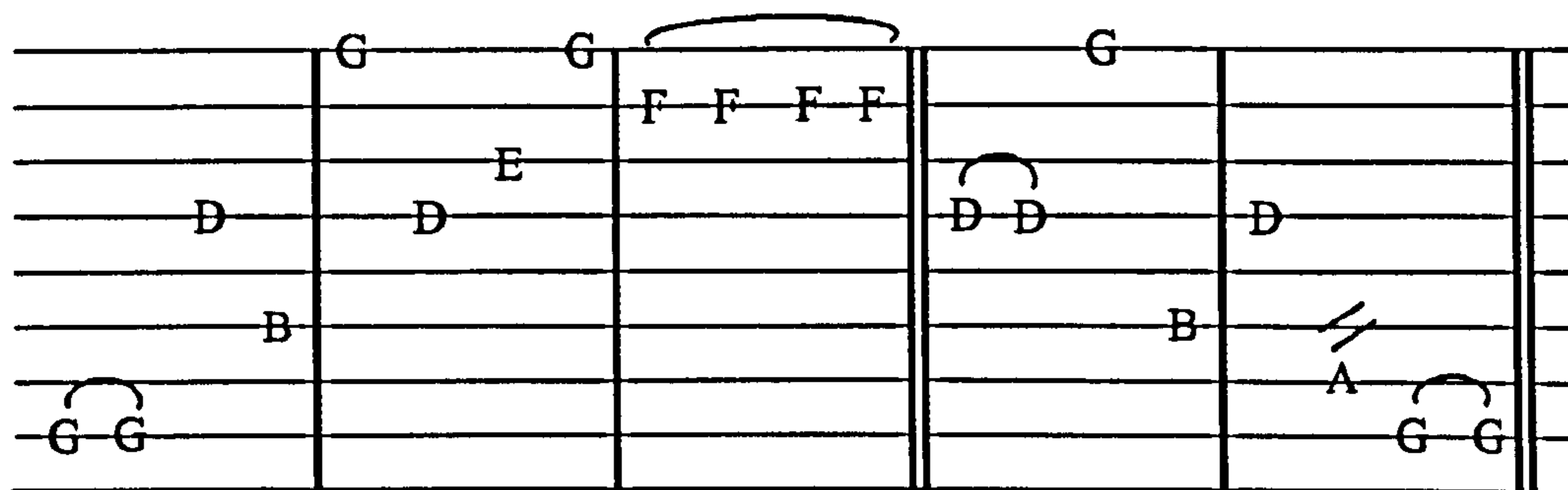
<sup>111</sup> Temperley, *MEPC* (1979), I, 148.

<sup>112</sup> [R. Jones], *Facillima and Novissima, Methodus Canendi Psalmos: The Most New and Easy Method of Singing the Psalms* (London, 1705). No author is given on the title-page, but the dedication is signed 'Rich. Jones'. It was designed to be 'Bound up with the *Old and New Version*' of the psalms, and was printed, perhaps coincidentally, by Henry Playford, who also sold his brother John's *Book of Psalms*.

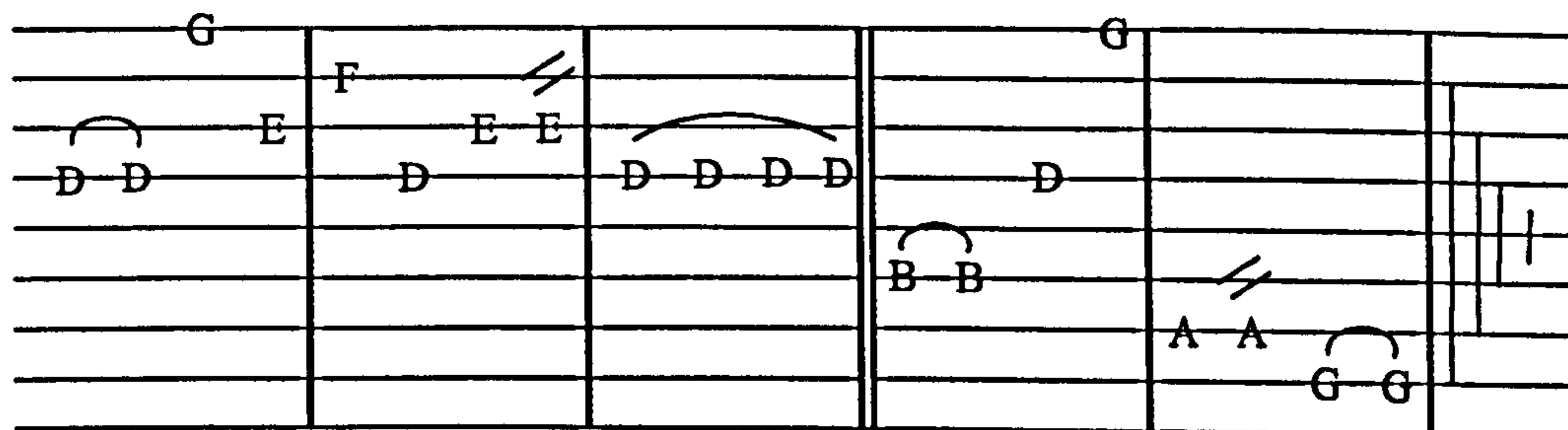


it fall upon the String under it pretty strong', and an x which indicated that 'you must strike the String over which it stands as light as possible'. Jones included one tune example, an untitled version of LONDON NEW complete with trills (Diag. 6.2.).

**Diagram 6.2.** LONDON NEW from [R. Jones], *Facillima and Novissima, Methodus Canendi Psalmos: The Most New and Easy Method of Singing the Psalms* (London, 1705).



Ye peo-ple all with one ac - cord, clap Hands and much re - joice.



Be glad and sing un - to the Lord, and sweet and plea-sant Voice.

The instrument could be bought for six shillings and the playing instructions for three pence.<sup>113</sup> However, no further reference to it has been discovered and there is no mention of any other music in this format which might also be available.

Descriptions of two other stringed instruments, also designed to assist with learning psalm tunes, were both published in the 1720s. W. Sherwin provided precise directions for making a fretted one-stringed instrument, again un-named, which

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 10-15.

consisted of a 'long Box, without a Bottom', although he did not describe whether it should be plucked or bowed.<sup>114</sup> The psalm tunes included in the book suggest that it was played using normal notation not letters, and that it could be tuned 'so as to suit your Voice'.<sup>115</sup> Susi Jeans has noted that the placing of the frets were 'as close to equal temperament as possible with the given number of decimal places'.<sup>116</sup> Unusually, Sherwin acknowledged that he had taken most of his tunes from Playford, and some instructions from *A New and Easy Method to learn to sing by Book*. This was published in 1686 by an anonymous author who can now be identified as William Rogers. Sherwin had been given a copy of this book about thirty years previously by the 'Reverend Mr. John Rastrick, Minister of the Gospel at Lyn-Regis in Norfolk', who had also made the one-stringed instrument for him and who perhaps based it on Rogers' instructions on how to pitch using a bass viol. Rastrick was ordained as an Anglican before becoming a Presbyterian minister in Kings Lynn.<sup>117</sup> It would be informative to know whether he used this instrument to train singers in church.

In 1729 James Leman published *A New Method of Learning Psalm-Tunes with an Instrument of Musick call'd the Psalterer*,<sup>118</sup> which he hoped would enable parish clerks to learn tunes correctly and prevent them mixing them together. He even envisaged it being used by singers to play either the bass or the treble while singing the other part. He does not give any construction details, but his psalterer was fretted with two strings, which were to be tuned an octave apart to G 'in consort Pitch', using a 'small Pipe of that Note or Tone' if necessary. It could also be tuned higher or lower, if it was being used for singing as well as playing. It was to be played from letter tablature

<sup>114</sup> W. S[herwin], *An Help To the Singing Psalm-Tunes by the Book* (London, 1725), 21–31. Temperley has noted that his last name is thought to be Sherwin (*MEPC*, I, 148).

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>116</sup> Jeans, 'The Psalterer' (1986), 10.

<sup>117</sup> J. A. Oddy, 'Rastrick, John (1650–1727)', *ODNB Online*, ed. L. Goldman (2004).

<sup>118</sup> J. Leman, *A New Method of Learning Psalm-Tunes with an Instrument of Musick call'd the Psalterer* (London, 1729).



and held and bowed like a bass viol. The length of each note was 'left entirely to the Pleasure and Discretion' of the player, although they should all be 'made alike, in the same manner as they are commonly sung in Churches', which would seem to indicate that the timing described by Thomas Mathew in 1688, as discussed above, was still common forty years later. Leman also suggested that a middle string could be added.

There is no evidence that any of these instruments were used in worship but, if any were constructed, they would have provided a very useful means of pitching basic notes accurately and Leman's more sophisticated design would have enabled performers to play complete tunes.

#### b. Bells

William Rogers realised that many singers 'in the Country especially' might not have access to either a singing master or a tuned instrument, as 'oftimes none of these can be had'.<sup>119</sup> He may have been the first psalmody compiler to suggest that a student could use the pitch of six bells to find the basic notes: 'He who hath not Natural Music enough to do this, (especially in this *Ringing Island*, as some have called it) may be supposed not so desirous of the Art, as to concern himself in this or any other method'.<sup>120</sup> This may have been dubious advice, since most bells of the period were notoriously out of tune.

Thomas Mathew also noted that the 'degrees of the Voice are like unto the Sounds of Bells', although he gave no indication that singers should tune to the actual pitch of bells and merely recommended an 'indifferency of Voice' to avoid the usual squeaking and grumbling.<sup>121</sup> More unusually, he gave the numbers one to eleven for

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<sup>118</sup> J. Leman, *A New Method of Learning Psalm-Tunes with an Instrument of Musick call'd the Psalterer* (London, 1729).

<sup>119</sup> [W. Rogers], *A New and Easie Method* (London, 1686), 11.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, [vii].

<sup>121</sup> M[athew], *Whole Book of Psalms* (1688), [xii-xiii].

teaching the pitch of notes from the first space below the stave to the first space above, rather than the standard sol-fa.<sup>122</sup> However, although he described flats and sharps elsewhere, he made no provision for them in the scale of notes and did not seem to regard them as essential. The anonymous writer of the introduction to Bray's *Collec[t]ion* made the same suggestions as Rogers, recommending that if singers did not have recourse to a 'Violin or other tuneable Instrument' they should learn to pitch from a 'good Sett of Bells, which almost every Market Town affords' and should practise using numbers not sol-fa. Bells are described as having a 'merry' or 'melancholy' ring depending on whether they were tuned to a major or minor key (To my knowledge, bells were rarely in the minor unless extra notes were included so that they could be used as a carillon, which would certainly not have been found in 'almost every Market Town').<sup>123</sup> This numerical method purported to give quick results since, apparently, most musically-disposed sixteen to eighteen year olds, who would already be able to sing the majority of psalm tunes by ear would, in two weeks and 'without any other Instructor', be able to sing the tunes they already knew by note and also 'sing off Hand any New Tune in Consort with others, and after a little Practice to lead in a New Tune, with the same Assurance as they could in an Old one'.<sup>124</sup>

Daniel Robinson was more circumspect and advocated that church bells should only be used if they were in tune, 'otherwise they will but misguide, and so do more harm than good'. Instead he recommended a more portable method. A set of eight small bells, if tuned properly, were the best way to learn to pitch notes because they could be 'set upon a Table with their Skirts upward' and struck gently with 'some light Piece of Iron or Brass'. The best sets, which fitted inside each other and which could be carried

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid., [ix-x].

<sup>123</sup> [T. Bray], *A Collec[t]ion of Psalms, Proper to be Sung at Churches* (London, 1704), 4, 8.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., 3.



around in a pocket, were made by 'Mr. Joshua Winnock in *Half-Moon-Alley*, near *Bishop's-Gate-Street*'.<sup>125</sup>

### c. Pitchpipes

A pitchpipe is essentially a wooden whistle, which could be round or, more commonly, square, like an organ pipe with a fipple mouthpiece (DCD pitchpipe). Early versions may only have sounded a single note, but extant examples show that the pitch was altered by a plunger marked off with an octave or so of notes, either diatonic or chromatic, which could be moved in or out. John Hoyle noted that it was 'blown like a Flute' (i.e. recorder), and that it could be 'drawn out to any note or half note you want, as there are different sizes of them'.<sup>126</sup>

According to Bruce Haynes,<sup>127</sup> one of the earliest English references to a pitchpipe of this type is in William Turner's *A Compleat History of the Most Remarkable Providences*, but more detailed examination of the source suggests that it is unlikely to have been a simple whistle. Turner noted that Mr. Thomas Hill of Westminster had made a 'Pitch-Pipe, for the Tuning of Musical Instruments to Consort' which was particularly noteworthy for 'exactness, variety, and curious Work, above any thing that is to be seen elsewhere of this Nature'. He described it as being made of 'Reed-work', and as the same 'sort of Automata' as a 'Musical *Automaton* (a kind of *Harpsicon*)' which worked like a musical box.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>125</sup> D. Robinson, *An Essay upon Vocal Musick* (Nottingham, 1715), 26.

<sup>126</sup> J. Hoyle, *Dictionarium Musica, being a Complete Dictionary: or Treasury of Music* (London, 1770), 76.

<sup>127</sup> B. Haynes, 'Pitchpipe', *GMO*, ed. L. Macy (2001).

<sup>128</sup> W. Turner, *A Compleat History of the most Remarkable Providences* (London, 1697), part 3, chapter 4, 9.

The first mention of a pitchpipe as an aid for singers seems to be in *Sound Anatomiz'd, in a Philosophical Essay on Musick* by another William Turner,<sup>129</sup> who was concerned that scholars should 'remember the several *Tones* more readily' by keeping to the '*Standard (or Consort) Pitch*'. He suggested that for the many singing teachers who did not use an instrument, a '*Pitch-Pipe* would be a very necessary *Utensil*, to be always carried about them'.<sup>130</sup>

By the mid-eighteenth century psalmodists had also begun to recommend that singers use a pitchpipe, rather than just pitching from the lowest note. In 1736 William Tans'ur commented that a '*Pitch-Pipe* is very useful first to learn by',<sup>131</sup> which may imply that once singers had learnt to pitch it would become unnecessary, but ten years later he was in no doubt of its necessity stating, in the extravagant hyperbole of the period:

But oh! how intolerable is some *Psalmody* perform'd in many Places, for want of Judgment in this Point! whose *Leaders* are so stupidly conceited, as not to use a *Pitch-Pipe*! for it is daily found by Experience, that *Psalmody* is very rarely well perform'd without it, unless by mere blind Chance; and on the contrary very compleat, where they always make use of it.

Tans'ur also added that the pitchpipe had been 'greatly improved to what it was in former Days', perhaps by the addition of the slide, and it had been 'little in Vogue with us 'till within these 20 Years; for I remember I went several Miles to see the first I heard talk'd of'.<sup>132</sup>

In *The Compleat Psalmist* of 1741 John Arnold echoed Tans'ur, noting the usefulness to students of a pitchpipe 'to learn by',<sup>133</sup> and in his fifth edition went into

<sup>129</sup> Turner cannot be positively identified, but Michael Tilmouth stated that there was no connection between the two men in 'Some Improvements in Music noted by William Turner in 1697', *Galpin Society Journal*, 10 (1957), 57.

<sup>130</sup> (London, 1724), 44.

<sup>131</sup> W. Tans'ur, *A Compleat Melody; or, The Harmony of Sion* (London, 3/1736), 29.

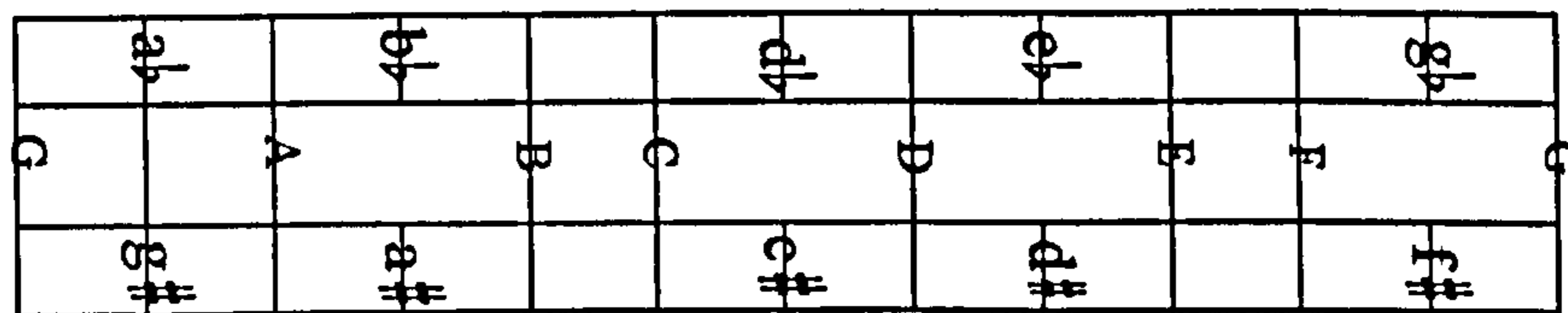
<sup>132</sup> W. Tans'ur, *A New Musical Grammar: or, the Harmonical Spectator* (London, 1746), 54-56.

<sup>133</sup> J. Arnold, *The Compleat Psalmist* (London, 1741), 16.



more detail. He advised singers, if there was no organ, to provide themselves with a 'Concert Pitch-Pipe', which could be purchased 'at most Music Shops in London for about 2s 6d each'. They would find 'marked upon Pewter, on the Register or Slider belonging to it, all the several Semitones included in an Octave'. Arnold also included a diagram of a pitchpipe or, at least, of an oblong divided up into seven sections showing the division of notes with a G at either end, a column down the centre with natural note names and the chromatic flats and sharps on either side (Diag. 6.3. below).<sup>134</sup> He explained how to pitch by drawing the slide so that the key letter corresponded with the bottom of the pipe, and by 'blowing gently'.<sup>135</sup>

**Diagram 6.3.** The notes of a pitchpipe from J. Arnold,<sup>60</sup> *The Compleat Psalmist* (5/1761), xvii.



Isaac Smith seems to have copied Arnold's diagram without instructions, noting that the 'Pitch Pipe is itself so simple an instrument, that directions how to use it, are altogether unnecessary'.<sup>136</sup> An uninformed reader would have been none the wiser. Smith also recommended, practically, that the clerk should name the tune and give out the first line before sounding the key note on the pitchpipe, so that the congregation would be ready to start and not have 'to wait some time before they know either the tune or the key'.<sup>137</sup> William Cole also provided more detailed information and agreed

<sup>134</sup> This seems to be based on earlier diagrams which explain the gamut.

<sup>135</sup> Arnold *Compleat Psalmist* (5/1761), xvii.

<sup>136</sup> I. Smith, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes in Three Parts* (London, [1779-80]), 12.

<sup>137</sup> I. Smith, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes in Three Parts ... as now sung in several Churches, Chapels and Meeting Houses in and about London* (London, [1779-80]), 2.

with Smith that where there was no organ, pitching should not be 'left to the accidental pitch of the leader's voice' but that a pitchpipe or tuning fork should be used, although the tone should be as soft as possible. He condemned singers who all repeated the 'full chord of the key' aloud, or who passed the pitch from one to another so, that by the time it had 'made its rotation round the pew', it had altered.<sup>138</sup>

When a pitchpipe was used it may still only have been a rough guide, depending on how accurately the notes were marked on the slider. Even if the notes were correct relative to each other, it may not have conformed to a standard pitch, although at least it would have made it easier for singers to all start together in the same key. The tuning could also be altered by over-blowing and Thomas Moore added a special request that 'some of those ingenious Mechanicks who usually make Pitch-Pipes' would make one that 'will so nearly resemble that of a Human Voice, that it may not easily be distinguished from it'. This would make pitching easier and also be less offensive to those who objected to the use of any instrument in worship.<sup>139</sup>

## Ornamentation

### a. The Old Way of Singing

As noted in Ch.1, the old way of singing developed when psalmody was unaccompanied and lined out. The music slowed down as singers endeavoured to find the next note, and gaps in tunes became filled in with passing notes. The rhythm of the tune was also lost and it is likely that Thomas Mathew was referring to the old way when he commented that psalms were sung as if all notes are the same length.<sup>140</sup>

Temperley has commented that this style of singing 'defied exact representation'

<sup>138</sup> W. Cole, *A View of Modern Psalmody* (Colchester, 1819), 67.

<sup>139</sup> T. Moore, *The Psalm Singer's Compleat Tutor and Divine Companion*, i (London, 2/1750), 26. No 1st edition is known.



because our musical notation is based on discrete pitches, whereas singers can slide between notes.<sup>141</sup> However, attempts were made to reproduce it and in 1686 William Rogers provided the first known printed example of how a tune might be sung in this manner, although only one example is given and no suggestion is made that other tunes should be sung in the same way.<sup>142</sup> In Ex. 6.1. below, the two versions have been set together so that the changes can be seen more easily. The elaborate second version is headed ‘The Notes of the foregoing *Tune* are usually broken or divided, and they are better so sung, as here prick’d.’

**Example 6.1.** ‘To the Metre of Psalm 25’: [W. Rogers], *A New and Easie Method To Learn to Sing by Book* (London, 1686), pp.100–101.

The image shows two staves of musical notation. The first staff is a simple melody with lyrics: "I lift my heart to thee, my God and guide most just, now suffer me to take no shame, for in thee do I trust." The second staff is a more elaborate, broken version of the same tune, with a '3' above the first measure of the second line, indicating a triplet. The lyrics are the same as the first version.

Two other compilers, John Chetham, and Robert Barber included tunes written out in a similar style.<sup>143</sup> All examples show that the main notes remained on the beat, unlike appoggiaturas in art music, but Rogers and Chetham add passing notes in dotted rhythms, whereas Barber’s tune, despite the heading ‘the old Way of Singing’, is no more elaborate than others in his collection and has an even rhythm. Chetham’s heading makes it clear that he envisaged that the tunes would be lined out, since he described

<sup>140</sup> M[athew], *Whole Book of Psalms* (1688), [vii–viii].

<sup>141</sup> Temperley, *MEPC*, 2 vols (1979), I, 95.

<sup>142</sup> [Rogers], *New and Easie Method* (1686), 100–101.

them as 'Those Psalms which the Clark gives out Line by Line, are generally sung in these Tunes: which is call'd the Old way of Singing'. It is important to note that Chetham and Barber both recognised that there was a newer way to sing, presumably by note, rather than by rote.

Although ornamentation in the old way of singing is only incidental, it may have been the basis for transition or breaking notes, which created the same effect by adding passing notes. John Arnold explained that these transition notes should be used 'to slur or break a Note to sweeten the Roughness of a Leap' (Ex. 6.2. below).<sup>144</sup>

**Example 6.2.** Transition, or Breaking of Notes: J. Arnold, *The Compleat Psalmist* (London, 1741), p.12.

The image shows three staves of musical notation. The top staff is labeled 'Plain Notes' and contains a sequence of notes with trills (tr) above them. The middle staff is labeled 'Broken' and shows the same sequence of notes with broken notes (slurs) and trills. The bottom staff is labeled 'Bass' and shows the same sequence of notes with broken notes (slurs).

It would seem that transition notes became distinct from the old way, since they continued to be prescribed in the theoretical introductions to psalmody books until the middle of the eighteenth century.

### b. Trills

Today, one would be surprised to hear a church choir or congregation use any ornamentation, apart from an occasional wobbly vibrato or slide between notes, but in 1700 Samuel Porter thought it necessary to state that to 'Grace a Note' was 'not very

<sup>143</sup> Psalm LXXXIX, 'I said I will look to my ways', J. Chetham, *A Book of Psalmody*, (London, ([1717]), 70-71; Psalm IV, 'O God thou art my righteousness', Robert Barber, *David's Harp Well Tuned: or A Book of Psalmody* (London, 1753), 17-18.

<sup>144</sup> Arnold, *Compleat Psalmist* (1741), 12.



proper in a whole Congregation'.<sup>145</sup> A few years later, the anonymous author of the introduction to Thomas Bray's *Collec[t]ion* also warned all singers against:

Gracing every Note with Shakes, but rather strive to express each Note with an Even Masculine Voice, without shakes till you are Master of the Tune, and then when custom or your fancy leads (cheifly in Cadences) you may Temper a Note with a Shake.

Never Shake the last Note in a Tune, but the last save one you may Generally shake, provided you remember to shorten the time of the last Note, as much as you sound extraordinary upon the last Note save one.<sup>146</sup>

By 1717, John Chetham noted that 'The chief Grace is a *Trill*, which is a shaking of two distinct Notes, so long as the Time allows, always beginning with the higher', as in Ex. 6.3. below:

**Example 6.3.** Trill: J. Chetham, *A Book of Psalmody*, (London, [1717]) introduction, p.[vii].



'In like manner the *Gruppo* is a shaking of a sharp 3d or 6th, at a Cadence taken from the Note above; but the best way of learning those, and al other Graces, is by hearing them well perform'd.'<sup>147</sup> The same details were copied exactly by John and Robert Barber in 1723,<sup>148</sup> and in part by James Green, who noted that there were 'several Graces in Musick', but only described the trill, adding that it should be used on 'all Descending Prick'd *Crotchets*, also when the Note before is in the same Line and Space with it, and generally before a *Close* (or *Cadence*[]).<sup>149</sup> Green took this description directly from the thirteenth edition of Playford's *Introduction*,<sup>150</sup> and added it to all his

<sup>145</sup> S. Porter *Plaine and Easie Directions for Psalm-Singing* (London, 1700), 21.

