

ISSUES IN THE
HISTORIOGRAPHY
AND CANONISATION OF
LITURGICAL MUSIC IN
HIGH CHURCH PARISHES
1827–1914.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on the areas which have become the periphery of historical narratives about music in high church parishes in the long nineteenth century, and addresses some of the underlying reasons which may have caused these topics to be moved away from the centre of conventional historical narratives. It considers the formation of a narrow canon of Tractarian music in the 1840s, and its transformation to a broader canon in the 1860s, which could be considered the first expression of the English choral tradition as it is known today. Finally, the thesis considers the effects of the English musical renaissance hypothesis upon later discussions of music from this period in academia and in practice. How did its apologists change our perception of late nineteenth-century music, musicians, and society? In the context of this larger narrative, the thesis considers the role of Keble's poetry as the foundation for the nineteenth-century church music revival. Early Tractarian musical theology is explored, as are Frederick Oakeley's ideas of affective music in liturgy. The central chapters highlight the life of two overlooked musicians in more detail: Joseph Barnby and Alice Mary Smith. These five chapters do not provide a new comprehensive history of high church music, but begin to shift some musics from the periphery of church music history towards its central narrative.

FOREWORD

De verzwegen bron

Alsof zij stil en lang
haar beurt heeft afgewacht
orgelt een melodie naar buiten
als bronwater ontspringend
alsof de schepping steeds opnieuw begint,

een aarzelend begin
van pure klanken vliindert
omhoog tot een wijs, een loflied
gedragen door een ostinato gebed.

Ze maakt de bodem vrolijk,
de wereld zacht
ze wekt geloof en lest mijn dorst
ze knipoogt naar de bloemen
versnelt haar pas tot een dans
met de zon
het licht stroomt in haar voort
en verder

Maar zij wordt overschaduwd
overrompeld
door bulderende watervallen
die van geen grenzen weten.
Haar melodie doodgezwegen...

waar vind ik haar weer?
Eenmaal haar jeugd verloren
al te breed en uitgezakt
verzand in laagland
vertraagd, vervuilt met alles
wat op drift raakte

dan verlang ik naar haar bronnen,
naar die zingende eerste morgen
en ik ga op zoek
tegen de klippen op
want ik verga
van dorst.

Poem: Sytze de Vries, 4 March 2022

The suppressed source

As if still and long
she awaited her turn,
a melody pipes up
as water springs up at the source
as if creation continually begins afresh,

a wavering beginning
of pure sounds fluttering
upwards into a tune, a hymn
carried by an ostinato prayer.

She makes the soil glad,
the world gentle
she awakens faith and quenches my thirst
she winks at the flowers
quickens her step into a dance
with the sun
the light flows on in her
and beyond

But she becomes overshadowed
overpowered
by thundering waterfalls
which know not of borders.
Her melody suppressed...

where shall I find her again?
Once her youth is lost
all too diluted and slumped
silted up in lowland
slowed down, polluted by all
that got caught in the drift

then I long for her sources,
for that first, singing morning
and searching, I go
against cliff and current
for I perish
of thirst.

Translation: Leonard Sanderman

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¹John Ward Knowles, 'Sir Joseph Barnby', Art UK, accessed 3 February 2022, <https://www.artuk.org/discover/artworks/sir-joseph-barnby-18361896-8702> © York Museums Trust

²*Strand Magazine* (London: Newness. 1892, Vol 4), 480.

³'First Choir to Record', *Archive of Recorded Church Music*, accessed 3 February 2022, <https://www.recordedchurchmusic.org/first-choir-to-record>

⁴Photograph held by the West Sussex Record Office in Chichester, uncatalogued.

⁵'Barnby was born in this