<sup>146</sup> [Bray], *Collec[t]ion of Psalms* (1704), 11.

<sup>147</sup> Chetham, *Book of Psalmody* ([1717]), [vii].

<sup>148</sup> J. and R. Barber, *A Book of Psalmody* (London, 1723), [vi].

<sup>149</sup> Green, *Psalm-Tunes* (4/1718), [xiii].

<sup>150</sup> J. Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (London 1697), 31.

subsequent editions, although the musical examples are slightly different (which could be the fault of the engraver) and the two last editions include short and longer versions of trills.

Once Robert Barber became the sole compiler without his brother, he began to incorporate new ideas. In the *Psalm-Singer's Choice Companion* he wrote out a trill so that pupils could see how to gradually speed it up, noting that 'a little Practice will certainly make you perfect' and provided a further musical example as in Ex. 6.4. and Ex. 6.5. below. He agreed with Green (and Playford) that a trill should be added on 'All prick'd Crotchets descending, and commonly before a Close'.

**Example 6.4.** Trill: R. Barber, *The Psalm Singer's Choice Companion* (London, 1727), p.16.



and:

**Example 6.5.** Trill: R. Barber, *The Psalm Singer's Choice Companion* (London, 1727), p.16.



Barber, like Porter, was concerned that trills should not be used indiscriminately and in his dialogue between 'Master' and 'Scholar' the latter asks, 'do you hold it good, suppose you had Forty or more Scholars to sing four Parts altogether, do you think it possible for so many to perform the *Trill* a right in Time and Sound?', whereupon the answer is given, slightly ungrammatically: 'No, nor did I never design it for to be performed in so many different Parts: the *Trill* is only an ornament for one Part, or two to be sung alone, of a few Voices together'.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>151</sup> Barber, *Choice Companion* (1727), 16.



Other psalmodists were not quite so discerning and included the same general advice as Chetham and Green, all agreeing that the trill was the most important grace. John Arnold reminded singers that they should always start on the note above, for if they began on the note and 'shake below, it flats the Note, and murders your Trill'. He stated that the two notes should be a 'whole Tone' apart and included an example which starts on the note above, from *b'* to *a'*, although a later example in A minor, includes trills on *g#*. He also noted a tempo change since 'the Shake at a Close is held sometimes something longer than the Time, for Variety's sake' and cautioned singers that trills and transition notes 'being rightly understood' were 'sufficient for any Vocal Performance whatsoever'; they should be 'aware not to make no wild graces of your own inventing'.<sup>152</sup>

Thomas Billington reckoned that 'a good Shake at a close is absolutely necessary' and 'truly graceful', although he also condemned longer vocal cadenzas, and like Barber, he seems to have considered that ornamentation should only be used in solo performances:

'Pieces consisting of three distinct parts or more, should be sung as chaste as possible; that is, to sing "No more than is set down:" For it seldom adds beauty to the piece [...] though the turns may be graceful in themselves, yet it is the greatest chance whether or not they may be consonant with the harmony of the other parts'.

He was also concerned that some singers mistakenly trilled from the note below the trill note, whereas they should always start on the note above and end by making a 'return with the note below; which return ought not to be hurried, in order to give the rest of the performers notice to close exactly in time'.<sup>153</sup>

William Cole also thought that ornamentation was unnecessary. observing that:

<sup>152</sup> Arnold, *Compleat Psalmodist* (1741), 11-13.

<sup>153</sup> Billington, *Te Deum* (London, [1784]), 2.

In every kind of church music, and more especially in psalmody, all theatrical embellishments, and affected graces, should be avoided; yet on no account whatever, are our modern psalmodists more censurable than in this particular. An affectation of novelty has given birth to a variety of fantastical conceits, and the influence of fashion has introduced into our sacred music, the very refuse of theatres.<sup>154</sup>

## Dynamics

Most modern singers and instrumentalists expect printed music to contain all necessary markings including tempi, dynamics and ornamentation, but until the nineteenth century these were considered to be the responsibility of the performer. It has been suggested that dynamics should not be used in psalmody because very few, if any, are printed in the music, but examination of other scores of the period, including Handel's oratorios, show that these are equally bereft of such indications.

Some psalmodists included musical dictionaries in their didactic introductions, but although these usually explained dynamic markings, they were rarely added to the actual music.<sup>155</sup> However, dynamic change was inbuilt into some pieces. For instance, the gradual addition of parts in fuguing passages creates a crescendo, and, particularly in Methodist and nonconformist music, it is common to find passages sung by trebles alone, which naturally sound softer. Even when dynamics were printed in the music in later editions, they were usually limited to *p* and *f* and should not necessarily be sung exactly as marked. Isaac Smith gave musical directions in English because the chief reason for his book was 'to assist those that do not understand Music, and not those who do'.<sup>156</sup> He also noted that although he had included dynamic markings 'as they are now commonly sung in several places, in, and about, London', i.e. 'Loud' or 'Soft' over the tenor to show where 'women and boys' should sing alone, their use should be at the

<sup>154</sup> Cole, *Modern Psalmody* (1819), 103.

<sup>155</sup> Arnold, *Compleat Psalmist* (1741), 28–30.

<sup>156</sup> Smith, *Psalm Tunes* ([1779–80]), 3.



'discretion' of a congregation..<sup>157</sup> William Cole expressed similar reservations, observing that even where tunes were notated *p* or *f* their application 'should be left to the performer, especially when the same tune is to be sung to several different stanzas', although a through-composed tune could be more accurately marked with dynamics.<sup>158</sup>

Any indication of gradation of tone, whether marked as hair-pins or as *crescendo* or *diminuendo* is rare, although examples of *crescendo* occur in MA 11 and 40. However, they may have been used in practice even if they were not written out. Stephen Addington stated: 'Let none strive to exert the whole strength of their Voice in Singing, but rather to make every Note musical, & to let the Sound die away gradually at the Conclusion',<sup>159</sup> although he did not specify whether he meant the conclusion of each note, or of a complete line of text, or even of a whole tune.

One of the first dictionaries added to a psalmody collection, 'A *Musical Dictionary: Or a Dictionary explaining such Greek, Latin, Italian, and French Words, as generally occur in Music*', appeared in the tenth edition of James Green's *A Book of Psalmody*. It may not have been considered a success, since it was not reprinted in the eleventh edition.<sup>160</sup> Green included no dynamic markings in the actual music and used very few other terms none of which, except the first in Table 6.1 below, were repeated in the eleventh edition even when the music was the same.

**Table 6.1.** Dictionary definitions and usage: J. Green, *A Book of Psalmody* (London, 10/1744).

Term	Dictionary definition	Piece	Comments
Intonation	'Giving of a Tune, or Sound of the Key, to the rest of the Choir'	p.1 Venite Exultemus	over tenor part

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>158</sup> Cole, *Modern Psalmody* (1819), 111.

<sup>159</sup> S. Addington, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes for Publick Worship*, ([Market Harborough], 2/1778), vi.

<sup>160</sup> Green, *Book of Psalmody* (10/1744).

Organo	'an Organ, but, when it is written over any Piece of Music, then it signifies the Thorough Bass'	p.2-11 Te Deum; p. 12-14 Jubilate [chanting tunes]	none for Magnificat or Nunc Dimittis chanting tunes
Adagio	'a slow Movement'	p.27-28 Anthem 1 'Behold the Lord is my salvation'; p.64-72 Anthem 8 'O be joyful in God all ye lands'	Anthem 8 - final 'Hallelujah'
Come Sopra	'as above, or to be repeated'	p.27-28 Anthem 1 'Behold the Lord is my salvation'; p.41-44 Anthem 4 'O be joyful in God all ye lands'; p.72-77 Anthem 9 'O give thanks unto the Lord'	
Encore	'same as Come Sopra'	p.27-28 Anthem 1 'Behold the Lord is my salvation'	also includes repeat signs
Pieno Choro	'a full Chorus'	p.27-28 Anthem 1 'Behold the Lord is my salvation'	
Repieno	'full, or the same as Chorus'	p.41-44 Anthem 4 'O be joyful in God all ye lands'	for final 'Hallelujah's
Fugha	'Flying or Running when the Parts fly or run one before another'	p.81-88 Anthem 11 'O praise the Lord'	
Trezetto	'same as In Trez.' which 'signifies three parts'	p.96-100 Anthem 13 'O clap your hands'	

## Voice Production

John Playford's instructions on pitching without 'squeaking' or 'grumbling' were concerned primarily with the ability of singers to reach the required notes, but later psalmodists provided more detailed advice on how singers could improve the quality of their voices. John Arnold instructed them to:

have your Voice as clear as possible, and to give every Note a clear, and distinct Sound; neither forcing the Sound through your Nose, nor blowing your Breath through your Teeth with your Mouth shut, which is very offensive to a Musical ear, especially when they sing alone.<sup>161</sup>

The anonymous compiler of *The Psalm-Singer's Necessary Companion* who, as discussed above, noted how congregations which sang without lining out put in pauses to recover their voices, also described how they always sang:

<sup>161</sup> Arnold, *Compleat Psalmodist* (1741), 9-10.



with as soft a smooth Voice as ever they can, for in singing of Parts a Man's Voice must be guided with such a soft Tone as to resolve it self to the true sound it ought to give to the other Parts below and above it.

This presumably referred to a select group of singers rather than a congregation which would have sung in unison.<sup>162</sup> Further instructions on how to sing included 'let your Voice be expressed clear (without all feigned sounds and changings of the Voice) from the Throat', and another reminder to sing 'so soft and smooth that you can hear every one's Voice that sings with you'.<sup>163</sup> Similar instructions were also given by Robert Bennet who was concerned that singers should be able to hear the other parts, but added a recommendation that basses should 'perform the two Notes with as strong, and yet a clear Voice as they can'.<sup>164</sup> This is not immediately comprehensible, but may refer to the pitching of the highest and lowest notes in the bass part of a tune.

Another anonymous author was also concerned about the correct volume and that singers should blend with the congregation, although basses were allowed some leeway:

Never allow your self [to sing] in a loud Clamorous Tone, but let your Voice easily deliver it self, as if you were afraid to be heard in the next Room, and at Church let it be a constant Rule, (except you are Clark, or he who undertakes to Govern a New Tune, or Sing a Base) never to sing louder than to be heard by the next Person that sits to you, nor to begin or end a Line sooner or longer than the Body of the Congregation does: This one Rule observ'd, would make ordinary Singers yield a Melody excitive of Devotion, beyond the more Skilful, that boisterously Thrash at Singing; so that the united Voices of the whole Congregation, is not a Balance for their Noise.<sup>165</sup>

However, James Green accepted that 'some Voices are not, nor can be made tunable'. When a 'Master' assigned a prospective singer to a suitable part, he should:

<sup>162</sup> *Necessary Companion* (1700), dedication, [iii].

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>164</sup> Bennet, *Necessary Companion* (1718), 26.

<sup>165</sup> [Bray], *Collec[t]ion of Psalms* (1704), 5.

sound over the Notes before, or together with the Learner, and take special Notice of him at the first, suffering him not to gape or stare, to knit the Brows or twist the Lips, to distort the Face or beat Time with his Head, to hang it aside, or heave up his Shoulders, or fall into any other ridiculous or conceited Habit (disagreeable either to the Eye or the Ear) that most would infallibly do without a strict Guard upon themselves, or the Care or Monition of the Master.<sup>166</sup>

Such observations may seem slightly excessive, but most modern choral directors will have known singers with at least some of these characteristics, even if they did not describe them in quite such colourful language.

Although most of these references are to country choirs, the quality of voices in town churches could also be a cause of concern. William Tattersall noted that even in London:

the clerk and the charity children are almost the only performers, and although a person is employed to instruct the young people, nevertheless there seems to be no management in the regulation of their voices. Each child seems to think it necessary to be heard, in consequence of which [...] the children most commonly rise beyond the natural pitch of their voices, and it becomes rather a general unisonous scream, than either concord or harmony.<sup>167</sup>

Thomas Billington, who styled himself as a 'Harpsichord & Singing Master' on the title-page of his *Te Deum, Jubilate, Magnificat & Nunc Dimittis*, was also concerned that singers should not force their voices and commented that bass singers, in particular, needed to let the sound 'flow from the chest', and not 'appear to be in a passion, as if gruffness of manner [...] added more weight and dignity'. He advised singers that they should articulate clearly as this would make even 'very feeble voices' carry further. They should start notes firmly and not introduce 'a kind of tremulus on every note, which is the bane of all singing'.<sup>168</sup> At times he is quite humorous, though probably unintentionally and describes a bad habit of countertenors and tenors who fall a fourth

<sup>166</sup> Green, *Psalm-Tunes* (London, 1718), [x]. This comment is not included in later editions.

<sup>167</sup> W. Tattersall, *Improved Psalmody*, i, (London, 1794), 14-15.

<sup>168</sup> Billington, *Te Deum* (London, [1784]), 2.



before a rest because they do not manage their breath properly, 'not unlike an Organ that, in the midst of playing, is suddenly deprived of wind'. Whereas bass singers, who begin a note a fourth too low, and then slide up sound like 'the yell of the Ghost in King Richard the third'.<sup>169</sup>

In general, singers tended to be too loud. Isaac Smith noted that:

A great exertion of the voice, is by no means, necessary to good singing. It is not unusual to hear a person in the Tenor, or Counter Tenor, singing so loud as to overpower the other parts; the consequence generally is, that when he drops to a lower note which requires expression, his breath and voice are gone, so that he can express nothing. The same is observable in the Bass. If the notes on B, C, and D above, are strongly sounded, then the succeeding notes, in an Octave below, as often is the case, will scarcely be heard.

Smith suggested the problem could be solved if singers always softened high notes: above *e'* for tenors and countertenors, and above *a* for the bass.<sup>170</sup> William Cole preferred that all should sing moderately loud, '*Mezzo Voce*, or half voice', so that they could 'properly increase, or diminish, the strength' of the voice when the sense of the words 'required such a variation'. However, he also remarked that changes from *piano* to *forte* were 'too frequently and injudiciously introduced'. This created a 'long train of improprieties', which seemed to be at the 'whim or caprice of the composer'. Cole was particularly concerned that dynamics should match the sense of the words. In 'many modern psalm tunes, the third line is marked to be sung *soft*, to which the fourth is made to form a direct contrast', but this would very probably not be applicable to all verses and so if any dynamics were necessary, they should be 'left to the judgment of the performer' or, if they were written down, they should be added to the words where suitable and not to the music. Also, text repeats, where the last two lines were sung softly and then repeated loudly, would never match the sense of the text. Nor would

<sup>169</sup> Billington, *Te Deum* (London, [1784]), 2-3.

<sup>170</sup> Smith, *Psalm Tunes* ([1779-80]), 5.

tunes where women and children sang a section and were then joined by the congregation, for if the text were not repeated the meaning would be incomplete for some and if it were, the change of voices would draw more attention to the sound and less to the sense. However, he was not against 'antiphonal, or responsive singing', so long as the words were 'particularly adapted' to it.<sup>171</sup>

## Pronunciation

Until the invention of sound recording and the almost universal exposure of people to radio and later to television, regional accents would have been much stronger and more varied. The earliest reference to pronunciation in didactic introductions seems to be found in John Chetham's *Book of Psalmody* of 1717. After giving instructions on how to perform a trill he states that:

There is one Grace which is an Ornament to the whole Performance, and which ought to be particularly regarded, and that is a clear and distinct speaking of the Words, not altogether according to the *Spelling*, but after the best and most Polite way of *Pronunciation*.<sup>172</sup>

This instruction was repeated in many later books without attribution, for instance in William Langhorne's *Book of the Choicest and most select Psalm-Tunes*.<sup>173</sup> It became a traditional part of didactic prefaces, together with Playford's admonition to neither squeak nor grumble.

Pronunciation was apparently no better among nonconformist singers. Isaac Smith commented that 'the letter *y*, at the end of a word, should be sounded like the letter *e*; for instance, Holy, *Hole*; Mighty [,] *Mighte*; greatly, *greatle*, &c.' (probably because some people would pronounce it as an 'i'). He added that 'the syllable *en*, in

<sup>171</sup> Cole, *Modern Psalmody* (1819), 71-74.

<sup>172</sup> Chetham, *Book of Psalmody* ([1717]), [vii].

<sup>173</sup> W. Langhorne, *A Book of the Choicest and most select Psalm-Tunes* (London, 2/1723), [vi]. No first edition is known.



soften, chosen, &c. should be sung *soft'n, chos'n*; *to* should be pronounced as a long *too*; and the *l* in *people* should be 'a little softened' and not sung as *pepel*, otherwise it would 'produce a harsh disagreeable sound, very disgusting to a musical ear'.<sup>174</sup>

In 1819 William Cole observed that 'Articulation, and a just pronunciation, are much neglected by our modern psalmodists' and that even if they were 'strictly attended to, the sense would seldom be perfectly communicated by singing, to a hearer who had not the words before his eye, or who had not some previous knowledge of them'.<sup>175</sup>

Cole probably meant that the music was too complicated for the words to be heard clearly and presumably he did not include himself among 'modern psalmodists', since he was in his eighties when his tract was published. He was concerned that even people who spoke correctly still used the 'greatest improprieties of pronunciation' when they sang and discussed an extensive catalogue of faults, which may be summarised as follows:

1. Do not change vowel sounds, either so that they all sound the same, or in the middle of a word.
2. Do not add an aspirant when a vowel should be slurred on to the next note, nor on a single note as in 'A-hall pe-he-ple that on a-hearth do-ho dwe-hell'. This is more common when a note does not change pitch or ascends.
3. Do not slur words together so that one beginning with a vowel sounds as if it begins with a consonant, nor add an unnecessary consonant such as *n*, *y* or, less commonly, *t* or *l* to each word that begins with a vowel.
4. Pronounce *y* at the end of a word as *e*, unless it is a monosyllable or the word is accented on the last syllable. It may be better to change *my* to *me*, when it is repeated twice in one sentence.

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<sup>174</sup> Smith, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes* (London, [1779-80]), 12.

5. Pronounce the *e* in *the* like a broad *a* unless the next word begins with a vowel, in which case the *e* sound is retained.
6. Omit *e* from words ending in *le*, or *led*, for instance, *humble*, or *humbled*, by 'raising the tip of the tongue to the roof of the mouth before the sound commences. and keeping it in that position as long as the sound continues'. This is a particularly common fault when singing, but not when speaking.
7. Do not over-slur from one note to the next so that both the music and the words become indistinct; nor sound each syllable abruptly, which, 'rather indelicately', is termed '*mouthing*' by 'modern musicians'.
8. Consider the sense of the text and accent musical and word stresses if they coincide, but do not emphasise unimportant words even if they occur on a strong musical beat, as may happen 'when the same music is sung to different words'.<sup>176</sup>

### Improvisation

The reliance of modern classical musicians on the exact reproduction of the notes as written down by a composer may seem strange to some traditional musicians, who may expect to create a personal interpretation at each performance. Improvisation has always been an essential part of both jazz and traditional music and in more recent years performers of art music have realised that they may not need to stick slavishly to the score on every occasion. It is likely that many psalmody pieces sounded very different in performance to the way they appeared on the printed or manuscript page, whether because modifications were made to add expression and to embellish the musical line, or because parts were totally improvised. Although some singers and instrumentalists may have been able to read music, others would probably have sung or played by ear.

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<sup>175</sup> Cole, *Modern Psalmody* (1819), 17.



Rather than copying a part exactly they may have included elements of other parts. Accuracy probably varied depending on the skill of a leader to spot mistakes. It is unlikely that notes which supported the general harmony, particularly in the inner parts, would be considered to be wrong even if they were not played as notated. Where a group of singers performed unaccompanied and totally by ear without access to any written music, it is probable that even the basic tune would change over time and any improvised harmonies might vary at every performance.

### **Alterations and Arrangements**

Changes to psalmody pieces may have occurred spontaneously or by intended improvisation and may never have been recorded; others may have been unintentional but were created by miscopying. Most alterations incorporated into manuscripts or later printings, however, must have been deliberately planned. All obviously affected performance, especially when the pitch or rhythm of notes were modified, or the part allocation or instrumentation changed.

Some composers had second thoughts. William Knapp produced three different versions of his anthem 'The beauty of Israel is slain',<sup>177</sup> and John Fawcett modernised the second edition of his *New Set of Sacred Music* when he moved the tune from the tenor to the treble.<sup>178</sup> As copyright restrictions either did not exist or were not enforced, later compilers could make any revisions they wished in order to produce new versions for their own publications and differences can be hard to pin-point. The original composer or source is usually unnamed in both printed and manuscript compilations.

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<sup>176</sup> Ibid., 80–87.

<sup>177</sup> W. Knapp, *A Sett of New Psalm-Tunes and Anthems* (London, 1738); also (London, 5/1752) and *New Church Melody* (London, 1753).

<sup>178</sup> J. Fawcett, *A New Set of Sacred Music* (London, [c.1811]); *A Set of Sacred Music* (London, 2/[c.1820?]).

Some modifications are slight, such as the addition of bass figuring, but others are more substantial. Israel Holdroyd modified his anthem 'Behold, I bring you glad tidings' three times.<sup>179</sup> It was then extended, without acknowledgement, by Joseph Kempson (MA 25, CD 12). Up to bar 71 it is nearly identical with Holdroyd, although a final 'alleluia' is removed, but Kempson then adds a hymn, perhaps for congregational participation, and an exuberant 'alleluia' of his own.

As already noted, while the *HTI* has facilitated analysis of strophic psalm and hymn tunes in sources printed between 1535 and 1820,<sup>180</sup> any assessment of changes to anthems and set pieces is much more difficult because no central index exists, although through-composed pieces usually retain the same text. For example, Temperley lists seventeen English and two American versions of the anthem 'Great is the Lord', which were printed between 1731 and 1783.<sup>181</sup> It occurs in SATB, SSTB and ATB formats, with two different 'alleluias'. The first of these is in five parts (SSATB) and is an adaptation of 'Day by day we magnify thee, and we worship thy name, ever world without end', from Purcell's *Te Deum* in D.<sup>182</sup> John Chetham also added this 'alleluia' to the 1741 edition of his anthem 'O praise the Lord ye heathen' (MA 21),<sup>183</sup> which was first published in his *Book of Psalmody* in 1717.<sup>184</sup> Purcell's music was apparently still popular enough in 1778 for John Crompton to include the original version of 'Day by day' in *The Psalm Singer's Assistant*.<sup>185</sup> The vocal parts of Crompton's setting are accurate, apart from a few small discrepancies which could be unintentional, and with the addition of the tempo instruction 'faster' at 'thou didst open the kingdom of heav'n'.

<sup>179</sup> I. Holdroyd, *The Spiritual Man's Companion* (London, 2/[c.1725]); also (London, 3/1733) and (London, 5/1753).

<sup>180</sup> N. Temperley, *HTI*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1998).

<sup>181</sup> Temperley, *MEPC*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1979), I, 190; II, 85–89.

<sup>182</sup> The late Mr Henry Purcell, *Te Deum & Jubilate for Voices and Instruments, St Caecilia's Day, 1694* (London, 1697), 20–24.

<sup>183</sup> J. Chetham, *A Book of Psalmody* ([London?], 6/1741), 'ANTHEM III. Psalm 117', 102–108.

<sup>184</sup> Chetham, *Book of Psalmody* ([1717]), 'Anthem VI. Psalm 117', 89–92.



However, he removed all the instrumental parts except for bars 4 to 7 of the chorus section, 'O Lord in thee have I trusted', where the bass instrument part is placed in the tenor clef.

Occasionally, printed sources may incorporate manuscript alterations. A composite volume of four items in the British Library,<sup>186</sup> contains a later printed edition of Edward Harwood's 'Vital spark' (MA 40a, CD 19, 20),<sup>187</sup> together with a four-part symphony in manuscript (MA 40b). According to a name plate on the cover, the original owner was 'M.E. Minton his book 1805' but despite this, the British Library describes the manuscript additions as by 'M. Eminton'. If so, then he may be from Kemsing, Kent, where a gravestone records 'Mark Eminton late of this Parish died 5.11.1835 aged 52'.<sup>188</sup>

Minton, or an anonymous annotator, presumably intended four instruments to play the symphony, although the rest of the piece is for three voices. In this printed arrangement it is laid out for performance with keyboard accompaniment, with the second part at the top of the stave and the air, including small RH notes, next to the bass. Further manuscript annotations fill in most of the original bass rests by adding bass notes to bars 5 and 6, and 9 and 10, and by doubling the second part two octaves lower. At bars 16 to 19 and 26 to 29 the air is also doubled two octaves lower. Also, the second part is doubled an octave higher from bars 13 to 30 and from 35 to 62. The only additions to the voice parts are an appoggiatura to the air, 'Hark' on the first beat of bar 16. There are no changes to the F major section of the piece, except for 'Adagio' over the penultimate bar, which is two bars later than in Harwood's original. It is unclear

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<sup>185</sup> J. Crompton, *The Psalm Singer's Assistant* (London, 1778), 'Mr. PURCELL'S TE DEUM, in all its vocal Parts, with the Organ Bass — From the original Score', 97–122.

<sup>186</sup> GB-Lbl: G.503.r

<sup>187</sup> [E. Harwood] *Vital Spark of Heav'nly Flame. The Dying Christian to his Soul. A Celebrated Ode by Mr Pope for 3 Voices.* (London, [1802]).

evidence whether these alterations were intended for singers or instruments, but further research, for instance into the musical situation at Kemsing, might provide some answers. The Centre for Kentish Studies holds a printed psalmody book of psalms and anthems and 'draft manuscripts' dated c.1750, which belonged to the parish.<sup>189</sup> The popularity of Harwood's funeral piece resulted in many other arrangements. Another version of 'Vital Spark' in a Cornish manuscript is prefaced by a 34-bar vocal setting of 'Ere she bids the world adieu' (MA 40c).<sup>190</sup> The composer and the author of the words are unidentified.

Elsewhere, there seem to be surprisingly few annotated changes to printed psalmody sources. A copy of the second edition of Joseph Key's *Eight Anthems* held at the Henry Watson Music Library, in Manchester,<sup>191</sup> includes a shortened arrangement of Handel's 'I know that my redeemer liveth' from *Messiah*, in manuscript, which is designated for 'Counter = or Soft Tenor Voice', transposed from E into G major. It is added as an 'Introduction' to 'Anthem I, for Easter Day' which is also in G major (MA 24). Apparently the original opening symphony should be omitted because the manuscript ends with the first two bars of the initial voice parts from the printed anthem, which are headed 'Key's Anthem' with the direction 'Little Faster'. There is an additional two-part upbeat with the part allocation 'Tenor', set to the text 'For'; the bass part is wrongly copied a third higher and texted, unlike the original; and the inclusion of a continuous instrumental bass and a short opening and intermediary symphony for an unidentified treble instrument indicate that at least two instruments were envisaged.

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<sup>188</sup> Gravestone 72 from monumental inscriptions by L.L.Duncan Sept. 1921 - Kent Archaeological Society website: <http://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk>

<sup>189</sup> Centre for Kentish Studies, p205/1/8.

<sup>190</sup> Thomas Prisk ms, Illogan, 1838, unpaginated. The volume is in private ownership.

<sup>191</sup> J. Key, *Eight Anthems*, (Nuneaton, 2/1776), GB-Mp, Henry Watson Music Library BRf 537Kj21.



## Summary

While musicologists cannot prescribe performance practice, they can provide musicians with information so that they can make informed decisions on how they should play a piece. Performers may then choose to use different criteria depending on whether they are performing psalmody in a concert or in church as an act of worship. It is important to remember that the same piece would have been played in many different ways by various combinations of singers and instrumentalists. Knowledge of tempi, usually slower than today; dynamics, maybe less varied; and ornamentation, probably more; may help twenty-first century musicians to understand this repertory better. The proof of the music is in the performance, so to speak, and this repertory is robust enough to withstand whatever we may do to it.

## Chapter 7: Further Developments

### Later Nineteenth-Century Psalmody

In many areas psalmody changed slowly if at all during the early years of the nineteenth century. Tunes were tenor-led and continued to be lined out in both Anglican churches and nonconformist chapels, while a mixed group of wind and stringed instruments had still to be replaced by a barrel or finger organ. For instance, Mossley Chapel in Congleton, Cheshire did not purchase a 'bass fiddle' until 1868,<sup>1</sup> and, particularly in the southwest of England, bands are known to have continued until nearly the end of the century. In 1893 Galpin wrote about the last remaining band in Dorset at Winterborne Abbas (Ch.5) and, according to an 1895 survey of church music in the diocese of Truro in Cornwall, eighteen out of two hundred and nineteen parishes still used instruments, from a full band to a solitary cornet.<sup>2</sup> One of the last instrumentalists to accompany singing may have been the Leicestershire farmer Isaac Smith, who played the violin for the final time in Austrey Baptist chapel in 1902.<sup>3</sup>

The growing influence of the high church Oxford Movement in urban and rural parishes eventually prevailed, although there were 'surplice riots' in some churches when clergymen began to wear white surplices rather than black preaching gowns, notably at St Sidwell's, Exeter in 1844.<sup>4</sup> Opinions changed, however, and by 1868 the

<sup>1</sup> Cheshire Archives, EMS 91/1: bass fiddle subscription list 1868.

<sup>2</sup> N. Temperley, *MEPC*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1979), I, 196-97.

<sup>3</sup> I. Smith, 'My Fiddle and I' (1903), unpaginated transcript, author's collection. The whereabouts of the original unknown, but is thought to be in private ownership in America.

<sup>4</sup> A. Brockett, *Nonconformity in Exeter, 1650-1875* (Manchester, 1962), 212.



choir of St John the Baptist, Bedwardine, sent a petition to the churchwardens requesting that they should be supplied with surplices.<sup>5</sup>

Choirs of charity children or mixed groups of singers and instrumentalists were gradually replaced with surpliced all-male choirs, who sang full choral services from the chancel accompanied by an organ. In 1857 the Rev. William Dickson, the incumbent of Goostrey in rural Cheshire, wrote to the bishop of Salisbury describing how congregations remained silent during both the drawling of 'sickly' melodies by 'little charity children ranged on each side of the organ' in town churches and the 'exertion' of country singers, who preferred 'florid and difficult' fuguing tunes accompanied by a 'flute, a clarionet, and a violoncello'.<sup>6</sup> In a later publication Dickson described the considerable improvements he had made in his own church but did not comment on whether these improvements encouraged congregational participation:

The choir, established in 1850, is now very satisfactory and efficient. It consists of 8 first trebles, 4 second trebles or altos, 2 tenors and 3 basses. The canticles are chanted antiphonally; the responses, &c, monotoned; an anthem is sung after the Third Collect at Evensong (when there is no baptism). They practise twice a week: on Saturday secular music [and] on Sunday sacred.<sup>7</sup>

Dickson also proposed that a new hymn book should be provided for the whole Church of England, which could include a few of the older well-known tunes such as ADESTE FIDELES but no repeating or parody tunes.<sup>8</sup> It was probably a coincidence, but in 1861 *Hymns Ancient and Modern* became the standard Anglican hymn book, in

<sup>5</sup> Worcestershire Record Office, 850/10939/5/i/2: petition to churchwardens, 1868.

<sup>6</sup> W. Dickson, *A Letter to the Lord Bishop of Salisbury, on Congregational Singing in Parish Churches* (Oxford, 1857), 7, 10.

<sup>7</sup> W. Dickson, *Fifty Years of Church Music* (Ely, 1895) quoted in C. Turner, 'The Decline of the Gallery Tradition', *The Gallery Tradition: Aspects of Georgian Psalmody*, Papers from the International Conference organised by The Colchester Institute, August 1995, ed. C. Turner (Ketton, 1997), 77.

<sup>8</sup> Dickson, *A Letter* (1857), 30.

which most remaining eighteenth-century tunes were printed without grace or passing notes.<sup>9</sup>

The psalmody repertory has not died out completely. In particular, three repeating tunes, all with some fugal overlap, have remained in common use. Thomas Jarman's NATIVITY, which originally included a duet, is now commonly known as LYNNGHAM and sung to 'O for a thousand tongues to sing';<sup>10</sup> SAGINA by Thomas Campbell is a Methodist favourite and is usually sung to 'And can it be that I should gain';<sup>11</sup> and Thomas Clark's CRANBROOK,<sup>12</sup> which later found secular fame as 'On Ilkla Moor baht 'at', is still sung to its original text 'Grace 'tis a charming sound' by Particular Baptists (MA 33).<sup>13</sup> The latter tune has also become part of the Sheffield carolling tradition and is one of the many tunes used for 'While shepherds watched their flocks by night' (CD 17).

### Twentieth Century Attitudes Towards Psalmody

The psalmody repertory is an essential part of English music, yet until recently it has usually been dismissed as of little significance. For instance, Charles Phillips judged that Methodist tunes were written in 'a poor florid style abounding in six-four cadences, appoggiaturas, parallel thirds and sixths *ad nauseum* and a preponderance of three-in-a bar';<sup>14</sup> this may be true but he failed to grasp that this was the fashionable style of the day.

For many people during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries psalmody would have been the only music they heard apart from popular songs and tunes. If

<sup>9</sup> *Hymns Ancient and Modern* [...] with Accompanying Tunes, ed. W. Monk (London, 1861).

<sup>10</sup> T. Jarman, *Sacred Music, comprising Select Hymns* [...] with Two Anthems (London, [c.1804]), 10.

<sup>11</sup> T. Campbell, *The Bouquet, a Collection of Tunes* (London, [1820]), 30–31.

<sup>12</sup> T. Clark, *A Sett of Psalm and Hymn Tunes* [...] Composed in a Familiar Style (London, [1805]), 20–21.

<sup>13</sup> *Companion Tunes to Gadsby's Hymnbook* (London, 9/1999), 8.

<sup>14</sup> C. Phillips, *The Singing Church*, rev. edn (Oxford, 1979), 166.



singers and instrumentalists found a piece of music satisfying to perform they included it in their repertoire and they do not seem to have been concerned about whether composers were professionally trained and whether they wrote accurate harmony according to set rules. By the mid-nineteenth century John Fawcett had removed fuguing and repeating passages from his psalmody to match the accepted style of the day, but the preface to his *Vocal Instructor* suggests that he still faced prejudice as a provincial composer. He stated that one should 'Never reject a good composition, on the ground of its not having a great author's name attached to it', and added a footnote concerning Thomas Clark, the composer of CRANBROOK:

A few years ago a musical gentleman in London informed me that a certain piece of music, composed by Mr Clark, was laid before, perhaps, the best organist in London. The organist, on examining the composition, and seeing the name Clark attached to it, began to play it, observing it was an excellent composition, and spoke highly of the abilities of Dr Clark, as a composer; but when he was informed that it was the composition of Clark, the shoemaker, of Canterbury, the bigoted organist immediately laid it down, as unworthy of being played through.<sup>15</sup>

A piece may also be regarded as unimportant if it is of insufficient length or complexity. Vaughan Williams discussed 'one tune' composers whose work became the foundations for 'great' ones in a newspaper article on William Shrubsole, the composer of the tune MILES LANE:

It is from the eighteenth century that some the strongest and most characteristic of our musical invention dates, albeit on a small scale, exemplified, perhaps by a hymn tune or chant [...] These lesser people, with their limited but intense vision, can concentrate that vision into sixteen bars better than those great ones whose minds are occupied with symphonies forty minutes long.<sup>16</sup>

Today attitudes towards psalmody are gradually changing, and the music is being re-evaluated and performed by both traditional and classically trained musicians.

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<sup>15</sup> J. Fawcett, *The Vocal Instructor, or Young Musician's Companion* (London, 1830), 43.

## Comparisons with Modern Church Music

As a twenty-first century church musician, it has been fascinating to discover how little has changed during three hundred years. New evangelical groups still want to emphasise their identity by introducing new music, but in many churches there is an unwillingness to vary long-established practices and any suggested alterations to the music by the clergy may be met with opposition from the choir, the organist, or the congregation. As in the eighteenth century, if a dispute becomes acrimonious enough, it will usually end up in print. In March 2007, the choristers of St John the Baptist, Wellington in Somerset, were suspended by the rector, who thought they should 'lead the congregation, rather than stand at the front and sing at it'.<sup>17</sup> Traditional Anglican congregations are still more reticent than nonconformists and tend to sing rather tentatively and behind the beat, whereas amongst nonconformists, the enthusiastic singing of Methodists remains particularly notable; the hymns at Conference are still led by a precentor and sung unaccompanied.

In practice, dynamics remain non-existent, except perhaps for a slight dip in volume on the last line, 'O still small voice of calm', in Hubert Parry's setting of 'Dear Lord and Father of Mankind' (the nation's second favourite hymn, according to a BBC poll of 2005).<sup>18</sup> More confident congregations sing quite loudly, but dynamics are of little concern to those who are singing their praises to God rather than to each other. At least one Anglican hymn book, however, includes varied dynamic markings within verses.<sup>19</sup> Such changes may be artistic and might have gladdened the ears of some earlier psalmody reformers but they may annoy some organists, who prefer not to keep

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<sup>16</sup> R. Vaughan Williams, 'Shrubsole', *The Guardian*, 26 June 1943.

<sup>17</sup> *The Guardian*, 9 March 2007.

<sup>18</sup> [http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2005/10\\_\\_october/27/hymn.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2005/10__october/27/hymn.shtml).

<sup>19</sup> *Hymns Ancient and Modern Revised* (London, 1950).



changing manuals or registrations and to use both feet rather than keeping one on the swell pedal.

### **Present-Day Performance**

The recorded examples on the companion CD to this thesis provide examples of the different ways in which psalmody may be performed. As this repertory has been revived in recent times, there has been some conflict about the validity of differing musical styles.<sup>20</sup> We should not necessarily assert that one is more authentic than another, although a performance which seeks to interpret the original intentions of the composer may perhaps claim to be historically informed.

Maddy Prior's performance of 'Love divine' (CD 14) is missing the congregational participation which John Wesley preferred, but this music was also sung domestically, though perhaps not accompanied by a lute. The sound of her voice, or the young soprano voices of Caarjyn Cooidjagh (CD 21), may have more in common with those of the eighteenth century than the expressive legato of His Majestie's Clerkes (CD 7) or the more forthright rhythmic approach of Psalmody (e.g. CD 15).

Modern traditional singers today have developed a sound which can seem mannered (CD 8) when compared with the voices of ordinary singers (CD 1), but even the sound quality of a local church choir may change over a number of years (CD 23). The choir of Astbury St Mary in the 1950s sounded quite different from today, so far as can be judged from the only salvageable section of a battered 78 recording. (One member of the choir sang on both recordings; the original treble soloist is now a powerful tenor.)

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<sup>20</sup> V. Gammon, 'Problems in the Performance and Historiography of English Popular Church Music', *Radical Musicology*, 1 (2006), [www.radical-musicology.org.uk/](http://www.radical-musicology.org.uk/).

The speed of the music may also affect historical accuracy but modern performers are used to much faster speeds. Astbury choir found it difficult to sing very slowly (CD 1, MA 1), even in unison, although it was easier when they were accompanied by the organ (CD 2, MA 2). Perhaps surprisingly, they did not find it difficult to start singing again after the organ interludes. However, this performance is still inaccurate because the organ was built about 1900 and so its tone is too heavy (and *d* and *c#*' are intermittent).

The unaffected singing of the Wool choir recorded in 1945 (CD 22) or the measure beat of the Cockfield Methodist singers from the northeast (CD 18) may also be closer to the eighteenth century than some more professional ensembles. However, although Vic Gammon provides some evidence for his assertion that the carol singing in Sheffield pubs is an oral survival of an earlier tradition,<sup>21</sup> John Foster would probably have been more surprised by the singing in the Blue Ball at Worrall (CD 11) than by Psalmody and the Parley of Instruments (CD 10).

Even performers with the same musical background interpret this music differently according to personal preference. For instance, Peter Holman's recording of 'While shepherds watched' by John Foster (CD 10) is nearly a minute faster than that by Andrew Parrott.<sup>22</sup> Yet Holman's recording of Harwood's 'Vital spark of heav'nly flame' (CD 19) is only seven seconds faster than that made by the WGMA (CD 20) although the interpretation and performance style is very different. The WGMA sing unaccompanied a semitone lower than set and with some further loss of pitch, but with observance of the changes in expression. The Psalmody version is sung by solo voices with organ accompaniment at A = 430, with the last four bars sung by a full choir. It is unlikely that this interpretation is historically accurate; while a solo performance is

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 36–40.



quite possible, no choir with any gumption would sit in silence until nearly the end of one of the most popular psalmody pieces of all time.

There should be room for diverse ways of performance, just as there was in the eighteenth century, when every group of singers would have developed their own performing methods and when Handel, sung by a village choir, would have sounded different from the large-scale oratorio performances at provincial music festivals. Today, performances by traditional and classical-trained musicians are distinctive because their technique differs, but all performance is legitimate, providing it is sincere and does not attempt to parody the possible shortcomings of earlier performers. We all approach this music with an extra two hundred or so years of musical knowledge, and have no way of understanding the mindset of the original performers. As Gammon rightly comments:

Musical notation is a very imperfect way of communicating musical practice, and in performing music from the past, we inevitably mediate that music through our own views and assumptions about what it was and/or what it ought to have been.<sup>23</sup>

Temperley has pointed out that 'eighteenth-century psalmodists had as much right to change the conventions of musical style as twentieth-century dodecaphonists'.<sup>24</sup> Some performers may make their own decisions and accept or reject the original directions provided by psalmody composers, according to their own modern conventions. However, if this music is worth preserving we have a responsibility to the original composers to interpret it as faithfully as possible.

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<sup>22</sup> 'The Christmas Album', by the Taverner Consort, Choir and Players, directed by Andrew Parrott, (1992) (EMI CDC 7 54529 2).

<sup>23</sup> Gammon, *Radical Musicology*, 1 (2006).

<sup>24</sup> N. Temperley, *MEPC*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1979), I, 192.

## Conclusion

### Introduction

The purpose of this dissertation was to discover how psalmody was performed in the parish churches and nonconformist chapels of provincial England between 1690 and 1840. The main focus of my research was to be the didactic prefaces of tune books informed the performance of the music, but these subsequently proved to be less enlightening than expected. There was little originality and considerable repetition between books with most of the material taken from earlier treatises. Conversely, church records proved to be a more rewarding source of information than anticipated and provided primary evidence about singers and instrumentalists.

### Dissertation Outcomes

I have inevitably had to draw on the extensive work of Nicholas Temperley, but neither *MEPC* nor the *HTI* are primarily concerned with performance practice.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, I have been able to add to the body of knowledge on the performance of psalmody from the results of my own research. I have examined the majority of the psalmody books known to have been published before about 1850, paying particular attention to the didactic introductions. Most of these occur in books printed before 1750 and they have provided some evidence of tempi, dynamics, ornamentation and voice production. The complexity of the different time signatures merits a thesis of its own. I have obviously not been able to explore every record office and archive, but by correlating evidence from church documents it has been possible to gain a clearer picture of the growth of psalmody during the eighteenth century and early nineteenth centuries. Most

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<sup>1</sup> N. Temperley, *MEPC*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1979); N. Temperley, *HTI*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1998).



importantly, the actual music has provided insight into the type of repertory preferred by choirs and congregations.

The religious changes in England during the eighteenth century were reflected by developments in psalmody. The desire for more meaningful worship in Anglican churches led to introduction of choirs who formed self-regulated societies. One unexpected result of my research was the discovery that parish choirs began to be formed some time before 1700. Further investigation is needed to establish whether the earliest date is 1679, when six men or boys were appointed at Prestbury in Cheshire, or whether there is an undiscovered continuum of psalmody during the seventeenth century. Abraham Hurst could have been a boy chorister at the Restoration, since he was an old man when he began teaching psalmody around Oldham in the 1690s. The number of choirs may never been known but they must have been widespread. However, large choirs, such as those at Oldham and Denton, may have been an exception.

Psalmody singers became more adventurous in their choice of music as their skill increased; specific repertory for country choirs was provided by local singing teachers and by professional composers. Editing this music has provided new insight into its quality and complexity. This, in turn, reflects upon the proficiency of psalmody musicians, since it would have been useless for composers and compilers to publish pieces that were beyond the capabilities of performers. Singers must have been accomplished if they could attempt music such as the five-part 'Alleluia' adapted from Purcell's *Te Deum* and added to a number of anthems (MA 21), or the elaborate fuguing tune BIRMINGHAM (MA 31). Instrumentalists must also have been skilled if they could play settings such as John Barwick's Psalm 108 (MA 14) or John Foster's Psalm 47 (MA 17).

Organs were rare in both parish churches and nonconformist chapels until the early nineteenth century, so from the mid 1700s the singing began to be supported by a variety of instruments. Detailed examination of the scoring of music by six composers has provided new information on the type of instruments which may have been used in both Anglican and Methodist services. However, the number of church bands and their choice of instruments still need further research. The available data from the A2A website (DCD A2A) is too fragmentary to be analysed in depth, because descriptions of documents vary and not all archives have listed records. The current information suggests that instruments were used more extensively in the south of England.

The growth of Methodism encouraged a new style of nonconformist music which was closely related to the popular operatic music of the period. One of my most surprising discoveries was that Methodists lined out hymn tunes until the middle of the nineteenth century. The perceived incompatibility between lining out and John Wesley's command to sing lustily has still to be rationalised. I had also not anticipated that congregations sang complex set pieces. They may have had the support of a choir, but if Wesley's wishes were respected they would have sung unaccompanied, except perhaps for a violoncello. Wesley's views on music are well known, but the extent to which congregations ignored his orders was unexpected. Their preference for repeating tunes can be seen as a triumph of popular choice, as can the introduction of set pieces with instrumental accompaniment, which became an essential part of anniversary services despite Conference regulations.

The study of part allocations has been an important part of this dissertation. The flexibility of part allocations in earlier books had not been examined in detail before and I have found that singers could vary the number and doubling of parts according to the availability of voices. However, the later use of G clefs to facilitate instrumental



accompaniment and the placement of the tune next to the bass to aid keyboard accompaniment caused confusion, which has still not been totally resolved today.

My work on the contemporary writings of Elias Hall and William Cole has provided new and valuable insight into the tribulations of two psalmodists who lived two hundred miles and a hundred years apart.<sup>2</sup> Both works need to be republished in modern editions, as do the later diaries of Moses Heap and Isaac Smith.<sup>3</sup>

## Future Research

Researchers inevitably build on the work of previous scholars. My dissertation provides another step forward and will enable future researchers to explore other aspects of psalmody in more detail. This repertory did not exist in isolation and investigation is still needed into many other factors, including transatlantic links with America and Canada. For instance, KING DAVID'S ANTHEM by William Billings,<sup>4</sup> appears in Scottish books at the beginning of the nineteenth century,<sup>5</sup> and the composer Stephen Jarvis from Dartmouth was buried with his family in the Old Loyalist Burying Ground at St Andrews, New Brunswick, in 1834.<sup>6</sup> There are also possible connections with similar traditions in European sacred music, including the rural Christmas pastorellas from counties such as Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland, which were performed with voices and instruments.<sup>7</sup>

Nearer home, more research is still needed into the psalmody of Scotland and Northern Ireland and the relationship between various carolling traditions within the

<sup>2</sup> Higson MS (DCD Elias Hall MS); W. Cole, *A View of Modern Psalmody* (Colchester, 1819).

<sup>3</sup> Rawtenstall Library, RC 942 ROS: M. Heap, 'My Life and Times', 1904, typescript, 1961; I. Smith, 'My Fiddle and I', 1903, unpaginated transcript, author's collection.

<sup>4</sup> David's Lamentation 'David, the king': W. Billings, *The Singing Master Assistant* (Boston, 1778), XX.

<sup>5</sup> A. Houston, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes, Hymns and Anthems* (Glasgow, [c.1803]), 8; J. Robertson, *A Selection of the best Psalm and Hymn Tunes* (Glasgow, [1814]), 58.

<sup>6</sup> S. Jarvis, *Twelve Psalm Tunes, and Eight Anthems* (London, [1816]); St Andrews, New Brunswick Cemetery Records: [www.rootsweb.com/~nbstandr/oldloyalistanglicancem/oldloyalistsectb.htm](http://www.rootsweb.com/~nbstandr/oldloyalistanglicancem/oldloyalistsectb.htm).

<sup>7</sup> G. Chew, 'Pastorella', *GMO*, ed. L. Macy (2001).

British Isles from areas such as Sheffield, Cornwall, and Wales would be an interesting study (for a bilingual student). Links with other vernacular musical genres within Britain, such as dance and military music, which have been largely ignored by musicologists, also need to be investigated. John Fawcett's obituary notes that he composed military band music, which now seems to be lost,<sup>8</sup> and two other psalmody composers, John Valentine and Joseph Key, wrote sets of marches and other pieces with variable scoring.<sup>9</sup> Valentine's subscription list includes the names of a number of military men, as well as musical societies.

There are many other possible projects. We still know very little about nineteenth-century revivalist psalmody, or about later Sunday School anniversary music, which was of particular importance in northern England. The growth in the publication of psalmody books, particularly by specialist engravers of sacred music such as James Peck and Joseph Hart, may prove to be another fruitful area of study. Also, there are strong links with the development of tonic sol-fa, which was originally introduced by Sarah Glover,<sup>10</sup> before it was turned into a national and international organisation by John Curwen.<sup>11</sup>

Smaller projects might include an investigation of the pitches of extant instruments and pitchpipes, or analysis of the choice of tunes by correlating the different hymn and psalm books which contain tune names.<sup>12</sup> It would also be useful if the regulations concerning music in the Methodist conference minutes could be clearly

<sup>8</sup> 'Death of Mr John Fawcett', *Bolton Chronicle*, 2 November 1867.

<sup>9</sup> J. Valentine, *Twenty Four Marches, Minuets and Airs [...] for Two Violins, Two Hoboys (or German Flutes) Two French Horns and a Bass* (London, [?1783]); J. Key, *Eighteen Marches etc, for Two Violins (Flutes or Hautboys), Two French Horns, ad libitum, and a Bass*, (London, [c.1790]).

<sup>10</sup> S. Glover, *Scheme for Rendering Psalmody Congregational* (Norwich, 1835).

<sup>11</sup> C. McGuire. *Music and Victorian Philanthropy: The Tonic Sol-fa Movement* (Cambridge, 2009).

<sup>12</sup> For instance, [J. Wesley], *A Pocket Hymn Book, for the Use of Christians of All Denominations* (London, 1787); *A Course of Singing Psalms, for Half a Year* (London, [?1765]); *Extracts from the Two Versions of the Psalms [...] to be occasionally Sung in St John's Church, Wakefield* (Wakefield, 1799).



ordered by reference to the original manuscript sources, which are held at the John Rylands University Library in Manchester.

Research is never finished. My own plans include work on Primitive Methodist music, further study of a collection of music that belonged to the Stockport Sunday School and investigation of the psalmody sung at the Moravian settlement at Fairfield near Manchester. Some of my research has already been published in various book chapters (pp.xii–xii) and I was responsible for most of the music editions in *Musica Britannica*, 85.<sup>13</sup> I hope to develop material from this dissertation into a more substantial book, either on the performance practice of psalmody or on the music of English nonconformity.

Many questions remain unanswered. We have some knowledge of how singers were taught but know nothing about the education of the teachers, who could have been cathedral-trained. Subscription lists include the names of many choirs but the possible differences between societies of singers and musical societies are still unclear. Basic analysis of the subscription lists of 42 psalmody books, which were published between 1738 and 1846 has produced the names of 24 groups of 'Singers', 92 'Choirs', 58 'Choirs of Singers', 72 'Societies of Singers', 39 'Choral Societies and 18 'Musical Societies', together with 53 parishes and 12 churches or chapels (DCD subscription lists). More work is needed into the geographical spread and precise function of these groups.

The music remains paramount. Many psalmody manuscripts are privately owned and their contents need to be correlated with those held in libraries and archives; we will then have a clear idea of how much of the printed psalmody repertory was actually performed. We also need more critical editions, including single-volume works of compilers and composers such as John Chetham, William Knapp and Joseph Key.

Most of all, we must perform and record psalmody, ideally without commercial constraints that limit the choice of music to pieces which are immediately attractive. Practical experimentation is required. How does the sound alter when we use male altos and child trebles? What happens to a piece when different voices are doubled, or the instrumentation is changed? What do James Leach's eight-part choruses really sound like? Although some commentators think that psalmody should be studied from the sociological perspective, I believe that our final responsibility is to the composers who provided such a wealth of music. We owe it to them to interpret their work as faithfully as possible.

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<sup>13</sup> N. Temperley and S. Drage, *Eighteenth-Century Psalmody*, *Musica Britannica*, 85 (London, 2007).



## Appendix

**Table 5.1.** Instrumental scoring in J. Barwick, *Harmonia Cantica Divina or the Second Part of the Kentish Divine Harmonist* [...] with *Symphonies for Two Oboes and a Bassoon* (London, [-1796]).

Psalm	text	oboe 1	oboe 2	bassoon	
8 vv.1-4 [OV]	O God our Lord how wonderful	✓	✓	✓	symphonies; bar 8 of texted bass part marked 'Bassoon'
136 vv.1-4 [NV]	To God the mighty Lord	✓	✓	✓	symphonies
11 vv.1-4 OV	In God the Lord I put my trust	✓	✓	✓	symphonies
30 vv. 10-12 NV	Hear me, O Lord, in mercy hear	✓	✓	✓	symphonies; separate instrumental bass to voice parts
108 vv.1-5 [NV]	O God, my heart is fully bent	✓	✓	✓ x2	symphonies; separate instrumental bass to voice parts; bars 46-53 tenor in alto C clef; bars 46-50 bass voice in tenor C clef
148 vv.1-3, 14 NV	Ye boundless realms of joy	✓	✓	✓	symphonies
84 vv.5-7 [Isaac Watts]	To spend one sacred day	✓	✓	✓	symphony; 3 voice parts with separate instrumental bass
60 NV	O God who hast our troops dispers'd	✓	✓	✓	symphony; 4 bars of untexted bass marked 'Bassoon'; separate instrumental bass to treble and bass solos
106 vv.1-5, 48 NV	O render thanks to God above	x	x	✓ unnamed	separate instrumental bass to treble and bass solos
147 NV	O praise the Lord with hymns of joy	✓	✓	✓	symphonies; separate instrumental bass to voice parts
112 NV 'Compos'd for a Charity Sermon'	The soul that's fill'd with vertues light	✓	✓	✓	symphony; separate instrumental bass to voice parts
118 vv.19-22 OV	I will give thanks to thee O God	✓	✓	✓	symphonies
81 vv. 1-4 OV	Be light and glad, in God rejoice	✓	✓	✓	symphonies
43 vv. 3-6 OV	O Lord send out thy light and truth	✓	✓	✓	symphonies
34 vv.1-4 NV	Thro' all the changing scenes of life	✓	✓	✓	symphonies
9 vv.1-4 OV	With heart and mouth to thee O Lord	✓	✓	✓	symphonies ; 2nd oboe marked 'Oboe 3' which is presumably a printing error
66 vv.1-4 NV	Let all the lands with shouts of joy	✓	✓	✓	symphonies
122 vv.1, 3, 5-7 'Mr Merick'	The festal morn my God is come	✓	✓	✓	symphony; separate instrumental bass to treble and bass solos

**Table 5.2.** Instrumental scoring in J. Key, *Eight Anthems, on Various Occasions* [...] also *Te Deum* (London, 1774), and in the Jubilate in the 2nd edition (Nuneaton, 1776).

heading	text	violin 'Vio.'	oboe 'Haut.'	trumpet 'Trum.'	bass 'Basso.'	
Anthem I, for Easter Day	Now is Christ risen from the dead	✓	✓	✓	✓	symphonies; alternative 13 bars for 'Voices' alone
Anthem II, for Ascension Day	Lift up your heads O ye gates	✓	✓		✓	symphonies; bars 8, 51 and 53 include a two-note oboe chord
Anthem III, for Thanksgiving for Victory	I will sing unto the Lord		✓		✓	symphonies; alto in C clef
Anthem IV, from Revela <sup>ns</sup> Ch. XIX	I heard a great voice		✓		✓	symphonies; alto in C clef
Anthem V from Psalm LXVII	God be merciful unto us					bar 76 an extra bass run of four quavers could be instrumental
Anthem VIII, for Christmas Day	There were shepherds abiding in the fields	✓	✓	x	✓	symphonies
Jubilate [2nd edition only]	O be joyful in the Lord	x	x	x	✓unnamed	instrumental bass on same stave as bass voice



**Table 5.3.** Instrumental scoring in J. Key, *Eleven Anthems on General and Particular Occasions [...] interspersed with Symphonies [...] for Two Hautboys and a Bassoon* (Nuneaton, [1779]).

Instruments are unnamed and all symphonies are in three parts unless noted.					
heading	text	[oboe 1]	[oboe 2]	[bassoon]	
Anthem I, for Coronations Psalm XXI &c <sup>a</sup>	The king shall rejoice	✓	✓	✓	opening symphony has G clef for two upper parts then alto and tenor voices in C clefs; bar 41 untexted bass passage marked 'Bassoon'; also at bar 97 with 'Repiano' at bar 99 when the voice presumably resumes
Anthem II, for a Fast Joel Chap <sup>f</sup> 11	Blow ye the trumpet			✓	separate instrumental bass throughout
Anthem III for Ascension Day Psalm XLVII	O clap your hands together	✓	✓	✓	alto and tenor voices in C clef but G clef is used for upper parts of symphonies; three short symphonies from bar 81 are in 4 parts
Anthem IV The Collect for Sunday after Ascension Day	O God the King of glory	x	x	✓	bar 63 extra bass quavers with vocal bass part for 16 bars; some extra bass notes to the end
Anthem V, A Thanksgiving after the Holy Sacrament Psalm CXV Ver 1 and part of the Communion Service	Not unto us O Lord	✓	✓	✓	no opening symphony; bar 37 independent instrumental bass; the tenor voice is in the C clef throughout; the alto changes from the C to the G clef for the first and last symphonies, but in the two intervening ones both upper parts are on the top stave
Anthem VI St Matthew Ch.XI Ver.28 Proper for the Holy Sacrament	Come unto me all ye that labour	✓	✓	✓	two upper parts of symphonies on top stave, presumably because the alto and tenor are in C clefs throughout
Anthem, VII St John Ch. 14	Let not your heart be troubled	✓	✓	✓	two upper parts of symphonies on top stave; alto and tenor are in C clefs throughout; bar 86 bass voice part marked 'Bass <sup>n</sup> Soft'
Anthem VIII, Psalm CXXVIII for Weddings	Blessed are all they that fear the Lord	✓	✓	✓	two upper parts of symphonies on top stave; alto and tenor are in C clefs throughout
Anthem IX, Psalm LXXXIV	O how amiable are thy dwellings	x	x	✓	symphonies for instrumental bass only; some extra notes added to the bass voice part
Anthem X, Psalm LXVIII Proper for Whitsunday	Let God arise	?✓	?✓	✓	five one-bar symphonies with chords on top stave perhaps intended for keyboard; two untexted bass sections marked 'Bass <sup>n</sup> '
Anthem XI for Christmas Day Isaiah Chap.LX Ver.1	Arise shine for thy light is come	✓	✓	✓	two or three note chords on top stave of symphonies, perhaps intended for keyboard; some extra dotted quaver instrumental passages added to vocal bass; bass of treble duet marked 'Bass <sup>n</sup> '; separate instrumental bass for last 21 bars

**Table 5.4.** Instrumental scoring in J. Key, *Five Anthems, Four Collects, Twenty Psalm Tunes, Three Carols, a Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis* (London, [1785]).

heading	text	[treble instruments]	[bass instrument]	
Anthem I for Easter Day	The Lord is ris'n indeed	✓✓	✓	symphony; upper two parts on top stave possibly for keyboard
Anthem II Psalm XXIII proper for the Holy Sacrament	The Lord is my shepherd	✓✓	✓	symphony
Anthem III Psalm CIII Verse XIX	The Lord hath prepared his seat in heav'n	✓	✓	two-part symphonies; treble on top stave in four part section; three two-bar bass symphonies marked 'Bassoon'
Anthem IV Psalm CXLVIII	O praise the Lord of heav'n	x	✓	bar 48 extra notes added to bass voice; one further four-note run
The Collect for the Second Sunday in Advent	Blessed Lord	x	✓	instrumental bass passages on same stave as bass voice marked 'Bassoon'
The Collect for the Sixth Sunday after Trinity	O God who hast prepared for them	✓✓	✓	symphony; upper two parts on top stave possibly for keyboard; some extra bass notes at the octave
Psalm XVIII <sup>th</sup> Verses 9, 10, 11 & 12	The Lord descended from above	✓	✓	bar 21 upper 'Tenor' part of two-part stave with two ?voice parts marked 'Hoboy Soft'
Psalm XXIV Verse 7	Ye gates and everlasting doors	✓✓	✓	symphony on three staves
Psalm XXXIV <sup>th</sup> Verses 7, 8 & 9	The angel of the Lord doth pitch his tents	x	✓✓	two-part bass symphony marked 'Two Bassoons'; separate instrumental bass throughout
Psalm XLVII Verses 5 & 6	Our God ascended up on high	✓✓	✓	symphony on three staves
Psalm LXVIII Verse 34	Therefore ye kingdoms of the earth	✓✓	✓	symphony on three staves; separate instrumental bass throughout
Psalm LXXXI	Be light and glad in God	✓✓	✓	symphonies on three staves
Psalm LXXXIV	How pleasant is thy dwelling place	✓✓	✓	symphonies on two and three staves
Psalm CXXII	I did in heart rejoice	✓✓	✓	symphonies on three staves; separate instrumental bass throughout; second treble instrument part with two chords on alto line in second symphony
Psalm CXXXIII	O what a happy thing it is	✓✓	✓	symphonies on two and three staves with some chords in upper parts
Psalm CL	Yield unto God the mighty Lord	x	✓	some extra notes added to vocal bass
Carol I	Hail happy morn	x	✓	separate instrumental bass throughout
Carol II	As shepherds watch'd their fleecy care	x	✓	one extra quaver run added to vocal bass
Carol III	He comes, let ev'ry heart rejoice	x	✓	separate instrumental bass to verse



**Table 5.5. J. Key, *Five Anthems and Four Hymns, on General and Particular Occasions, Ten Psalm Tunes, Seven Carols etc.*, Book 4 (London, [c.1790]).**

heading	text	[treble instruments]	[bass instrument]	
Anthem V From Psalm 133	Behold how good and joyful	✓	✓	no opening symphony; two in two parts marked 'Hoboy' and 'Bassoon'
Psalm CIV	O Lord our great God	✓	✓	two-part symphonies; separate instrumental bass throughout
Carol II	Rejoice ye shepherds	x	✓	separate instrumental bass to verse
Carol III	Awake, ye drowsy mortals all	x	✓	separate instrumental bass to verse

**Table 5.6. Instrumental scoring in T. Collins, *A Collection of Anthems and Psalms, for Two Three and Four Voices* (N[un]geaton, [c.1790]).**

heading	text	flute 1 and 2	oboe 1 and 2	clarinets	horns	violin 1 and 2	viola	instrumental bass
Anthem From Luke, Chap. 1 Verse 68	Blessed be the Lord		✓ or clarinets	✓ or oboes		x		✓
Anthem From Psalm 34 Verse 1	I will always give thanks					x		✓ apparently on same stave and doubling voice except for a 16-bar Adagio and three lower sustained notes
Anthem taken from the XIII and XIV Chap' of Esther	O Lord the King almighty		✓ and violins		✓ in Eb	✓ and oboes		✓ apparently on same stave as voice either doubling or 8va lower, except for solo
Psalms I	The man is blest		✓		✓ in E	✓	✓	✓ alternative vocal bass part for solo if unaccompanied
Psalms II	Why did the Gentiles tumults raise?		✓ or violins in chorus			✓ 4 bars in solo; or oboes in chorus		✓
Psalms VI	Lord in thy wrath reprove me not							
Psalms IX	With heart and mouth to thee O Lord		✓ some violin doubling in solo?		✓ in D	✓ some oboe doubling in solo?		✓ alternative vocal bass part for solo if unaccompanied
Psalms XXIII	My shepherd is the living Lord		✓ or horns in trio; and horns in chorus		✓ or oboes in trio; and oboes in chorus	x		✓ apparently doubles voice in trio with a few notes 8va lower
Psalms XXXV	Lord plead my cause against my foes				✓ in Eb	✓ violin 1 with voice in solo		✓ alternative vocal bass part for solo if unaccompanied



heading	text	flute 1 and 2	oboe 1 and 2	clarinets	horns	violin 1 and 2	viola	instrumental bass
Psalms LI	O Lord consider my distress							
Psalms LXX	O God to me take heed							
Psalms XCII	It is a thing both good and meet	✓	✓ and violins		✓ in G in chorus	✓ and oboes; violin 1 with voice in solo		✓
Psalms XCV	O come let us lift up our voice	✓ or oboes	✓ or flutes		✓ in D	✓	✓	✓
Psalms CXXV	Those that do place their confidence	✓ or oboes or clarinets	✓ or flutes or clarinets	✓ or flutes or oboes	✓ in F	x	✓	✓
Psalms CXXX	Lord unto thee I make my moan		✓ and violins		✓ in Eb	✓ and oboes		✓
Psalms CXXXIII	O what a happy thing it is		✓					✓
Psalms CXLV	Thee will I laud my God and King							
Psalms CL	Yield unto God the mighty Lord		✓ short passages in duet as marked		✓ in Eb 'may be play'd on Bassoons'	x		✓ apparently with 2nd horn on last system
An Hymn for Christmas Day	All hail and praise the sacred morn				✓ [in Eb] printed separately	x		✓ apparently on same stave as voice either doubling or 8va lower

Table 5.7. Instrumental scoring in J. Foster, *Sacred Music* (York, [c.1817]).

heading	text	flute 1 and 2	oboe 1 and 2	bassoon	horn 1 and 2	trumpet	timpani	violin 1 and 2	viola	violoncello	organ
Morning Hymn. To be sung at the commencement of Divine Service.	God of the morning at whose voice	✓ or oboes	✓ or flutes					✓	✓	✓ with organ	✓
Psalm 95 Sternhold and Hopkin Metre [OV]	O come let us lift up our voice	✓ or oboes	✓ or flutes					✓	✓	✓ with organ	✓
Ps.125 <sup>th</sup> Old Version.	Such as in God the Lord do trust		✓					✓	✓	✓ with organ	✓
Ps.119 <sup>h</sup> Verses 5, 6, 7, 8. Old Version.	O would to God it might thee please	✓ or oboes	✓ or flutes		✓			✓	✓	✓ with organ	✓
Ps.138 <sup>h</sup> Old Version.	Thee will I praise with my whole heart		✓					✓	✓ 'Tenor'	✓	✓
Ps.96 <sup>h</sup> Old Version.	Sing ye with praise unto the Lord		✓					✓	✓	✓ with organ	✓
Ps.117 <sup>h</sup> Old Version.	O all ye nations of the world				✓					✓ with organ	✓
Dismissal. To be sung at the End of Divine Service.	Lord dismiss us with thy blessing	✓						✓	✓	✓ with organ	✓



**Table 5.8. Instrumental scoring in J. Foster, *A 2d Collection of Sacred Music* (York, [c.1817]).**

heading	text	flute 1 and 2	oboe 1 and 2	bassoon	horn 1 and 2	trumpet	timpani	violin 1 and 2	viola	violoncello	organ
Hymn.	Grateful notes and numbers bring	✓						✓	✓	✓	✓ or 'P. Forte'
Ps.96. Verses 9, 10, 11, 12 Old Version.	Fall down and worship ye the Lord	✓						✓	✓	✓	✓ or 'P. Forte'
Ps.50 <sup>h</sup> Old Version.	The God of Gods the Lord hath called	✓						✓	✓	✓ 'Bass'	✓ or 'P. Forte'
Ps.130 <sup>h</sup> [Old Version].	Lord unto thee I make my moan	✓						✓	✓	✓	✓ or 'P. Forte'
Ps.47. Old Version.	Ye people all with one accord	✓ x1	✓		✓	✓	✓ 'Drum'	✓	✓	✓	✓ or 'P. Forte'
Ps.23. Old Version.	My shepherd is the living Lord							✓	✓	with organ	✓
Ps.106. Verse 1. & Psalm 105 Verses 2, 3. Old Version.	Praise ye the Lord for he is good	✓ x1	✓ or violins	✓ or violoncello				✓ or oboes	✓	✓ or bassoon with organ	✓
Anthem Psalm 89, Verses [11, 12, 13, 8. Old Version.]	The heav'ns are thine and still have been	✓ or oboes: doubled in chorus	✓ or flutes: doubled in chorus		✓	✓ in chorus	✓ in chorus	✓	✓	✓ with organ	✓
Hymn	Glory be to God on high	✓ or oboes	✓ or flutes					✓	✓	✓	✓

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**THE PERFORMANCE OF  
ENGLISH PROVINCIAL PSALMODY  
c.1690–c.1840**

**Sally Drage**

**MUSIC ANTHOLOGY**

Submitted in accordance with the requirements  
for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

**The University of Leeds  
School of Music**

**November 2009**

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own  
and that appropriate credit has been given where  
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CD 1

# 1 All people that on earth do dwell

PSALM 100

text: William Kethe, 1560

Anon., arr. John Playford, 1658

All peo - ple that on earth do dwell, Sing to the Lord with cheer - ful voice:

[All peo - ple that on earth do dwell, Sing to the Lord with cheer - ful voice:

This system contains the first two staves of music. The top staff is in treble clef and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The music is in common time (C). The lyrics are written below the staves.

Him serve with fear, his praise forth tell, Come ye be - fore him and re - joice.

Him serve with fear, his praise forth tell, Come ye be - fore him and re - joice.]

This system contains the next two staves of music. The top staff begins with a '3' above it, indicating a triplet. The lyrics are written below the staves.

CD 2

# 2 All people that on earth do dwell

THE 100 PSALM TUNE

text: William Kethe, 1560

Anon., arr. Daniel Purcell, 1718

GIVEN OUT

This system contains the first two staves of music. The top staff is in treble clef and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The music is in common time (C) and the key signature has one sharp (F#). The top staff features a complex, rhythmic melody with many sixteenth notes and slurs. The bottom staff provides a simple harmonic accompaniment.

This system contains the next two staves of music. The top staff begins with a '3' above it, indicating a triplet. The melody continues with similar rhythmic complexity. The bottom staff continues the accompaniment.

This system contains the final two staves of music. The top staff begins with a '6' above it, indicating a sextuplet. The melody concludes with a final flourish. The bottom staff concludes the accompaniment.



9

Musical notation for measures 9-11, featuring a treble and bass staff in G major. The treble staff contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, while the bass staff provides a simple harmonic accompaniment.

12

Musical notation for measures 12-13, continuing the melody and accompaniment from the previous system.

WITH THE INTERLUDES

14

[All peo - ple that on earth do dwell,

Musical notation for measures 14-17, including vocal lines and accompaniment. The lyrics are: [All peo - ple that on earth do dwell,

18

Sing to the Lord with cheer-ful voice;

Musical notation for measures 18-22, including vocal lines and accompaniment. The lyrics are: Sing to the Lord with cheer-ful voice;

23

Him serve with fear, his praise forth tell,

Musical notation for measures 23-24, including vocal lines and accompaniment. The lyrics are: Him serve with fear, his praise forth tell,

25

Come ye be-fore him and re - joice.]

Musical notation for measures 25-28, including vocal lines and accompaniment. The lyrics are: Come ye be-fore him and re - joice.]

### 3 O thou to whom all creatures bow

#### PSALM 8 N VERSION

text: Tate and Brady, 1696

?Michael Beesly, c. 1746

1. [O thou to whom all crea - tures bow With -

1. [O thou to whom all crea - tures bow With -

1. O thou to whom all crea - tures bow With -

1. [O thou to whom all crea - tures bow With -

5  
-in this earth - ly frame,] Through all the world how

-in this earth - ly frame,] Through all the world how

-in this earth - ly frame,] Through all the world how

-in this earth - ly frame,] Through all the world how

9  
Through all the world how great art

Through all the world how great art

all the world how great art thou, through all the world how great art

great art thou, through all the world how great art



13

1. 2.

thou! How glo - rious is thy name! [name!]

thou! How glo - rious is thy name! [name!]

thou! How glo - rious is thy name! [name!]

thou! How glo - rious is thy name! [name!]

CD 7

## 4 How long wilt thou forget me, Lord?

PSALM XIII WATFORD TUNE

text: Thomas Sternhold, 1549

Benjamin West, 1760

How long, \_\_\_\_\_ how long wilt thou for - get

How long, how long, \_\_\_\_\_ how long wilt thou for - get

How long, how long \_\_\_\_\_ wilt thou for - get

How long, how long \_\_\_\_\_ wilt thou for - get

6

me, Lord? \_\_\_\_\_ Shall it for e - ver be, \_\_\_\_\_ for e -

me, Lord? \_\_\_\_\_ Shall it for e - ver be, \_\_\_\_\_ for e -

me, Lord? \_\_\_\_\_ Shall it for e - ver be, \_\_\_\_\_ for e -

me, Lord? \_\_\_\_\_ Shall it for e - ver be, \_\_\_\_\_ for e -

11

-ver be? How long, how long,

-ver be? How long, how long,

-ver be? How long, how long,

-ver be? How long, how

16

how long dost thou in-tend to hide thy face a-way from me? [me?]

how long dost thou in-tend to hide thy face a-way from me? [me?]

how long dost thou in-tend to hide thy face a-way from me? [me?]

long dost thou in-tend to hide thy face a-way from me? [me?]

CD 8

**5 My life's a shade**  
**FUNERAL HYMN**

text: Samuel Crossman, 1664

?William Knapp, 1753

My life's a shade, my days A-pace to death de-

[My life's a shade, my days A-pace to death de-

[My life's a shade, my days A-pace to death de-

[My life's a shade, my days A-pace to death de-



7

-cline; My Lord is life, he'll raise My

-cline; My Lord is life, he'll raise My

-cline; My Lord is life, he'll raise My

-cline; My Lord is life, he'll raise My

12

dust a - gain, ev'n mine. Sweet truth to

dust a - gain, ev'n mine. Sweet truth] to

dust a - gain, ev'n mine. Sweet truth to

dust a - gain, ev'n mine. Sweet truth] to

17

me; I shall a - rise and with these eyes my Sav - iour see.

me; I shall a - rise [and with these eyes my Sav - iour see.]

me; I shall a - rise and with these eyes my Sav - iour see.]

me; I shall a - rise [and with these eyes my Sav - iour see.]

## 6 Praised be the God of love

## DIALOGUE

John Hill, c.1757

text: George Herbert, 1633

Both Angels Both

Prais-ed be the God of love, Men And here a-bove: Who hath dealt his

[Prais-ed be the God of love,] Here be-low, [Who hath dealt his

6 Angels Both

mer-cies so, To his friend, Men to his friend and to his foe.

mer-cies so,] And to his foe, [to his friend and to his foe.]

## CHORUS

11

Who hath dealt his mer-cy so, To his friend and to his foe.

[Who hath dealt his mer-cy so, To his friend and to his foe.]

Who hath dealt his mer-cy so, To his friend and to his foe.

[Who hath dealt his mer-cy so, To his friend and to his foe.]

2. Both: That both grace and glory tend  
 Angels: Us of old,  
 Men: And us in th'end.  
 Both: The great shepherd of the fold  
 Angels: Us did make,  
 Men: For us was sold.

3. Both: He our foes in pieces brake:  
 Men: Him we touch,  
 Angels: And him we take.  
 Both: Wherefore since that he is such,  
 Angels: We adore,  
 Men: And we do crouch.

4. Both: Lord, thy praises shall be more:  
 Men: We have none,  
 Angels: And we no store.  
 Both: Praised be the God alone,  
 Who hath made  
 Of twofolds one.



7 Psalm ye 96th

Gratrix [?Anthony Greateorex], 1773

[Instrumental bass]

A single musical staff in bass clef, starting with a common time signature 'C'. It contains a continuous line of eighth and sixteenth notes, forming a rhythmic accompaniment.

A system of five musical staves. The top staff is in treble clef and contains a vocal line with various note values and rests. The bottom four staves are in bass clef and provide instrumental accompaniment, including a prominent bass line with eighth notes.

A system of five musical staves. The top staff is in treble clef and contains a vocal line. The bottom four staves are in bass clef and provide instrumental accompaniment, with a consistent rhythmic pattern.

A system of five musical staves. The top staff is in treble clef and contains a vocal line. The bottom four staves are in bass clef and provide instrumental accompaniment, concluding the page with a final cadence.

22

Musical score for measures 22-27. The score consists of five staves. The first three staves are in treble clef, and the last two are in bass clef. The key signature has two flats. The music features a variety of note values, including quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, with some notes beamed together. There are several rests throughout the passage.

28

Musical score for measures 28-32. The score consists of five staves. The first three staves are in treble clef, and the last two are in bass clef. The key signature has two flats. The music continues with similar rhythmic patterns and note values as the previous system, including some sixteenth-note runs.

33

Musical score for measures 33-37. The score consists of five staves. The first three staves are in treble clef, and the last two are in bass clef. The key signature has two flats. The music concludes with a final cadence, indicated by double bar lines and repeat dots at the end of each staff. A dynamic marking 'p' is present at the bottom right of the page.



# 8 All people that on earth do dwell

## THE 100 PSALM PROPER TUNE

text: William Kethe, 1560

Anon., arr. Starling Goodwin, c.1775

### [GIVING OUT]

Musical notation for the first system of the 'GIVING OUT' section, measures 1-2. The music is in G major (one sharp) and common time. The treble clef part features a melody with trills and grace notes, while the bass clef part provides a simple harmonic accompaniment.

Musical notation for the second system of the 'GIVING OUT' section, measures 3-4. The treble clef part continues the melodic line with trills and grace notes, and includes a triplet of eighth notes in measure 3. The bass clef part continues the accompaniment.

### FULL

Musical notation for the 'FULL' section, measures 5-6. The treble clef part begins with a repeat sign and includes lyrics: "[All peo-ple that on\_earth do dwell, Sing to the Lord with cheerful voice;". The bass clef part provides accompaniment.

Musical notation for the 'FULL' section, measures 7-8. The treble clef part includes lyrics: "Him serve with fear,\_ his praise forth tell, Come ye be-fore him and rejoice." and ends with a [Fine] marking. The bass clef part provides accompaniment.

### INTERLUDE 1

Musical notation for the 'INTERLUDE 1' section, measures 9-11. This section is instrumental, featuring a more active melodic line in the treble clef and a rhythmic accompaniment in the bass clef.

Musical notation for the final section of the piece, measures 12-14. The treble clef part features a melodic line with grace notes, and the bass clef part provides accompaniment.

14 [D.S.] [tr]

INTERLUDE 2

16

20 [D.S.] tr

INTERLUDE 3

24

26

28 [D.S.] [tr]



# 9 All people that on earth do dwell

## PSALM THE 100

text: William Kethe, 1560

Anon., arr. William Seal, late 18th cent.

[All peo-ple that on earth do dwell, Sing to the Lord with cheerful voice;

[All peo-ple that on earth do dwell, Sing to the Lord with cheerful voice;

[Air]  
[All peo-ple that on earth do dwell, Sing to the Lord with cheerful voice;

[All peo-ple that on earth do dwell, Sing to the Lord with cheerful voice;

11

Him serve with fear, his praise forth tell, Come ye be - fore him and re - joice.]

Him serve with fear, his praise forth tell, Come ye be - fore him and re - joice.]

Him serve with fear, his praise forth tell, Come ye be - fore him and re - joice.]

Him serve with fear, his praise forth tell, Come ye be - fore him and re - joice.]

### SYM[PHONY] BEFORE THE 1 VERSE

21

25

29

Musical notation for measures 29-32. The system consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The melody in the treble staff is active, featuring eighth and sixteenth notes. The bass staff provides a steady accompaniment with quarter notes.

33

Musical notation for measures 33-37. The system consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The melody in the treble staff continues with eighth and sixteenth notes. The bass staff continues with quarter notes.

SYM[PHONY] BEFORE THE 2 VERSE

38

Musical notation for measures 38-41. The system consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The time signature changes to 3/4. The melody in the treble staff features a mix of eighth and quarter notes. The bass staff continues with quarter notes.

42

Musical notation for measures 42-45. The system consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The time signature is 3/4. The melody in the treble staff continues with eighth and quarter notes. The bass staff continues with quarter notes.

SYM[PHONY] BEFORE THE 3 VERSE

46

Musical notation for measures 46-49. The system consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The time signature is 3/4. The melody in the treble staff continues with eighth and quarter notes. The bass staff continues with quarter notes.

50

Musical notation for measures 50-53. The system consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The time signature is 3/4. The melody in the treble staff continues with eighth and quarter notes. The bass staff continues with quarter notes.

SYM[PHONY] BEFORE THE 4 VERSE

54

Musical notation for measures 54-57. The system consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The time signature is 3/4. The melody in the treble staff continues with eighth and quarter notes. The bass staff continues with quarter notes.

58

Musical notation for measures 58-61. The system consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The time signature is 3/4. The melody in the treble staff continues with eighth and quarter notes. The bass staff continues with quarter notes.



10 O all ye works of the Lord  
A CANNON. THIS GAIN'D A PRIZE MEDAL 1781

text: after the Benedicite *The Book of Common Prayer*

[Samuel Webbe senior], 1781

Andante

O all ye works of the Lord,  
O all ye works of the Lord,  
O all ye works of the Lord, Praise ye the Lord and  
O all ye works of the Lord, Praise ye the Lord and mag-ni -

Praise ye the Lord and mag-ni - fy him for ev - er.  
Praise ye the Lord and mag-ni - fy him for ev - er.  
mag-ni - fy him for ev - er. O all ye works of the  
-fy him for ev - er. O all ye works of the

# 11 O come let us lift up our voice

## PSALM XCV

text: John Hopkins, 1562

Thomas Collins, c.1790

Musical score for the first system, featuring the following instruments:

- Flute or oboe 1
- Flute or oboe 2
- Cornos in D
- Violin 1
- Violin 2
- Viola
- Bass [instrument]

The score is written in D major and 3/4 time. The first two staves (Flute/Oboe 1 and 2) play a melodic line. The third staff (Cornos) provides harmonic support. The string section (Violin 1, Violin 2, Viola, Bass) plays a rhythmic accompaniment with some melodic movement.

Musical score for the second system, featuring the following instruments:

- fl1, ob1
- fl2, ob2
- hns
- vn1
- vn2
- vla
- bi

The score continues from the first system. The woodwinds (flutes/oboes and horns) play a melodic line. The string section (violins, viola, and bass) provides a rhythmic accompaniment. A measure rest of 4 measures is indicated at the beginning of the system.



7

fl1, ob1  
fl2, ob2  
hns  
vn1  
vn2  
vla  
bi

Detailed description: This system of musical notation covers measures 7, 8, and 9. It features seven staves: fl1, ob1; fl2, ob2; hns; vn1; vn2; vla; and bi. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 2/4. In measure 7, the woodwinds play a melodic line while the strings provide a rhythmic accompaniment. In measure 8, the woodwinds continue their line, and the strings play a steady eighth-note pattern. In measure 9, the woodwinds play a more complex melodic phrase, and the strings continue their accompaniment.

10

fl1, ob1  
fl2, ob2  
hns  
vn1  
vn2  
vla  
bi

Detailed description: This system of musical notation covers measures 10, 11, and 12. It features the same seven staves as the previous system. In measure 10, the woodwinds play a melodic line with accents, while the strings play a steady eighth-note pattern. In measure 11, the woodwinds continue their melodic line, and the strings play a steady eighth-note pattern. In measure 12, the woodwinds play a more complex melodic phrase, and the strings continue their accompaniment.

14

fl1, ob1  
fl2, ob2  
hns  
vn1  
vn2  
vla  
bi

Detailed description: This system of musical notation covers measures 14 through 17. It features seven staves: fl1, ob1; fl2, ob2; hns; vn1; vn2; vla; and bi. The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is 12/8. The woodwinds and strings play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes with slurs. The horn line (hns) features a complex texture with many beamed notes and slurs.

18

fl1, ob1  
fl2, ob2  
hns  
vn1  
vn2  
vla  
bi

*p* *f* *tr*  
*p* *cresc.* *f* *tr*  
*p* *cresc.* *f*

Detailed description: This system of musical notation covers measures 18 through 21. It features the same seven staves as the previous system. The key signature remains two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is 12/8. The woodwinds and strings play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes with slurs. The horn line (hns) features a complex texture with many beamed notes and slurs. Dynamic markings include *p* (piano) and *f* (forte) in the woodwind and string parts, and *cresc.* (crescendo) in the violin and viola parts. Trills are indicated by *tr* in the flute and violin parts.



21

fl1, ob1

fl2, ob2

hns

vn1

vn2

vla

TREBLE OR TENOR SOLO

[Soprano/Tenor]

This Bass to be Sung where there is no Instrument

[Bass]

bi

O come let us lift up our voice,

O come let us lift up our voice,

*p* *f* *p* *f*

26

vn1

vn2

S/T

B

bi

And sing un -

And sing un -

*p*

29

vn1

vn2

S/T

B

bi

-to the Lord, and sing un - to the

-to the Lord, and sing un - to the

33

vn1

vn2

S/T

B

bi

Lord. In him, our rock of health, re - jice Let

Lord. In him, our rock of health, re - jice Let



38

vn1

vn2 *p* *f* *p*

S/T

us\_ with one ac - cord, let us\_ with one ac - cord.

B

us\_ with one ac - cord, let us\_ with one ac - cord.

bi

44

fl1, ob1

fl2, ob2

hns

vn1

vn2

vla

**CHORUS**

S

In him, our rock of health, re - jice, in

A

[In him, our rock of health, re - jice, in

T

In him, our rock of health, re - jice, in

B

[In him, our rock of health, re - jice, in

bi

48

fl1, obl

fl2, ob2

hns

vn1

vn2

vla

S  
 him, \_\_\_\_\_ our rock of health, re - jice let

A  
 him, our rock of health, re - jice let

T  
 him, our rock of health, re - jice let

B  
 him, \_\_\_\_\_ our rock of health, re - jice let

bi



52

fl1, ob1

fl2, ob2

hns

vn1

vn2

vla

S  
us with one ac - cord, In him, our rock of

A  
us with one ac - cord, In him, our rock of

T  
us with one ac - cord, In him, our rock of

B  
us with one ac - cord, In him, our rock of

bi

57

fl1, ob1

fl2, ob2

hns

vn1

vn2

vla

S  
health, re - joice Let us with one ac - cord, let

A  
health, re - joice Let us with one ac - cord, let

T  
health, re - joice Let us with one ac - cord, let

B  
health, re - joice Let us with one ac - cord, let

bi



62

fl1, ob1

fl2, ob2

hns

vn1

vn2

vla

S

A

T

B

bi

us\_ with one ac - cord.

us with one ac - cord.)

us\_ with one ac - cord.

us\_ with one ac - cord.)

# 12 O God my heart is fix'd

PSALM LVII VER.7 &

text: Tate and Brady, 1696

Thomas Arne, arr. Samuel Arnold  
and John Callcott, 1791

Tre[ble]    O God my heart is fix'd, \_\_\_ 'tis bent, \_\_\_ Its\_

Coun[ter]    O God my heart is fix'd, \_\_\_ 'tis bent, \_\_\_ Its\_

Ten[or]    O God my heart is fix'd, \_\_\_ 'tis bent, \_\_\_ Its

Bass    O God my heart is fix'd, \_\_\_ 'tis bent, \_\_\_ Its

6    thank - ful tri - bute to \_\_\_ pre - sent; And with my

thank - ful tri - bute to \_\_\_ pre - sent; And with my

thank - ful tri - bute to \_\_\_ pre - sent; And with my

6 4    5 3    7 6

thank - ful tri - bute to \_\_\_ pre - sent; And with my

11    heart, my voice I'll raise To\_ thee my\_ God, in

heart, my voice I'll raise To thee my\_ God, in

heart, my voice I'll raise To\_ thee my God, in

6 7    6

heart, my voice I'll raise To thee my God, in



16

songs\_ of praise, And with my heart, my voice\_ I'll  
songs of praise, And with my heart, my voice\_ I'll  
songs\_ of praise, And with my heart, my voice I'll  
6 6 5 7 5 7 6 5  
4 4 #3 3 3 7 5 5

21

raise\_ To\_ thee my God,\_ in songs\_ of praise.  
raise\_ To\_ thee my God, in\_ songs\_ of praise.  
raise To thee my God, in\_ songs\_ of praise.  
6 5 6 5 6 5  
4 3 4 3 4 3

### 13 The Lord, th'almighty monarch, spake

PSALM 50 VER.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6

The Solemnity and Righteousness of God's Judgment

text: James Merrick, 1765

Franz Joseph Haydn, 1794

The Lord, th'al - migh - ty mon - arch, spake, And bade the earth the sum - mons

The Lord, th'al - migh - ty mon - arch, spake, And bade the earth the sum - mons

The Lord, th'al - migh - ty mon - arch, spake, And bade the earth the sum - mons

8

take, and bade the earth the sum - mons take, Far at his eyes the

take, and bade the earth the sum - mons take, Far

take, and bade the earth the sum - mons take, Far at his

15

realms sur - vey Of ris - ing and de -

at his eyes the realms sur - vey Of ris - ing and de -

eyes the realms sur - vey Of ris - ing and de -

21

-clin - ing day, of ris - ing and de - clin - ing day.

-clin - ing day, of ris - ing and de - clin - ing day.

-clin - ing day, of ris - ing and de - clin - ing day.



# 14 O God, my heart is fully bent

PSALM 108 VER. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5

text: Tate and Brady, 1696

John Barwick, c.1796

## SYM[PHONY]

Oboe 1

Oboe 2

Basso 1

Basso 2

5

10

15

20

25

O God, my heart is\_ ful - ly bent To mag -

O God, my heart is\_ ful - ly\_ bent

O God, my heart is\_ ful - ly bent To mag -

O God, my heart is\_ ful - ly bent To

31

ni - fy thy name; My tongue\_ with cheer-ful, cheer -

To mag - ni - fy thy name;

ni - fy thy name;

mag - ni - fy thy name; My tongue\_ with cheer-ful, cheer -



36

- ful songs of praise, Shall ce - le - brate thy fame, My

- ful songs of praise Shall ce - le - brate thy fame, My

41

tongue with cheerful songs of praise Shall ce - le - brate thy

tongue with cheerful songs of praise Shall ce - le - brate thy

46

fame. Shall

My tongue with cheer-ful, cheer - ful songs of praise

My tongue with cheer-ful, cheer - ful songs of praise

fame. Shall

51

ce - le-brate thy fame, My tongue with cheer-ful

Shall ce - le - brate thy fame, My tongue with cheer-ful

Shall ce - le-brate thy fame, My tongue with cheer-ful

ce - le-brate thy fame, My tongue with cheer-ful

56

1. 2.

songs\_ of praise, Shall ce - le - brate thy fame. [fame.]

songs\_ of praise, Shall ce - le - brate thy fame. [fame.]

songs\_ of praise, Shall ce - le - brate thy fame. [fame.]

songs\_ of praise, Shall ce - le - brate thy fame. [fame.]

62

3 3 3



## 15 Ye people all, on earth who dwell

## PSALM 100TH SAVOY

text: William Kethe, 1560, altered John Gresham, c.1797

Anon., arr. William Gresham, c.1797

Loud, and moderately slow

1. Ye peo - ple all, on earth who dwell, Sing to the

6 8 7

6 Lord with cheer - ful voice; Serve him with fear, his mer - cies

6 5 8 7

12 tell, Come ye be - fore him, and re - joice.

6# 8 7

## INTERLUDE

16

20

6 5 4 3

*p* 2. For know the Lord is God alone;  
Know that from him we all proceed;  
He made, he claims us for his own,  
The sheep that in his pasture feed.

*f* 3. O enter then his gates with praise;  
Approach his courts with holy joy;  
Your hearts with warm devotion raise;  
Your tongues in grateful hymns employ.

4. For God is gracious, just and good,  
His mercy is for ever sure;  
His truth at all times firmly stood,  
And shall from age to age endure.

# 16 Evening Hymn

Barrel organ transcription from King Charles the Martyr, Shelland, Suffolk

Thomas Tallis, arr. Anon., 1810

The first system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). It features a melodic line with a triplet of eighth notes marked with a '3' and a first finger. The lower staff is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature, providing a harmonic accompaniment with chords and single notes.

The second system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff continues the melodic line from the first system, starting with a measure marked with a '7'. The lower staff continues the harmonic accompaniment.

The third system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff continues the melodic line, starting with a measure marked with a '13'. The lower staff continues the harmonic accompaniment.



# 17 Ye people all with one accord

## PSALM 47 OLD VERSION

text: John Hopkins, 1560

John Foster, c.1817

*Allegro*

The musical score is arranged in a system of staves. The top three staves are for Flute, Oboe 1st, and Oboe 2nd, all in treble clef. The next three staves are for Horns, Trumpet, and Drum, also in treble clef. Below these are four vocal staves: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass, all in treble clef. The next three staves are for Violin 1st, Violin 2nd, and Viola, all in treble clef. The final staff is for Violonco. (Cello) in bass clef. The bottom-most staff is for Organ or P.Forte, split into two staves (treble and bass clef). The tempo marking 'Allegro' appears at the beginning of the Flute staff and again at the beginning of the Organ/P.Forte staff. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and trills.

Flute

Oboe 1st

Oboe 2nd

Horns

Trumpet

Drum

[Soprano]

[Alto]

[Tenor]

[Bass]

Vio: 1st

Vio: 2nd

Viola

Violonco.

Organ or P.Forte

6

fl.

ob.1

ob.2

tr

hns

tpt

dr.

vln 1

vln 2

vla

vc.

org./pf.



11

fl.

ob.1

ob.2

hns

tpt

dr.

vln 1

vln 2

vla

vc.

org./pf.

Detailed description of the musical score: The score is for measures 11 through 14. The flute (fl.) part consists of four measures of sustained notes with trills. The oboe 1 (ob.1) and oboe 2 (ob.2) parts also feature sustained notes with trills. The horn (hns) part has sustained notes. The trumpet (tpt) and drum (dr.) parts are mostly silent. The violin 1 (vln 1) and violin 2 (vln 2) parts play melodic lines with trills and accents. The viola (vla) part provides harmonic support with sustained notes. The double bass (vc.) part plays a rhythmic accompaniment. The organ/piano (org./pf.) part features a rhythmic accompaniment in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand.

16

fl.

ob.1

ob.2

hns

tpt

dr.

vln 1

[A] [A] [A]

vln 2

vla

vc.

org./pf.



21

fl.  
ob.1  
ob.2  
hns  
tpt  
dr.  
vln 1  
vln 2  
vln 2  
vc.  
org./pf.

tr  
tr  
tr  
tr  
tr

Detailed description: This is a page of a musical score, page 38, starting at measure 21. The score is arranged in a vertical stack of parts. At the top are the woodwind sections: Flute (fl.), Oboe 1 (ob.1), and Oboe 2 (ob.2). Below these are the brass and percussion parts: Horns (hns), Trumpet (tpt), and Drum (dr.). The string section includes Violin 1 (vln 1), Violin 2 (vln 2), and a combined Viola/Cello/Viola (vln 2) part. At the bottom is the Organ/Piano (org./pf.) part. The music is written in a 2/4 time signature. Measure 21 begins with a '21' in the top left. Trills are indicated by 'tr' throughout the score. The organ/piano part is written in a grand staff with treble and bass clefs.

27

fl.

ob.1

ob.2

hns

tpt

dr.

S  
Ye peo - ple all\_ with one ac - cord, Clap hands, shout

A  
Ye peo - ple all with one ac - cord, Clap hands, shout

T  
Ye peo - ple all\_ with one ac - cord, Clap hands, shout

B  
Ye peo - ple all with one ac - cord, Clap hands, shout

vln 1

vln 2

vla

vc.

org./pf.



32

fl. *p*

ob.1 *p*

ob.2 *p*

hns

tpt

dr.

S *p*  
and re - joice, Be glad, and sing un - to the

A *p*  
and re - joice, Be glad, and sing un - to the

T  
and re - joice,

B  
and re - joice,

vln 1 *p*

vln 2 *p*

vla

vc.

org./pf. *p*

37

fl.

ob.1

ob.2

hns

tpt

dr.

S  
Lord With sweet and pleasant voice, with sweet and pleasant

A  
Lord With sweet and pleasant voice, with

T  
With sweet and pleasant voice, with

B  
With sweet and pleasant voice, with sweet and pleasant

vln 1

vln 2

vla

vc.

org./pf.



42

fl.

ob.1

ob.2

hns

tpt

dr.

S  
voice, \_\_\_\_\_ sweet and plea-sant voice, with sweet \_\_\_\_\_

A  
sweet \_\_\_\_\_ and plea-sant voice, with sweet and pleasant voice, with

T  
sweet \_\_\_\_\_ and plea-sant voice, with sweet and pleasant voice, - with

B  
voice, \_\_\_\_\_ with plea - sant voice, with sweet \_\_\_\_\_

vln 1

vln 2

vla

vc.

org./pf.

Detailed description: This page of a musical score, numbered 42, contains parts for various instruments and voices. The woodwind section includes flutes (fl.), two oboes (ob.1, ob.2), horn (hns), trumpet (tpt), and drum (dr.). The string section includes Violin 1 (vln 1), Violin 2 (vln 2), Viola (vla), and Violoncello (vc.). The organ/piano (org./pf.) part is at the bottom. The vocal parts are for Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The lyrics are: Soprano: "voice, \_\_\_\_\_ sweet and pleasant voice, with sweet \_\_\_\_\_"; Alto: "sweet \_\_\_\_\_ and pleasant voice, with sweet and pleasant voice, with"; Tenor: "sweet \_\_\_\_\_ and pleasant voice, with sweet and pleasant voice, - with"; Bass: "voice, \_\_\_\_\_ with pleasant voice, with sweet \_\_\_\_\_". The music is written in a common time signature with various note values and rests.

47

fl.

ob.1

ob.2

hns

tpt

dr.

S  
\_\_\_\_\_ and plea - sant voice.

A  
sweet and plea - sant voice.

T  
sweet and plea - sant voice.

B  
\_\_\_\_\_ and plea - sant voice.

vl. 1

vl. 2

vla

vc.

org./pf.



52

fl.

ob.1

ob.2

hns

tpt

dr.

S

A

T

B

vln 1

vln 2

vla

vc.

org./pf.

57

fl.

ob.1

ob.2

hns

tpt

dr.

S

A

T

B

vln 1

vln 2

vla

vc.

org./pf.



62

fl.

ob.1

ob.2

tr

tr

hns

tpt

dr.

tr

tr

S

A

T

B

vln 1

vln 2

vla

vc.

org./pf.

# 18 Glory to thee, my God, this night

GILGAL

text: Bishop Ken, 1695

William Lonsdale, c.1815

With Spirit

[Glo - ry to thee, my God this night,  
 [Glo - ry to thee, my God \_\_\_ this night,  
 Glo - ry to thee, my God \_\_\_ this night,  
 [Glo - ry \_\_\_ to thee, my God this night,

4

For all \_\_\_ the bless - ings of \_\_\_ the light;  
 For all \_\_\_ the bless - ings of \_\_\_ the light;  
 For all \_\_\_ the bless - ings of \_\_\_ the light;  
 For all \_\_\_ the bless - ings of \_\_\_ the light;

8

*p* Keep me, \_\_\_ O\_ keep \_\_\_ me, King \_\_\_ of\_ Kings,  
*p* Keep me, \_\_\_ O\_ keep \_\_\_ me, King \_\_\_ of\_ Kings,



12 *f*

Be - neath thine own al - mighty wings.]

Be - neath thine own al - mighty wings.]

*f*

Be neath thine own al mighty ty wings.

Be - neath thine own al - mighty wings.]

## 19 An Anthem set by Mr Weldon of New College Oxon.

Psalm 150 the first verse

text: Psalm cl

John Weldon, 1709

A 3 VOC.

Cantus

Medius

Bassus

O Praise God in his ho - li - ness, Praise him in the

5

fir - ma - ment of his pow'r, Praise him in his no - ble acts,

10

Praise him in his no - ble acts, praise him ac - cord - ing to his

14

ex - cel - lent great - ness; Praise him in the sound of the

cel - lent great - ness; Praise him in the sound of the

ex - cel - lent great - ness; Praise him in the sound of the



18

trum - pet, praise him up - on the lute and

trum - pet, praise him up - on the lute and

treum - pet, praise him up - on the lute and

22

harp; Praise him in the cym - bals and dan - ces,

harp; Praise him in the cym - bals and dan - ces,

harp; Praise him in the cym - bals and dan - ces,

26

Praise him up - on the strings and pipe; let

Praise him up - on the strings and pipe; let

Praise him up - on the strings and pipe; let

30

ev' - ry thing that hath breath praise the Lord; let

ev' - ry thing that hath breath praise the Lord; let

ev' - ry thing that hath breath praise the Lord; let

35

ev' - ry thing that hath breath praise the Lord.

ev' - ry thing that hath breath praise the Lord.

ev' - ry thing that hath breath praise the Lord.

## 20 My soul doth magnify the Lord

### MAGNIFICAT

text: *Book of Common Prayer*

Robert Barber, 1723

My soul doth [mag - ni - fy the Lord: and my spi - rit hath re - joic - ed

[My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord: and my spi - rit hath re - joic - ed

in God my Sa - viour.] For he hath re - gard -

in God my Sa - viour. For he hath re - gard -

-ed: [the low - li - ness of his hand - maid - en.] For be - hold, from

-ed: the low - li - ness of his hand - maid - en. For be - hold, from

[hence - forth: all ge - ne - ra - tions shall call me bles - sed.]

hence - forth: all ge - ne - ra - tions shall call me bles - sed.

For he that is migh - ty [hath mag - ni - fied me: and ho -

For he that is migh - ty hath mag - ni - fied me: and ho -



26

-ly is his name.] And his mer-cy is [on them that fear him:  
-ly is his name. And his mer-cy is on them that fear him:

31

He hath shew - ed [strength with his  
through-out all ge - ne - ra - tions.] He hath shew - ed strength with his

36

arm: he hath scat - ter - ed the proud in the] i - ma - gi - na - tions\_  
arm: he hath scat - ter - ed the proud in the i - ma - gi - na - tions\_

41

of their hearts. He hath put [down the mighty] from their seat: [and  
of their hearts. He hath put down the migh-ty from their seat: and

47

He hath fill - ed  
hath ex - alt - ed the hum - ble and meek.] He hath fill - ed  
hath ex - alt - ed the hum - ble and meek. He hath fill - ed

52

[the hun-gry with good things: and the rich he hath sent emp -  
the hun-gry with good things: and the rich he hath sent emp -

57

-ty a - way.] He re-mem-ber - ing his mer - cy hath hol-pen his  
-ty a - way. He re-mem-ber - ing his mer - cy hath hol-pen his

62

ser - vant Is - ra - el: As he pro-mised [to our fore - fa - thers, A - br'am and  
ser - vant Is - ra - el: As he pro-mised to our fore - fa - thers, A - br'am and

67

Glo - ry be to the [Fa - ther, and  
his seed, for e - ver.] his seed, for e - ver. Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther, and

71

to the Son: and to the Ho - ly Ghost,)  
to the Son: and to the Ho - ly Ghost,



## 77 CHORUS

As it was in the be - gin - ning, is now, and ev - er\_\_

[As it was in the be - gin - ning, is now, and ev - er\_\_

As it was [in the be - gin - ning, is now, and ev - er\_\_

As it was in the be - gin - ning, is now, and ev - er\_\_

81

shall be: world with - out end: A - men.

shall be: world with - out end: A - men.]

shall be: world with - out end: A - men.]

shall be: world with - out end: A - men.]

# 21 O Praise the Lord all ye heathen

## ANTHEM PSALM 117

text: Psalm cxvii

John Chetham; Henry Purcell, 1741

[VERSE]

O praise the Lord all ye heath - en, O praise the Lord all ye  
 [O praise the Lord all ye heath - en, O praise the Lord all ye

6  
 heath - en, praise, praise the Lord: praise him, praise him,  
 heath - en,] praise, the Lord: [Praise him,] praise [him,

11  
 all, all all, ye na - ti - ons: Praise him, praise him  
 all, all, all, all ye na - ti - ons: Praise him, praise him

15  
 all, all all ye na - ti - ons.  
 all, all, all, all, all, ye na - ti - ons.

19  
 For his mer - ci - ful kind - ness, his mer - ci - ful kind - ness is ev - er  
 [For his mer - ci - ful kind - ness, his mer - ci - ful kind - ness is ev - er  
 For his [mer - ci - ful kind - ness, his mer - ci - ful kind - ness is] ev - er  
 [For his mer - ci - ful kind - ness, his mer - ci - ful kind - ness is ev - er



25

more and more towards us, is ev - er more and more:

more and more towards us, is ev - er more and more:

more [and more towards us, is ev - er more and more:]

more and more towards us, is ev - er more and more:

31

and the truth of the Lord, the truth of the Lord en - du - reth for

and the truth of the Lord, the truth of the Lord en - du - reth for

and the truth of the Lord, the truth of the Lord en - du - reth for

and the truth of the Lord, the truth of the Lord en - du - reth for

37

ev - er, for ev - er and ev - er,

ev - er, for ev - er and ev - er, for]

ev - er, en - du - reth for

ev - er,]

41

ev<sup>3</sup> - er and ev - er

ev<sup>3</sup> - er and ev - er, for ev

en - du - reth for ev<sup>3</sup>

45

en - du - reth for ev er and ev - er.

[en - du - reth for ev er and ev - er.]

- er and ev - er, for ev er and ev - er.

- er and ev - er, for ev er and ev - er.

50 CHORUS A 5 Voc.

Al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah,

Al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah,

Al - le - lu - jah, al - le

Al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah,

Al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah,



54

al - le - lu - jah, al - le - u - jah, al - le - lu - jah,  
 al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah,  
 lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah,  
 al - le - lu - jah, al - le - al - le - lu - jah,  
 al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah,

58

al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah,  
 al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu -  
 al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le -  
 al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah,  
 al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah,

62

al - le - lu jah.  
 -jah, al - le - lu jah, al - le - lu jah.  
 -lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah.  
 al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah.  
 al - le - lu jah, al - le - lu jah.

22 O Praise God in his holiness  
AN ANTHEM TAKEN OUT OF THE 150TH PSALM

text: Psalm cl

Uriah Davenport, 1755

[O praise God,] praise God [in his ho - li -

O praise God, praise God in his ho - li-ness, in his ho - li -

[O praise God,] praise God in his ho - li-ness, in his ho - li -

[O praise God,] praise God [in his ho - li -

-ness: praise him in the fir - ma - ment of his pow'r,]

-ness: praise him in the fir - ma - ment of his pow'r,

-ness: [praise him in the fir - ma - ment of his pow'r,]

-ness: praise him in the fir - ma - ment of his pow'r,]

praise\_ him, praise\_ him, praise\_ him, praise\_

praise\_ him, praise\_ him, praise\_ him,

praise\_ him, praise\_ him, praise\_ him,

praise\_ him, praise\_ him, praise\_ him, praise\_



15

[him in the fir - ma - ment\_ of his pow'r.

praise him in the fir - ma - ment\_ of his pow'r.

[praise him in the fir - ma - ment of\_ his pow'r.

— [him in the fir - ma - ment of his pow'r.

19

Praise him in his no - ble acts, praise him in his no - ble acts:

Praise him in his no - ble acts, praise him in his no - ble acts:

Praise him in his no - ble acts, praise him in his no - ble acts:

Praise him in his no - ble acts, praise him in his no - ble acts:

23

praise him ac - cord - ing to his ex - cel - lent great - ness.]

praise him ac - cord - ing to his ex - cel - lent great - ness.

praise him ac - cord - ing to his ex - cel - lent great - ness.]

praise him ac - cord - ing to his ex - cel - lent great - ness.]

27

Praise him in the sound [of the trum - pet:]

Praise him in the sound of the trum - pet:

Praise him in the sound [of the trum - pet:] the

Praise him in the sound [of the trum - pet:]

31

trum - pet:

35

praise him up - on the lute\_ and harp.]

praise him up - on the lute and harp.

[praise him up - on the lute\_ and harp.]

praise him up - on the lute and harp.

39

Praise him in the cym - bals [and dan - ces:

[Praise him in the] cym - bals and dan - ces:

Praise him in the cym - bals [and dan - ces:

Praise him in the cym - bals and dan - ces:



43

praise him up - on the strings, the strings and

praise him up - on the strings, the strings and

praise him up - on the strings, the strings and

praise him up - on the strings, the strings and

47

pipe,] and pipe,

pipe.

pipe,] and pipe,

pipe, and pipe,

51

[praise him up - on the strings and pipe.]

praise him up - on the strings and pipe.

[praise him up - on the strings and

praise him up - on the strings and pipe.]

55

Praise him up -

Praise him,

Praise him,

Praise him,

59

-on the well - tun - ed, well - tun - ed cym - bals: [praise

praise

Praise him up - on\_ the\_ well - tun - ed [cym - bals: praise

[praise

63

him up - on\_ the loud\_ cym - bals.

him up - on\_ the loud\_ cym - bals.

him up - on\_ the loud\_ cym - bals.

him up - on\_ the loud\_ cym - bals.



71

Let e - ve - ry - thing that hath breath praise the Lord.]

Let e - ve - ry - thing that \_\_\_\_\_ hath breath praise the Lord.

Let e - ve - ry - thing that \_\_\_\_\_ hath breath praise the Lord.]

Let e - ve - ry - thing that hath breath praise the Lord.]

75

Hal - le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - jah,

Hal - le - lu<sup>3</sup> - jah, hal - le - lu - jah,

Hal - le - lu<sup>3</sup> - jah, hal - le - lu - jah,

Hal - le - lu<sup>3</sup> - jah, hal - le - lu<sup>3</sup> - jah,

79

hal - le - lu - jah

hal - le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - jah.

hal - le - lu - jah

hal - le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - jah.

## 23 Holy, holy, holy Lord God

## A TRISAGION OR HYMN

Anon., 1755-58

text: after the Sanctus

Ho - ly, ho - ly, ho - ly \_\_\_\_\_ Lord God,

[Ho - ly, ho - ly, ho - ly Lord God,]

Ho - ly, ho - ly, ho - ly \_\_\_\_\_ Lord God,

[Ho - ly, ho - ly, ho - ly \_\_\_\_\_ Lord God,]

7

All things de - clare thy ma - jes - ty. \_\_\_\_\_

All [things de - clare thy ma - jes - ty.

All things de - clare thy ma - jes - ty.

All [things de - clare thy ma - jes - ty.

11

An - gels and men a - loud do cry,

An - gels and men a - loud do cry,

An - gels and men \_\_\_\_\_ a - loud do cry,

An - gels and men a - loud do cry,



15

a - loud do cry, 'Glo - ry to thee, O

a - loud do cry, ]

a - loud do cry, 'Glo - ry to thee,

a - loud do cry, ] 'Glo - ry to

20

Lord most high, glo - ry to thee O Lord, glo -

glo - ry to thee, O Lord most high, glo -

O Lord most high, glo - ry to thee,

thee, O Lord most high, glo - ry to

24

-ry to thee, O Lord most high.'

-ry to thee, [O Lord most high.]

glo - ry to thee, O Lord most high.'

thee O Lord, glo - ry to thee, O Lord most high.'

# 24 Now is Christ risen from the dead

## ANTHEM FOR EASTER DAY

text: I Corinthians, 15. vv.20, 21, 51-57.

Joseph Key, 1774

Non troppo presto

Vio.  
Hautb.  
Basso.

The first system of the score features three staves: Violin (Vio.), Flute (Hautb.), and Bassoon (Basso.). The music is in G major and 3/4 time. The tempo marking is 'Non troppo presto'. The Violin and Flute parts include trills (tr) on the final notes of the first and second measures.

The second system of the score, measures 6-9, continues the instrumental accompaniment. The Violin and Flute parts feature a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes, while the Bassoon part provides a steady bass line.

The third system of the score, measures 10-14, continues the instrumental accompaniment. The Violin and Flute parts include trills (tr) on the final notes of measures 10 and 11.

15

Now is\_ Christ ri - sen, now is Christ ri - sen from the

[Now is\_ Christ ri - sen, now is Christ ri - sen from the

The fourth system of the score, measures 15-18, includes vocal parts and a basso line. The vocal parts have lyrics: "Now is\_ Christ ri - sen, now is Christ ri - sen from the". The basso line has lyrics: "[Now is\_ Christ ri - sen, now is Christ ri - sen from the". The music is in G major and 3/4 time. The vocal parts include a trill (tr) on the final note of measure 15.



20

and be - come\_ the first fruits of\_ them that

[and be - come\_ the first fruits of\_ them that

dead, [Basso.]

dead,

24

slept, and be - come\_ the first fruits of them that slept.

slept, and be - come the first fruits of them that slept.

and be - come\_ the first fruits of them that slept. For since by\_ Grave

and be - come the first fruits of them that slept. For since by

30

by man\_ came al - so the re - sur -

by man\_ came al - so the re - sur -

As before

man came death, by man\_ came al - so the re - sur -

man came death, by man\_ came al - so\_ the\_ re - sur -

35

-rec - tion of the dead. Hal - le - lu - jah,

-rec - tion of the dead. Hal - le - lu - jah,

-rec - tion of the dead. Hal - le - lu - jah,

-rec - tion of the dead. Hal - le - lu - jah,

40

hal - le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - jah,

hal - le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - jah,

hal - le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - jah,

hal - le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - jah,

45

-lu - jah, by man\_ came al - so the re - sur - rec - tion

-lu - jah, by man\_ came al - so the re - sur - rec - tion

-lu - jah, by man\_ came al - so the re - sur - rec - tion

-lu - jah, by man\_ came al - so the re - sur - rec - tion



50 *tr* Vio.  
of the dead.

Haut.  
of the dead.

*tr*  
of the dead.

Basso.  
of the dead.

55 *tr*  
Be - hold I show you a my-ste-ry; we

*tr*  
Be - hold I show you a my-ste-ry; we

60  
But we shall be chang-ed,

But we shall be chang-ed,

shall not all sleep, we shall not all sleep, but we shall be chang-ed,

shall not all sleep, we shall not all sleep, but we shall be chang-ed,

66

we shall be chang-ed, we shall be chang-ed, in a mo-ment, in a  
be\_ chang-ed, be\_ chang-ed, in a mo-ment, in a  
we shall be chang-ed, we shall be chang-ed, in a mo-ment, in a  
be\_ chang-ed, be\_ chang-ed, in a mo-ment, in a

71

twinkling of an eye, at the last trump. *f*  
twinkling of an eye, at the last trump. *tr*  
twinkling of an eye, at the last trump. *tr*  
twinkling of an eye, at the last trump. *Basso.*

76



81

Vio.

For the trum - pet shall sound, *f*

Haut.

Trum.

Basso.

86

Voice

and the dead shall be\_ rais - ed in - cor-rup-tible, *f*

Vio.

Haut.

Tr.

B.

91

Voice

in - cor - rup-ti-ble, *f*

Vio.

and we shall be chang'd.

Hau.

and we shall be chang'd.

Tr.

and we shall be chang'd.

B.

and we shall be chang'd.]

97

Vio.

Haut.

B.

102

107

*tr*

*tr*

For this cor - rup-ti-ble, for this cor - rup -

For this cor - rup-ti-ble, for this cor -



112

and this mor-tal, this mor-tal, this  
 and this mor-tal, this mor-tal, this  
 - ti-ble must put on in-cor - rup-tion, and this mor-tal, this mor-tal, this  
 -rupti-ble must [put on in-cor - rup-tion, and this mor-tal, this mor-tal, this

118

mor - tal must put on im - mor - ta - li - ty.  
 mor - tal must put on im - mor - ta - li - ty.  
 mor - tal must put on im - mor - ta - li - ty. Then shall be brought to pass the  
 mor - tal must put on im - mor - ta - li - ty. Then shall be brought to pass the

123

say - ing that is writ - ten, Death is swal - lowed up in vic-to-ry.  
 say - ing that is writ - ten, Death is swal - lowed up in vic-to-ry.

129 *Slow*

O death, where is thy\_ sting? O grave,

O death, where is\_ thy sting? O grave,

*Slow*

O death, where is thy sting? O grave,

O death, where is thy sting? O grave,

135 *Quicker*

where is\_ thy vic-to - ry? The sting\_ of death is sin,

where is thy vic-to - ry?

*Quicker*

where is\_ thy vic-to - ry? The sting\_ of death is sin, and the

where is thy vic-to - ry? and the

141

strength of sin is the law. But thanks be to\_

*Vivace*

strength of sin is the law.] But thanks be to\_ God.



147

thanks be\_ to\_ God, which

thanks be\_ to\_ God, which

God, which giv-eth us the vic - to - ry, thanks be\_ to\_ God, which

[which giv-eth us the vic - to - ry, thanks be\_ to\_ God, which

152

giv-eth us\_ the vic - to - ry through Je - sus Christ our Lord.

giv-eth us the vic - to - ry through Je - sus Christ our Lord.

giv-eth us\_ the\_ vic - to - ry through Je - sus Christ our Lord.

giv-eth us\_ the vic - to - ry through Je - sus Christ our Lord.

157

Hal - le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - jah,

Hal - le - lu - jah,

Hal - le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - jah,

Hal - le - lu - jah,

163

hal - le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - jah,  
hal - le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - jah.  
hal - le - lu - jah,  
hal - le - lu - jah,

169

hal - le - lu - jah,  
hal - le - lu - jah,  
hal - le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - jah,  
hal - le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - jah,

175

- le - lu - jah, ha - le - lu - jah.  
- le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - jah.]  
- le - lu - jah, ha - le - lu - jah.  
- le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - jah.]



N.B. Whenever the above Anthem is performed with Voices alone,  
then after the Words "At the last Trump" Sing as below.

181

Treble

trump. For the trum - pet shall sound,

Tenor

trump. For the trum - pet shall sound, and the

186

Treble

and the dead shall be\_ rais - ed in - cor

dead shall be\_ rais - ed

190

rup-ti-ble, in-cor - rup-ti-ble, and we &c.

Bass

in-cor - rup-ti-ble, in-cor - rup-ti-ble, and we &c.

# 25 Behold, I bring you glad tidings

## ANTHEM FOR CHRISTMAS DAY

text: Luke ii, 10b, 11, 13, 14

Israel Holdroyd, arr. ?Joseph Kempson, 1780

[CHORUS]

Be - hold, be - hold I bring you glad tid-ings of great, great,

[Be - hold, be - hold I bring you glad tid-ings of great, great,

6

Be - hold, be - hold I bring you glad

[Be - hold, be - hold I bring you glad

great, great joy,

great, great joy,

11

tid - ings, glad tid - ings of great, great, great, great joy,

tid - ings, glad tid - ings of great, great, great, great joy,]

glad tid - ings of great, great, great, great joy,

glad tid - ings of great, great, great, great joy,] which



16 3 VOICES

Which shall \_\_\_\_\_  
Which shall \_\_\_\_\_ be, which shall \_\_\_\_\_ be, which  
shall \_\_\_\_\_ be, which shall \_\_\_\_\_ be, which shall be, which

21

be, which shall \_\_\_\_\_ be, which shall be to all peo - ple.  
shall be to all peo - ple, which shall, which shall be to \_\_\_\_\_ all peo - ple.  
shall be to all peo - ple, which shall, which shall be to all peo - ple.

26

For un - to you is  
For un - to you is born \_\_\_\_\_ this day, \_\_\_\_\_ is  
For un - to you is born \_\_\_\_\_ this day, is born \_\_\_\_\_ this

31

born \_\_\_\_\_ this day a Sav - iour, which is Christ the Lord.  
born \_\_\_\_\_ this day a Sa - viour, which is Christ the Lord.  
day \_\_\_\_\_ a Sa - viour, a Sa - viour, which is Christ the Lord.

36 2 VOICES

And sud - den - ly there was\_ with the\_ an - .

[And sud - den - ly there was with the\_ an - .

41

- gel a mul - ti - tude of the heav'n - ly host

- gel a mul - ti - tude of the heav'n - ly host

46

Prais - ing God and\_ say - ing, say - ing, 'Glo - ry,

Prais - ing God and say - ing, say - ing, 'Glo - ry,

[Prais - ing God\_ and say - ing, say - ing, 'Glo - ry,

Prais - ing God and say - ing, say - ing, 'Glo - ry,

51

glo - ry, glo - ry to God in the high - est, in the high - est,

glo - ry, glo - ry to God in the high - est, in the high - est,

glo - ry, glo - ry to God in the high - est, in the high - est,

glo - ry, glo - ry to God in the high - est, in the high - est,



56

and on\_ earth peace, peace, peace,

and on\_ earth peace, peace, peace,

and on\_ earth peace, and on earth peace, peace,

and on\_ earth peace, and on earth peace, peace,

61

peace, good will to - wards men, and on\_ earth

peace, good will to - wards men, and on\_ earth

peace, good will to - wards men, and on\_ earth peace,

peace, good will to - wards men, and on\_ earth peace,

66

peace, peace, peace, peace, good will to - wards men.

peace, peace, peace, peace, good will to - wards men.

and on earth peace, peace, peace, good will to - wards men.

and on earth peace, peace, peace, good will to - wards men.

## 72 HYMN

Praise God, from whom all blessings flow; Praise him, all creatures here be - low;

Praise God, from whom all blessings flow; Praise him, all creatures here be - low;

Praise God, from whom all blessings flow; Praise him, all creatures here be - low;

Praise God, from whom all blessings flow; Praise him, all creatures here be - low;

## 78

Praise him a - bove the heav'nly host; Praise Fath-er, Son, and Ho - ly Ghost.

Praise him a - bove the heav'nly host; Praise Fath-er, Son, and Ho - ly Ghost.

Praise him a - bove the heav'nly host; Praise Fath-er, Son, and Ho - ly Ghost.

Praise him a - bove the heav'nly host; Praise Fath-er, Son, and Ho - ly Ghost.

## 84 SOLO

Al - le - lu-jah, al - le - lu-jah, al - le - lu-jah, al - le - lu-jah, al - le - lu-jah,

## 89

al - le - lu-jah, al - le - lu-jah, al - le - lu-jah, al - le - lu-jah,



94

al - le - lu-jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu-jah, al - le - lu-jah, al - le -

99

-lu - jah, al - le - lu-jah, al - le - lu-jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu-jah.

## 104 CHORUS

Al - le - lu-jah, al - le - lu-jah, al - le - lu-jah,

[Al - le - lu-jah, al - le - lu-jah,] al - le - lu-jah, [al - le - lu-jah,

Al - le - lu-jah, al - le - lu-jah, al - le - lu-jah,

[Al - le - lu-jah, al - le - lu-jah,] al - le - lu-jah, [al - le - lu-jah,

110

al - le - lu-jah, al - le - lu-jah, al - le - lu-jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu-jah,

al - le - lu-jah, al - le - lu-jah,] al - le - lu - jah, [al - le - lu-jah,

al - le - lu-jah, al - le - lu-jah, al - le - lu-jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu-jah,

al - le - lu-jah, al - le - lu-jah, al - le - lu-jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu-jah,

115

al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah,  
al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah,  
al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah,  
al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah,) al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah,

120

al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, a - men.  
al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, a - men.)  
al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, a - men.  
[al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, al - le - lu - jah, a - men.]



## 26 Ah! lovely appearance of death

## HYMN: OVER THE CORPSE OF A BELIEVER

Charles Wesley, 1746

Johann Friedrich Lampe, 1746

1. Ah! love - ly ap - pear - ance of death! No sight up - on

6# 6 9 8 7 # 6 5 4 2

5 earth is so fair: Not all the gay pa - geants that breathe Can

6 6 6 6# 6 6 #

10 with a dead bo - dy com - pare. With sol - emn de -

6 #6 6# 6 4 5 # 6 6

14 -light I sur - vey The corpse, when the spi - rit is fled, In

9 8 7 6# 6# 6 9 8 7 #

19 love with the beau - ti - ful clay, And long - ing to

6# 6 # 6 5 6# 6

23 lie in his stead, and long - ing to lie in his stead.

6 # 6 6 # 6 5 6 5 6 4 #

## 27 Let an anthem of praise

### A CHRISTMAS CAROL

text: ?Caleb Ashworth

William Knapp, arr.  
Caleb Ashworth, 1762

[Let an an - them of praise and a ca - rol of joy, Each tongue and each

Let an an - them of praise and a ca - rol of joy, Each tongue and each

[Let an an - them of praise and a ca - rol of joy, Each tongue and each

6

heart in sweet con - cert em - ploy: This day sprung at Beth - l'em a

heart in sweet con - cert em - ploy: This day sprung at Beth - l'em a

heart in sweet con - cert em - ploy: This day sprung at Beth - l'em a

11

plant of re - nown, And Christ to re - deem us a - ban - don'd a crown.]

plant of re - nown, And Christ to re - deem us a - ban - don'd a crown.

plant of re - nown, And Christ to re - deem us a - ban - don'd a crown.]



## 28 Lord, thou wilt hear me when I pray

## PSALM IV

text: Isaac Watts, 1719

William Cole, 1768

3 Voc.

Grave

Lord, thou wilt hear me when I pray, I am for ev - er thine;

[Lord, thou wilt hear me when I pray, I am for ev - er thine;

[Lord, thou wilt hear me when I pray, I am for ev - er thine;

5

I fear be - fore thee all the day, Nor would I dare to sin.

I fear be - fore thee all the day, Nor would I dare to sin.]

I fear be - fore thee all the day, Nor would I dare to sin.]

## 29 Rise my soul and stretch thy wing

DARTFORD

text: R. Seagrave, 1742

Anon., arr. S. Addington, 1780

[Rise my soul and stretch thy wing, Thy bet - ter por, thy bet - ter por-tion trace;

Rise my soul and stretch thy wing, Thy bet - ter por, thy bet - ter por-tion trace;

[Rise my soul and stretch thy wing, Thy bet - ter por, thy bet - ter por-tion trace;

Rise from tran - si - to - ry things, rise from tran - si - to - ry things tow'rds

Rise from tran - si - to - ry things, rise from tran - si - to - ry things tow'rds

Rise from tran - si - to - ry things, rise from tran - si - to - ry things tow'rds

10  
heav'n thy na - tive place, tow'rds heav'n thy na - tive place. Sun and moon and

heav'n thy na - tive place, tow'rds heav'n thy na - tive place. Sun and moon and

heav'n thy na - tive place, tow'rds heav'n thy na - tive place. Sun and moon and



14

stars de - cay, Time shall soon this, time shall soon this, time shall soon this earth re - move.

stars de - cay, Time shall soon this, time shall soon this, time shall soon this earth re - move.

stars de - cay, Time shall soon this, time shall soon this, time shall soon this earth re - move.

19

Rise my soul and, rise my soul and, rise my soul and haste a - way,

Rise my soul and, rise my soul and, rise my soul and haste a - way,

Rise my soul and, rise my soul and, rise my soul and haste a - way,

23

rise my soul and haste a - way To seats pre - par'd a - bove.]

rise my soul and haste a - way To seats pre - par'd a - bove.]

rise my soul and haste a - way To seats pre - par'd a - bove.]

### 30 Love divine, all loves excelling WESTMINSTER

text: Charles Wesley, 1747

Henry Purcell, arr. Anon., 1781

Love di - vine, all loves ex - cel - ling, Joy of

[Love di - vine, all loves ex - cel - ling, Joy of

6

heav'n, to earth come down; Fix in us thy hum - ble

heav'n, to earth come down; Fix in us thy hum - ble

12

dwel - ling, All thy faith - ful mer - cies crown.

dwel - ling, All thy faith - ful mer - cies crown.

17

Je - su, thou art all com - pas - sion, Pure, un -

Je - su, thou art all com - pas - sion, Pure, un -

22

-boun - ded love thou art; Vi - sit us with

-boun - ded love thou art; Vi - sit us with

27

thy sal - va - tion, En - ter ev' - ry trem - bling heart.

thy sal - va - tion, En - ter ev' - ry trem - bling heart.]



# 31 This is the day the Lord hath made

BIRMINGHAM

text: Isaac Watts 1719

Greatrix [?Anthony Greatorex], 1784

This\_\_ is the day\_ [the  
 This\_\_ is the day,\_ the day the  
 This\_\_ is the day\_ this\_\_ is the day [the  
 This\_\_ is the day,\_ this\_\_ is the day, the day [the

6  
 Lord hath made, the Lord hath made, the Lord hath made, He calls the\_\_ hours his  
 Lord hath made, the Lord hath made, the Lord hath made, He calls the\_\_ hours\_ his  
 Lord hath made, the Lord hath made, the Lord hath made, He calls the\_\_ hours his  
 Lord hath made, the Lord hath made, the Lord hath made, He calls the\_\_ hours his  
 6 7 6 6 6 4 7

11  
 own. Let heav'n\_\_ re - joice, let earth be glad,  
 own. Let heav'n\_\_ re - joice,\_\_\_ let earth be glad,  
 own.] Let heav'n\_\_ re -  
 own. Let heav'n\_\_ re -

16

Let heav'n re-joyce, let earth be

[Let heav'n re-joyce, let earth be

-joyce, let earth be glad, Let heav'n re-joyce, let earth be

-joyce, let earth be glad, Let heav'n re-joyce, let earth be

22

glad,] And praise surround the throne, and praise surround the throne, the

glad,] And praise surround the throne, and praise surround the

glad, And praise surround the throne, the

glad,] And praise surround the

27

throne, and praise sur-round the throne.

throne, and praise sur-round the throne.

throne, and praise sur-round the throne.

throne, and praise sur-round the throne.



## 32 Alas! and did my Saviour bleed?

## CRUCIFIXION

text: Isaac Watts, 1707

Richard Taylor, 1789

A - las!\_ and did my Sa - viour bleed, And

A - las! and did my Sa - viour bleed, And

A - las!\_ and did\_ my Sa - viour bleed,\_ And

A - las!\_ and did\_ my Sa - viour bleed, And

4

did\_ my Sov - 'reign die? Would

did\_ my Sov - 'reign die? Would

did\_ my\_ Sov - 'reign die? Would

did\_ my Sov - 'reign die? Would

7

he de - vote\_ that sa - cred head

he de - vote that sa - cred head

he\_ de - vote\_ that sa - cred head\_ For

he de - vote that sa - cred head

11

For such a worm as I?

For such a worm as I?

such a worm as I?

For such a worm as I?

**33 O Thou from whom all goodness flows**  
HYMN IV

text: Thomas Haweis, c.1791

Thomas Haweis, c.1791

[O thou from whom all good - ness flows, I lift my heart to

[O thou from whom all good - ness flows, I lift my heart to

O thou from whom all good - ness flows, I lift my heart to

[O thou from whom all good - ness flows, I lift my heart to

Violonc[ello]



7 SOLI *p* TUTTI

thee;] In all my sor - rows, con - flicts, woes, [Dear Lord, re -  
 thee; Dear Lord, re -  
 thee; In all my sor - rows, con - flicts, woes, Dear Lord, re -  
 thee; Dear Lord, re -

13

-member me, re - mem - ber me, re - mem - ber me,] dear Lord, re - mem - ber me.  
 -member me, re - mem - ber me, re - mem - ber me,] dear Lord, re - mem - ber me.  
 -member me, re - mem - ber me, re - mem - ber me, dear Lord, re - mem - ber me.  
 -member me, re - mem - ber me, re - mem - ber me, dear Lord, re - mem - ber me.]

# 34 Grace 'tis a charming sound

CRANBROOK

text: Philip Doddridge, 1735

Thomas Clark, 1805

Tenor  
Grace 'tis a charm - ing sound, Har - mo - nious to the ear;

[Alto]  
[Grace 'tis a charm - ing sound, Har - mo - nious to the ear;]

Air [Treble]  
Grace 'tis a charm - ing sound, Har - mo - nious to the ear;\_

[Bass]  
[Grace 'tis a charm - ing sound, Har - mo - nious to the ear;]

4  
Heav'n with the e - cho shall re -

Heav'n with the e - cho shall re - sound,

Heav'n with the e - cho shall re - sound,

Heav'n with the e - cho shall re -

7  
-sound, the e - cho shall re - sound, And

Heav'n with the e - cho shall re - sound, And

Heav'n with the e - cho shall re - sound, And all the earth shall

-sound, the [e - cho shall re - sound, And all the earth shall



9

all the earth shall hear, and all the earth shall hear, and all the earth shall hear.

all the earth shall hear, and all the earth shall hear, and all the earth shall hear.]

hear, and all the earth shall hear, and all the earth shall hear.

hear, and all the earth shall hear, and all the earth shall hear.]

5 7  
4 3

6 6

### 35 Hark the glad sound, the Saviour comes

NAZARETH

text: Philip Doddridge, 1735

A. Widdop, 1805

Hark! the glad sound the

Hark! the glad sound the

Hark! the glad sound, hark! the glad sound the

Hark! the glad sound the

6

Sa - viour comes, the Sa - viour prom - ised long.

Sa - viour comes, the Sa - viour prom - ised long.

Sa - viour comes, The Sa - viour prom - ised long.

Sa - viour comes, The Sa - viour prom - ised long.

11

Let ev'-ry heart, let ev'-ry heart, let ev'-ry heart \_\_\_\_\_

Let ev'-ry heart, let ev'-ry heart, let ev'-ry

Let ev'-ry heart, let ev'-ry heart, let ev'-ry

Let ev'-ry heart, let ev'-ry heart, let ev'-ry heart \_\_\_\_\_

17

pre - pare a throne, And ev' - ry\_ voice a

heart pre - pare a throne,

heart pre - pare a throne, And ev' - ry\_ voice a

pre - pare a throne,

22

song, and ev' - ry voice a song.

And ev' - ry\_ voice a song, ev' - ry voice a song.

song, and ev' - ry voice a song.

And ev' - ry\_ voice a song, ev' - ry voice a song.



### 36 Hark the glad sound, Messiah comes

LINDALE

text: Philip Doddridge, 1735

John Fawcett, c.1811

2[nd] Treble

Hark the \_\_\_ glad sound, Mes - si - ah comes, The Sa - viour

[Hark the glad sound, Mes - si - ah comes,

1st Treble

Hark the \_\_\_ glad sound \_\_\_ Mes - si - ah comes, The Sa - viour

6 6 Inst[rument]

[Hark the glad sound, Mes - si - ah comes,

7

prom - is'd long, the Sa-viour pro - mised long; Let ev'ry heart

The Sa-viour pro - mised long; Let ev'ry heart

Tenor

prom - is'd long, the Sa-viour pro - mised long; Let ev' - ry\_

Voice

The Sa-viour pro - mised long; Let ev' - ry\_

12

2[nd] Treble

heart pre - pare \_\_\_ a throne, *p* And\_ ev' - ry\_

heart pre - pare a throne, *p* And\_ ev' - ry\_

1st Treble

heart pre - pare \_\_\_ a throne, \_\_\_ And\_ ev' - ry\_

6 6 Inst[rument]

heart pre - pare a throne, \_\_\_

16

voice a\_ song, and ev' - ry voice a\_ song.

and ev' - ry voice a song.

Tenor

voice a\_ song, and ev' - ry voice a\_ song.

Voice

6 6 5 4 3

and ev' - ry voice a song.

CD 18

37 Come and taste along with me

text: Anon.

William Sanders, 1907

Come and taste a - long with me, Glo - ry, glo - ry, glo - ry!

5  
Con - so - la - tion flow - ing free, Praise him, hal - le - lu - jah!

9  
From our fa - ther's weal - thy throne, Glo - ry, glo - ry, glo - ry!

13  
Sweet - er than the\_ ho - ney - comb, Praise him, hal - le - lu - jah!

17 CHORUS  
Blow ye the trum - pet blow, Glo - ry, glo - ry, glo - ry!

21  
Je - sus Christ has\_ died for you, Praise him, hal - le - lu - jah!



## 38 The voice of my beloved sounds

CHESHUNT

text: Charles Wesley, 1744

Henry Holcombe, arr. Anon., c.1765



The voice \_\_\_\_\_ of my be - lov - ed\_ sounds, While o'er the



moun - tain tops he bounds; He flies \_\_\_ ex - ult - ing



o'er \_\_\_\_\_ the hills, And all\_ my soul\_ with trans - port



fills. The voice \_\_\_\_\_ of my\_ be - lov - ed\_ sounds, While



o'er the moun - tain tops \_\_\_\_\_ he bounds; He flies ex -



-ult - ing o'er the hills, \_ And all \_\_\_\_\_ my soul \_\_\_\_\_ with



trans - port fills. He flies ex - ult - ing o'er\_ the\_



hills, \_ And all \_\_\_\_\_ my soul \_\_\_\_\_ with trans - port fills.

41  

 Gen - tly doth he <sup>3</sup>chide\_ my stay, Rise my love\_ <sup>3</sup>and

47  

 come\_ a - way, come\_

52  

 a - way,

57  

 Gen - tly\_ doth he chide my\_ stay, Rise my

62  

 love\_ and <sup>3</sup>come a - way, Gen - tly\_ doth he chide my\_

68  

 stay, Rise my <sup>3</sup>love\_ and <sup>3</sup>come a - way,

73  

 The voice\_ of my be - lov - ed\_ sounds, While o'er the

79  

 moun - tain tops he bounds; He flies\_ ex - ult - ing

84  

 o'er\_ the hills, And all\_ my soul\_ with trans - port fills.



39 Before Jehovah's awful throne

DENMARK

text: John Wesley, after Isaac Watts, 1737

Martin Madan, 1769

Andante maestoso

Be - fore Je - ho - vah's\_ aw - ful throne, Ye na - tions, bow with\_

Be - fore Je - ho - vah's aw - ful throne, Ye na - tions, bow with\_

7

sa - cred joy; Know that the Lord\_\_ is\_\_ God a -

sa - cred joy; Know that the Lord is God a -

11

-lone: He can cre - ate,\_\_\_ and he de - stroy,

-lone: He can cre - ate,\_\_\_ and he de - stroy,

16

he can cre - ate,\_\_\_ and he de - stroy, stroy.

he can cre - ate,\_\_\_ and he de - stroy, stroy.

21 *p*

His sov'-reign pow'r, with - out our aid, Made us of

His sov'-reign pow'r, with - out our aid, Made us of

6 6 6 4 5 3 7 #

27

clay, and formed us men; And, when like wand'r - ing

clay, and formed us men; And, when like wand'r - ing

6 5 7 4 3 5 6 4 3 4

32

sheep we strayed, He brought us to his fold a -

sheep we strayed, He brought us to his fold a -

9 8 7 6 5 6 9 7 6 5 4 3 5 6 6 5 4 3

37

-gain, he brought us to his fold a - gain.

-gain, he brought us to his fold a - gain.

6 7 4 3 5 6 6 4 3



42 *f* We'll crown thy gates with thank - ful\_ songs, High as the *p*

We'll crown thy gates with thank - ful\_ songs, High as the

48 heav'ns our voi - ces\_ raise; And earth, and earth, with *f*

heav'ns our voi - ces\_ raise; And earth, and earth, with

52 her\_ ten thou - sand, thou - sand tongues, Shall fill thy courts with *p* *f*

her ten thou - sand, thou - sand tongues, Shall fill thy courts with

59 sound - ing praise, shall fill thy courts with sound - ing praise, shall *p* *f*

sound - ing praise, shall fill thy courts with sound - ing praise, shall

65

fill, shall fill thy courts with sound - ing praise. praise.

fill, shall fill thy\_ courts with sound - ing praise. praise.

6 6 4 3 6 6 4 5 3

72

Wide, wide as the world is thy com - mand, Vast as e -

Wide, wide as the world is thy com - mand, Vast as e -

6 6 5

78

-ter - ni - ty, e - ter - ni - ty thy love; Firm as a rock thy

-ter - ni - ty, e - ter - ni - ty thy love; Firm as a rock thy

6 6 4 3

83

truth must stand, When roll - ing years shall cease to

truth must stand, When roll - ing years shall cease to

6 3 3 3 6 6 4 5 3



88 *p*

move, shall cease to move, when roll - ing years shall cease to\_

move, shall cease to move, when roll - ing years shall cease to\_

6 5  
4 3

94 *f*

move, when roll - ing years shall cease to move.

move, when roll - ing years shall cease to move.

8 6 6 5  
3 3 3 3 4 3

40a Vital spark of heav'nly flame

THE DYING CHRISTIAN TO HIS SOUL

text: Alexander Pope, 1712

Edward Harwood, 1781

*Largo*

Vit-al spark of heav'n-ly flame, Quit, oh quit this mor - tal frame, Trembling, hop - ing,  
 Vit-al spark of heav'n-ly flame, Quit, oh quit this mor - tal frame, Trembling, hop - ing,  
 [Vit-al spark of heav'n-ly flame, Quit, oh quit this mor - tal frame,

6

ling-'ring, fly - ing; Oh the pain, the bliss of\_ dy - ing! Cease, fond na - ture,  
 ling-'ring, fly - ing; Oh the pain, the bliss of\_ dy - ing! Cease, fond na - ture,  
 Oh the pain, the bliss of dy - ing!

10

*cresc.* *Andante* *f* *p*  
 cease thy strife, And let me lan - guish\_ in - to life. Hark! they whis-per,  
 cease thy strife, And let me lan - guish\_ in - to life. Hark!  
 And let me lan - guish in - to life. Hark!

15

*f* *p* *f*  
 an - gels say, they whis - per, an - gels say,  
 hark! they whis - per, an - gels say, they whis - per,  
 hark!] hark! [they whis - per,



21

*f* hark! hark! they whis - per, *p* an - gels

an - gels say, hark! they whis - per, an - gels

an - gels say, hark! they whis - per, an - gels

26

say, 'Sis - ter spi - rit, come a - way,

say, 'Sis - ter spi - rit, come a - way,

say,

31

*f* sis - ter spi - rit, come a - way'.

sis - ter spi - rit, come a - way'.

'Sis - ter spi - rit, come a - way'.

35

What is this ab - sorbs me quite, Steals my

What is this ab - sorbs me quite, Steals my

What is this ab - sorbs me quite, Steals my

40

sen - ses, shuts my sight, Drowns my spi - rits,

sen - ses, shuts my sight, Drowns my spi - rits,

sen - ses, shuts my sight, Drowns my spi - rits,

45

draws my breath? Tell me, my soul: can this be

draws my breath? Tell me, my soul: can this be

draws my breath? Tell me, my soul: can this be

50

death? Tell me, my soul: can this be death?

death? Tell me, my soul: can this be death?

death? Tell me, my soul: can this be death?

55

Largo affettuoso

The world re - cedes, it dis - ap - pears; Heav'n

The world re - cedes, it dis - ap - pears; Heav'n

The world re - cedes, it dis - ap - pears; Heav'n



60 *cresc.*

o - pens on my eyes; my ears With sounds se -

o - pens on my eyes; my ears With sounds se -

o - pens on my eyes; my ears With sounds se -

65 *Con spirito*

-ra - phic ring. Lend, lend your wings! I mount, I fly! O

-ra - phic ring. Lend, lend your wings! I mount, I fly! O

-ra - phic ring. Lend, lend your wings! I mount, I fly! O

69

grave, where is thy vic - to - ry? O grave, where is thy vic - to - ry? O death, where is thy sting? O

grave, where is thy vic - to - ry? O grave, where is thy vic - to - ry? O death, where is thy sting? O

grave, where is thy vic - to - ry? O grave, where is thy vic - to - ry? O death, where is thy sting? O

72

grave, where is thy vic - to - ry? O death, where is thy sting? Lend, lend your wings! I

grave, where is thy vic - to - ry? O death, where is thy sting? Lend, lend your wings! I

grave, where is thy vic - to - ry? O death, where is thy sting? Lend, lend your wings! I

75

mount, I fly! O grave, where is thy vic - to - ry, thy vic - to - ry? O

mount, I fly! O grave, where is thy vic - to - ry, thy vic - to - ry? O

mount, I fly! O grave, where is thy vic - to - ry, thy vic - to - ry? O

78

grave, where is thy vic - to - ry, thy vic - to - ry? O death, where is thy sting? O

grave where is thy vic - to - ry, thy vic - to - ry? O death, where is thy sting? O

grave, where is thy vic - to - ry, thy vic - to - ry? O death, where is thy sting? O

81

death, where is thy sting? Lend, lend your wings! I mount, I fly! O

death, where is thy sting? Lend, lend your wings! I mount, I fly! O

death, where is thy sting? Lend, lend your wings! I mount, I fly! O

84

*Adagio*

grave, where is thy vic - to - ry, thy vic - to - ry? O death, O death, where is thy sting?

grave, where is thy vic - to - ry, thy vic - to - ry? O death, O death, where is thy sting?

[Tenor] O death, O death, where is thy sting?

grave, where is thy vic - to - ry, thy vic - to - ry? O death, O death, where is thy sting?]



## 40b Sym[phony] to the Dying Christian

?M[ark] Eminton, 1805

Slow

## 40c Ere she bids the world adieu

THE DYING CHRISTIAN A CELEBRATED ODE BY POPE SET BY HARWOOD

?Thomas Prisk, 1838

Largo

Alto

Treble

[Bass]

[Ere she bids the world a - dieu, Heav'n - ly

Ere she bids the world a - dieu, Heav'n - ly

[Ere she bids the world a - dieu, Heav'n - ly

6

Ca - naan new in view; On the mount of

Ca - naan new in view; On the mount of

Ca - naan new in view; On the mount of

11

con - quest wait-ing, Come and see, come and see\_ the  
 con - quest wait-ing, Come and see, come and see\_ the  
 con - quest waiting,] Come and see, come and see [the

17

con - flict end - ing, On the mount of con - quest wait - ing,  
 con - flict end - ing, On the mount of con - quest wait - ing,  
 con - flict end - ing, On the mount of con - quest wait - ing,

23

Come and see\_ the con - flict end - ing, Now the chill - ing  
 Come and see\_ the con - flict end - ing, Now the chill - ing  
 Come and see\_ the con - flict end - ing, Now the chill - ing

29

droop - ing clay, Un - to the soul\_ seems thus\_ to say:  
 droop - ing clay, Un - to the soul\_ seems thus\_ to say:  
 droop - ing clay, Un - to the soul\_ seems thus\_ to say:



# 41 Happy beyond description he

## CANAAN

text: Charles Wesley, 1763, revised

James Leach, c.1794

TRIO

Hap-py, hap-py, hap-py be-yond des-crip-tion he

[Hap-py, hap-py, hap-py be-yond des-crip-tion he

[Hap-py, hap-py, hap-py be-yond des-crip-tion he

7

Who in the paths of pi-e-ty Loves, from his

Who in the paths of pi-e-ty Loves, from his

Who in the paths of pi-e-ty]

12

birth, to run, loves, from his birth, his

birth, to run, loves, from his birth, his

Loves, from his birth, to run, loves, from his

17

birth, to run. Its ways are ways of plea-sant-

birth, to run. Its ways are ways of plea-sant-

[birth, to run.] Its ways are ways of

22

-ness, \_\_\_\_\_ And all\_\_ its paths\_ are joy\_\_\_ and

-ness, \_\_\_\_\_ And all\_\_ its paths,\_\_\_ its\_

plea - sant - ness, \_\_\_\_\_ And all\_\_\_ its

27

peace, are joy\_\_\_\_\_ and peace, and all its paths are

paths, are joy\_\_\_\_\_ and peace, and all its paths are

paths are [joy \_\_\_\_\_ and peace, and all its paths are

32

joy\_\_\_\_\_ and peace, \_\_\_\_\_

joy\_\_\_\_\_ and peace, \_\_\_\_\_

joy\_\_\_\_\_ and] peace, \_\_\_\_\_ peace, \_\_\_\_\_ peace,

36

peace, \_\_\_\_\_ peace, \_\_\_\_\_ peace, \_\_\_\_\_ peace, [are



40

joy and peace, And heav'n on earth be -

joy and peace, And heav'n on earth be -

joy and peace, And heav'n on earth be -

44

-gun, and heav'n on earth be - gun.

-gun, and heav'n on earth be - gun.]

-gun, and heav'n on earth be - gun.]

48 DUET

If this fe - li - ci - ty were mine, I ev' - ry

[If this fe - li - ci - ty were mine, I ev' - ry

54

o - ther would re - sign, I ev' - ry o - ther

o - ther would re - sign, I ev' - ry o - ther

59

would re - sign With just and ho - ly scorn, Cheer - ful and

would re - sign With just and ho - ly scorn, Cheer - ful and

65

blithe my way pur - sue, And, with the pro-mis'd land, and,

blithe my way pur - sue, And, with the pro-mis'd land, and,

70

with the promis'd land in view, sing - ing to

with the promis'd land in view, sing - ing to

75

God, sing - ing to God, to God re - turn.

God, sing - ing to God, to God re - turn.]

CHORUS

80 Staccato

[Cheer - ful and blithe my way pur - sue,] cheer ful and blithe, cheer - ful and

Cheer - ful and blithe my way pur - sue, my way pur - sue,

[Cheer - ful and blithe my way pur - sue, my way pur - sue,

[Cheer - ful and blithe my way pur - sue,] cheer ful and blithe, cheer - ful and



83

blithe, cheer-ful and blithe my way pur - sue, cheerful and blithe my way pur -  
 my way pur-sue, my way pursue, pur - sue, pur - sue, pur -  
 my way pur-sue, my way pursue,] pur - sue

blithe, cheer-ful and blithe, cheer-ful and blithe my way pur -

86

-sue, cheerful and blithe my way pur - sue, my way pur - [sue, cheer - ful and  
 -sue, cheer - ful and blithe my way pur - sue, cheer - ful and  
 my way pur - [sue, cheer - ful and  
 -sue, cheer - ful and blithe my way pur - [sue, cheer - ful and

89

blithe my way pur - sue,] And with the promised land in view, and, with the promised  
 blithe my way pur - sue,  
 blithe my way pur - sue,] And with the promised land in view,  
 blithe my way pur - sue, And with the promised land in view,] and with the promised

92

land \_\_\_\_\_ in

land, the promised land in view, and with the promised land, the promised land in

95

view sing-ing to God re - turn, [And with the promised land in view,]

[And with the promised land in view]

[And, with the promised land in view,

view, sing-ing to God re - turn, [And with the promised land in view,]

98

Sing-ing to God, sing-ing to God to \_\_\_\_\_

Sing-ing to God, sing-ing to God, sing - ing to God, to

Sing-ing to God, sing-ing to God, sing - ing to God, to \_\_\_\_\_

Sing-ing to God, sing-ing to God, God, to \_\_\_\_\_



101

God re - turn, sing - ing to God, sing - ing to God, to \_\_\_

God re - turn, sing - ing to God, sing - ing to God, to \_\_\_

God re - turn, sing - ing to God, sing - ing to God, to \_\_\_

[God re - turn,] sing - . . . . . ing to

104

God re - turn, sing - ing, to God re - turn.]

God re - turn, sing - ing, to God re - turn.

God re - turn, sing - ing, to God re - turn.]

[God re - turn, sing - ing, to God re - turn.]

## 42 In Gabriel's hand a mighty stone

## THE FALL OF BABYLON

John Beaumont, 1801

text: Isaac Watts, 1707

Moderato

In Ga - briel's hand a migh - ty, migh - ty\_ stone,  
In Ga - briel's hand a\_ migh - ty stone,

5 Lies, a fair type of Ba - by - lon: Pro - phets re -  
Lies a fair type of Ba - by - lon: Pro - phets re -

10 -joice, And all\_ ye\_ saints, God shall a - venge your  
-joice, And all\_ ye\_ saints, God shall a - venge your

15 long com - plaints. -plaints. He said, he said, and  
long com - plaints. -plaints. He said, he said, and

19 dread - ful as he stood He sunk the mill - stone in\_ the\_  
dread - ful as he stood He sunk the mill - stone in the

24 flood: Thus ter - ri - bly shall Ba - bel fall, thus ter - ri - bly shall Ba - bel fall, shall  
flood: Thus ter - ri - bly shall Ba - bel fall, shall



30

Ba - bel fall; And ne-ver, ne-ver, ne-ver more be found at

Ba - bel fall; And ne-ver more be found at

35

Full

all, and ne-ver more be found at all. all.

all, and ne-ver more be found at all. all.

CHORUS

40

Spirito

Haste hap - py day, haste hap-py

Haste hap-py

Haste hap - py day, haste hap - py day, haste hap - py

Haste hap - py day, haste hap-py

45

day, that time I long to see, When ev'-ry son of

day, that time I long to see, When ev'-ry son of

day, that time I long to see, When ev'-ry son of

day, that time I long to see, When ev'-ry son of

50

A - dam shall be free: Then shall the hap - py world a

A - dam shall be free: Then shall the hap - py world a

A - dam shall be free: Then shall the hap - py world a

A - dam shall be free: Then shall the hap - py world a

54

loud pro - claim, The pleas - ing

loud pro - claim, *p*

loud pro - claim, The pleas - ing won - ders,

loud pro - claim, The pleas - ing

59

won - ders, the pleas - ing won - ders of the Sa - viour's name.

The pleas - ing won - ders of the Sa - viour's name.

*f* the pleas - ing won - ders of the Sa - viour's name.

won - ders, the pleas - ing won - ders of the Sa - viour's name.



Page  
numbering  
as  
found in the  
original  
thesis

## Critical Commentary

This anthology is not primarily a performing edition. Its purpose is to illustrate the main thesis. Original clefs, figuring and part allocations have been retained. The part order has only been altered in two full scores, 11 and 17, and in 33 the cello part has been placed below the voices. SATB allocations have been added where clarification has been considered necessary. Alto and tenor parts would have been sung an octave lower by men, unless specified. Extra verses have been omitted, except in 15, and dynamic markings, repeats and spelling have been modernised. Completion of text underlay and a few missing notes are marked by square brackets, editorial accidentals are in small font and additional slurs are crossed.

### 1 (CD 1)

Source: J. Playford, *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (London, 3/1658), 56.

Context: Anglican parochial.

Performance: Playford provided a bass part, but congregations would have sung this very slowly, unaccompanied and in unison, as illustrated in the recording. The text would probably have been lined out and extra notes and flourishes may have been added in the old way of singing.

### 2 (CD 2)

Source: D. Purcell, *The Psalmes Set Full for the Organ* (London, [1718]), 5.

Context: Urban Anglican, London.

Performance: The elaborate giving out and interludes for organ may retain elements of the old way of singing. They would probably have been played at approximately the same slow speed as the congregational verses, which would have been sung in unison. This could have been lined out but, if so, extra pauses would probably have been needed so that the text could be read.

### 3 (CD 6)

Source: M. Beesly, *A Collection of 20 New Psalm Tunes Compos'd with Veriety of Fuges* (London, c.1746), unpaginated.

Context: Rural Anglican, Thames Valley.



**Performance:** This would have been sung unaccompanied, probably by a choir because the fuguing passages would have prevented congregational participation. The recorded version is sung to 'While shepherds watched', which was the only Christmas text added to the New Version of the psalms between 1700 and 1782.

#### 4 (CD 7)

**Source:** B. West *Sacra Concerto: or, the Voice of Melody* (London, 1760), 10–11.

**Context:** Rural Anglican, Northamptonshire.

**Performance:** The key of E flat minor would seem to be unique in psalmody. This elaborate fuguing tune would have silenced congregations and instrumentalists would also probably have found it too difficult, unless it was transposed into E minor.

#### 5 (CD 8)

**Source:** W. Knapp, *New Church Melody* (London, 1753), 105–106.

**Context:** Rural Anglican, Dorset.

**Performance:** The air could be in either the tenor or the treble, since both are equally melodic. However, at this date it is more likely to be in the tenor, and it would have been doubled an octave higher by trebles if sung congregationally. Instruments could have been used to support singers but, if so, the alto may have been sung unaccompanied because it is in the C clef.

#### 6

**Source:** J. Hill, *A New Book of Psalmody*, (London, [c.1757]), 16.

**Context:** Rural Anglican, Kent.

**Performance:** This unusual piece may have been sung domestically. The marking 'Men' suggests that the top part of the duet was sung by trebles. The third stave of the chorus is in the alto clef, which could indicate a part allocation SSAB.

#### 7

**Source:** William Pocklington ms, Lincolnshire, 1773, 54. Author's collection. See 31 below for a later version.

**Context:** Rural Anglican.

**Origin:** The composer is thought to be Anthony Greatorex, a self-taught violinist who became organist at North Wingfield, and later at Burton on Trent.

**Performance:** No text has been added because it does not seem possible to fit the words of Psalm 96, which is in common metre in both the Old and the New Versions, to the given phrasing. The separate instrumental bass could be played by a cello or bassoon and other instruments may have been doubled the vocal parts.

**Readings:** Bars 1–17 were mistakenly written below the bass instrument part: ‘Vocal Bass at Bottom Thro’ Mistake’. No start is given for the end repeat.

### 8 (CD 3)

**Source:** S. Goodwin, *The Complete Organists Pocket Companion* (London, 1774–76), 47–49.

**Context:** Urban Anglican, London.

**Performance:** The interludes would have been played between verses. Improvised flourishes may also have been played between lines, when the trilled gathering notes would have alerted the congregation to resume singing. It is unlikely, but not impossible, that this setting was lined out. If so, extra pauses would probably have been added for the text to be read.

**Reading 4** appogg. *a*’.

### 9 (CD 4)

**Source:** William Seal ms, Leicestershire late 18th century. Leicester, Leicestershire and Rutland Record Office, DE 245.

**Context:** Rural Anglican, Leicestershire.

**Performance:** This would presumably have been sung congregationally with the air doubled an octave above by women and children, while choir trebles would have sung the top stave. At least two instruments, treble and bass, would have been needed and the alto may have been played an octave higher than sung. The bass of the first symphony ingeniously replicates that of the tune.

**Reading:** 18 A 2: *d*’.

### 10

**Source:** Harborough Magna additional ms. Warwickshire Record Office, DR 405/39.

**Context:** Rural Anglican, Warwickshire.

**Origin:** The composer is thought to be Samuel Webbe senior and the prize medal was awarded by the Catch Club.



**Performance:** This is a canon, four in two, between ST and AB. Canons may have been used to increase the confidence of choirs when singing in parts, and they are known to have been sung after services.

## 11

**Source:** T. Collins, *A Collection of Anthems and Psalms, for Two Three and Four Voices* (N[un]eaton, [c.1790]), 39–42.

**Context:** Anglican, Warwickshire.

**Performance:** The elaborate scoring suggests that this piece was intended for special services or for performance by a musical society. The original part order is as set except that horns are placed at the top of the system. The bass instrument is not specified. The marking at bar 21 ‘This Bass to be Sung when there is no instrument’ suggests that it could also be sung unaccompanied, in which case bar 26 would have to be omitted.

## 12

**Source:** S. Arnold and J. Callcott, *Psalms of David for the Use of Parish Churches* (London, [1791]), 184–185.

**Origin:** This is a parody of the Larghetto from the overture to *Artaxerxes* by Thomas Arne (1762).

**Context:** Anglican parochial.

**Performance:** The figured bass would have facilitated keyboard accompaniment. Arnold and Callcott suggested that the alto could be sung an octave lower than written by second trebles if there were no male countertenors or, if no trebles were available, men could still perform the psalms in four parts, with tenors singing the treble. Alternatively, the music could be transposed up to a fourth higher so that the countertenor sang the tune, while the first tenor sang the countertenor an octave below.

## 13 (CD 9)

**Source:** W. Tattersall, *Improved Psalmody* (London, 1794), 211.

**Context:** Anglican parochial.

**Performance:** Tattersall envisaged that this would be sung congregationally: ‘The congregation and children [...] should join the upper part’. The middle part would probably have been sung an octave below written pitch by choir countertenors or tenors.

## 14

Source: J. Barwick, *Harmonia Cantica Divina or the Second Part of the Kentish Divine Harmonist* (London, [-1796]), 17–23.

Context: Rural Anglican, Kent.

Performance: This setting would seem to be tenor led, although the treble is also melodic. It is unlikely that the air was doubled at the octave, since it would seem to be too complicated for congregational participation. There is a separate instrumental bass throughout, so, if two oboes and two bassoons were used, one part would be unsupported. This setting could also have been sung unaccompanied without the opening and closing symphonies. The former has a separate heading 'Sym. to the 108 Psalm'. From bar 33 to 50 the vocal music is on two staves. Up to bar 46 the clefs seem to indicate a treble / bass duet but from bar 46 alto and tenor C clefs imply an alto / tenor duet. This may have been unaccompanied, unless instrumentalists could read the C clefs.

## 15 (CD 5)

Source: W. Gresham, *Psalmody Improved* (London, c.1797), 49.

Context: Anglican parochial, Kent.

Performance: This would have been sung in two parts, treble and bass. Gresham preferred two parts rather than four 'attempted' but 'not well performed'. The CD performance is probably too fast. If Gresham's instructions had been followed, the inner parts of the chords (which are in the original) should have been omitted in the play over. He specifically included dynamic markings for different verses and wanted these to be altered according to the sense of the words. The same organ interlude would have been played between each verse.

## 16

Source: Transcription of the first tune on the third barrel of the 1810 Bryceson barrel organ at Shelland, Suffolk, from L. Langwill, L. and N. Boston, *Church and Chamber Barrel Organs: Their Origin, Makers, Music and Location. A Chapter of English Church Music* (Edinburgh, 2/1970), 21.

Context: Anglican parochial.

Performance: The organ at Shelland is still used to accompany services. The speed depends on the operator.



## 17 (CD 10, 11)

Source: J. Foster, *A 2d Collection of Sacred Music* (York, [c.1817]), 25–33.

Context: Anglican parochial, Sheffield.

Origin: This piece is now part of the Sheffield pub carolling tradition and both CD recordings use the text 'While shepherds watched', rather than the original 'Ye people all with one accord'.

Performance: The full orchestration would probably only have been used on special occasions, but it could also be sung with organ or piano, or unaccompanied. The original part order placed the violins at the top of the system and the viola immediately above the voices. There is no separate cello part to the vocal sections; it has been extracted from the bass of the keyboard part.

Readings: 18 fl: *g'' e'* slur; 48 S 2: *b'*.

## 18

Source: W. Lonsdale, *Twenty Five Psalm or Hymn Tunes* (Manchester, c.1815), 4.

Context: Anglican parochial.

Performance: The treble air is placed next to the bass for the convenience of keyboard players. The heading 'With spirit' is prescient. Lonsdale apparently lost his post as organist at Bolton parish church when, after imbibing too freely one Saturday night, he played unsuitable music during a service.

## 19

Source: H. Playford, *The Divine Companion* (London, 3/1709), 126–128.

Context: Anglican parochial, London.

Performance: This was intended for budding provincial choirs. The medius is printed separately and could perhaps be omitted. ATB or SSB are both possible.

Reading: 28 B 3: G.

## 20

Source: R. and J. Barber, *A Book of Psalmody* (London, 1723), 76–79.

Context: Rural Anglican, Cheshire.

Performance: This should be sung unaccompanied and in time, not in the speech rhythms of modern chanting.

Readings: 53 B: *m. c/*; 63 T 2 *m c-rest*; 68 T 1 *c/*; 73 A 1 *m c-rest*.

## 21

Source: *A Book of Psalmody* ([?London], 6/1741), 102–108.

Origin: The five-part 'Allelujah' chorus is an adaptation of 'Day by day we magnify thee, and we worship thy name, ever world without end', from Purcell's *Te Deum* in D.

Context: Rural Anglican, Yorkshire.

Performance: S(S)ATB. Unaccompanied or possibly with bassoon or cello support.

Readings: 10 S 2: *d''*; 34 T 1: *d'*.

## 22

Source: *The Psalm-Singer's Pocket Companion* (London, 1755), 134–141.

Context: Rural Anglican, Staffordshire.

Performance: A bass instrument may have been used at this date. In 1784 Davenport's son, also called Uriah, was in dispute with the wardens and removed the 'Viol, Haught Boys and Books' belonging to the church at Rushton Spencer.

Readings: 2 S 1–2: *m.* (no rest); 14 S 2: *b'*; 14 A 4: *d'*; 47 T 3: *e/*; 72 A 6–7: misplaced slur.

## 23

Source: *William East's Collection of Church Musick* (Waltham, 1755-8), 32.

Context: Rural Anglican, Leicestershire.

Origin: This is probably taken from an earlier unidentified source.

Performance: Unaccompanied. East compiled his collection 'for the Use of his Schools' so it is unlikely that this was sung congregationally. The stresses implied by the bar lines in bars 1 to 6 should be ignored.

## 24

Source: J. Key, *Eight Anthems, on Various Occasions* (London, 1774), 1–7.

Context: Rural Anglican, Warwickshire.

Performance: This could also be sung unaccompanied using the alternative section at the end. The trumpet part is unplayable on a natural trumpet of this date, so perhaps another oboe was used.

Readings: The start of the repeat at bar 100 is not marked.



## 25 (CD 12)

Source: J. Bishop and others, *A Choice Collection of [...] Thirteen Anthems [...] with Alterations and Additions* (Birmingham, 1780), 15–16.

Origin: This was adapted, probably by Joseph Kempson, from an anthem by Israel Holdroyd in *The Spiritual Man's Companion* (London, 5/1753), 41–47. Up to bar 71 it is nearly identical with Holdroyd. A final 'alleluia' is removed and replaced with a hymn and a new extended 'alleluia'.

Context: Urban Anglican, Birmingham.

Performance: The hymn could perhaps be sung congregationally. Kempson taught charity children to sing and they could have joined in with other singers. Holdroyd's original would have been sung unaccompanied, but by 1780 this may have been accompanied by an organ in a town church, or by other instruments in more rural locations.

## 26

Source: J. Lampe, *Hymns on the Great Festivals, and Other Occasions* (London, 1746), 56–57.

Context: Wesleyan Methodist or domestic.

Performance: There were no organs in Methodist meeting houses at this date so this was either sung unaccompanied, or domestically with keyboard. The ornamentation suggests that it was originally intended for solo performance even if it was attempted by congregations.

## 27 (CD 13)

Source: C. Ashworth, *A Collection of Tunes II* (London, 1762), 15.

Origin: First published as 'A virgin most pure' in W. Knapp, *Anthems for Christmas Day [...] with Variety of Hymns and Carrols* (London, 1744).

Context: Nonconformist, Dorset.

Performance: Three-part settings can cause confusion, especially when the air is on the middle line. The top stave is an alto and should be sung an octave lower than written, although the CD recording treats it as a descant for verses 1 and 4.

## 28

Source: W. Cole, *The Psalmist's Exercise [...] Composed for the use of Country Choirs* (London, c.1768), 2–3.

Context: Rural Nonconformist / Anglican, Essex.

Origin: The text to this psalm is by the nonconformist hymn writer, Isaac Watts. Cole had connections with the Independent Meeting at Colchester, but the anthems in this book suggest that he also intended it for Anglican use.

Performance: The tune would seem to be on the middle stave. The British Library copy has 'Air' written in manuscript above the middle part of the first psalm, so it is tenor led and would be doubled at the octave by trebles when sung congregationally. The top stave may have been sung by trebles at pitch, or possibly by countertenors an octave lower.

## 29

Source: S. Addington, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes for Publick Worship* (Market Harborough, 3/1780), 136–137.

Context: Nonconformist, Leicestershire.

Performance: This would probably have been sung unaccompanied. As in the two previous pieces, the air is on the middle stave and the alto on the top, written an octave higher than sung. If the dynamic markings were observed, the *piano* sections may have been sung by women only, as Addington suggested.

## 30 (CD 14)

Source: [J. Wesley], *Sacred Harmony* ([London?], [1781]), 43–44.

Origin: This is a sacred parody of 'Fairest Isle' from Henry Purcell's opera *King Arthur* of 1691.

Context: Wesleyan Methodist or domestic.

Performance: The title page states that the music is for harpsichord and organ as well as voice, though none of it is figured and Wesley did not approve of organs in Methodist chapels. This would have been sung congregationally, perhaps in two parts, and maybe with the support of a choir.



## 31 (CD 15)

Source: R. Harrison, *Sacred Harmony* (London, 1784), 92–93.

Origin: This is an adaptation of no.7 above. No earlier printed source is known.

Context: Urban Unitarian, Manchester.

Performance: This is from the second part of Harrison's book, which included 'tunes in a greater diversity of style [...] perhaps more fit for *practitioners* or *choirs* of singers. Yet they are not altogether beyond the attainment of *congregations*'. Some Unitarian meeting houses had bands but the figuring implies that this would have been sung to an organ if available.

Reading: 4 A 5: g'.

## 32 (CD 16)

Source: R. Taylor, *The Beauties of Sacred Verse* (London, [1789]), 31.

Context: Urban Nonconformist, Chester.

Performance: Taylor was precentor at Queen Street Independent Chapel in Chester where they sang unaccompanied, but he also provided some figuring. The part allocation would seem to be TASB, with the air next to the bass to aid keyboard players. It was sung SATB on the CD recording, with the tune doubled at the octave, since it would have been sung congregationally.

Reading: 1 T 1 and 3: g.

## 33

Source: T. Haweis, *Carmino Christo* (Bath, c.1791), 6.

Context: Calvinistic Methodist, Bath.

Performance: This may have been performed by a choir and soloists or by a congregation with a choir singing the solo passage. It is treble led but the air is placed above the bass for the convenience of keyboard players. It could be accompanied by cello and organ, or cello alone.

Reading: The original part order is A, T. vc, S, B.

## 34 (CD 17)

Source: T. Clark, *A Sett of Psalm and Hymn Tunes [...] Composed in a Familiar Style* (London, [1805]), 20–21.

Context: Nonconformist, Kent.

Performance: Clark clearly specifies the placement of the air and tenor parts so that there can be no confusion. The bracketed lower staves and figuring imply keyboard accompaniment. This would have been sung congregationally despite the slight part overlap.

## 35

Source: E. Miller, *Dr Watts's Psalms and Hymns*, 2 vols (London, [c.1805]), II, no.449, unpaginated.

Context: Nonconformist, Yorkshire.

Performance: This is one of nine pieces 'for the Practise of Societies of Singers'. The part allocations in seven of the other tunes are clearly marked: 'Treble', 'Alto', 'Air' and 'Bass' or 'Basso', so it is tenor led. It was not intended to be sung congregationally so there would have been no octave doubling. The bracketed lower staves and extra small notes imply keyboard accompaniment.

## 36

Source: *A New Set of Sacred Music [...] Sung by Different Denominations of Christians* (London, [c.1811]), 42.

Context: Wesleyan Methodist, Lancashire.

Performance: This is a repeating tune in which the second and fourth lines are sung by trebles, before they are repeated by all four parts. It seems to be tenor led and, despite the marking 'Tenor', it is likely that the air was doubled by trebles throughout, especially if sung congregationally.

## 37 (CD 18)

Source: *Hymns and Tunes of ye Olden Time* ([Staffordshire?], [1907]), 83.

Context: Primitive Methodist, Staffordshire

Performance: This is taken from a late printing of a tune which would originally have been sung in unison at outdoor camp meetings. The three lower parts have been omitted. As an alternative to lining out, it may have been sung by a leader with congregational interjections of 'glory' and 'hallelujah'.



## 38

Source: [J. Wesley], *Sacred Melody* ([London], [c.1765]), 110–112.

Origin: This is a parody of a popular song 'A Thought on a Spring Morning' by Henry Holcombe.

Context: Wesleyan Methodist or domestic.

Performance: Despite its complexity, Wesley apparently intended this to be sung by an unaccompanied congregation, but it would also have been suitable for a solo private performance. It may have met with some success since the tune would have been known and the style would have been familiar. Other versions to the same text are in three parts.

## 39

Source: [Madan, M.], *A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes [...] To be had at the Lock Hospital* ([London], 3/[1769]), 94–95.

Context: Charity Hospital, London.

Performance: This was originally composed for the Lock Hospital in London and would have been accompanied by an organ. The two upper parts would have been sung congregationally by both men and women so that the parts overlapped. It is possible that the *piano* passages were sung by women alone.

## 40a (CD 19, 20)

Source: E. Harwood, *A Set of Hymns and Psalm Tunes* (London, [1781]), 36–40.

Context: Urban Unitarian, Liverpool.

Performance: This is unfigured and so it would probably have been sung unaccompanied. It could be sung SAB or TTB, or with mixed voices on both upper parts. It is possible that women sang the *piano* passages alone.

## 40b

Source: 'M.E. Minton his book 1805', GB-Lbl: G.503.r.

Context: ?Anglican, ?Kent.

Performance: This is a manuscript symphony to a three-part printed version of 'Vital spark'. It would seem to have been intended for at least four instruments.

**40c**

Source: Thomas Prisk ms, Illogan, 1838, unpaginated.

Context: Rural, Cornwall.

Performance: This was intended to be sung as an introduction to 'Vital spark'. The alto would have been sung an octave lower than written.

**41**

Source: J. Leach, *A Second Sett of Hymns and Psalm Tunes, adapted for the use of Churches, Chapels and Sunday Schools* (London, [c.1794]), 64–69.

Context: Wesleyan Methodist, Lancashire.

Performance: This was probably written for anniversary services. It is probable that Sunday school trebles sang the two upper parts of the opening trio, and also the top part of the final chorus. The alto and tenor would have been sung an octave lower than written, both by men. The duet may have been sung by adult soloists, tenor and bass.

**42 (CD 21)**

Source: J. Beaumont, *The New Harmonic Magazine, or Compendious Repository of Sacred Music* (London, 1801), 68–69.

Context: Wesleyan Methodist, north of England.

Performance: Beaumont intended this to be sung congregationally. 'My chief design [...] was, to give a few short pieces, proper to be sung before the sermon, easy to be learnt, and in which the congregation might readily join'. Some northern Methodist congregations were encouraged to sing in two parts, treble and bass. In the chorus trebles would probably have sung the predominant part on the stave above the bass. The music used for the CD recording is taken from a Manx manuscript and there are a few discrepancies between it and the printed version.



**CD**

**ATTACHED**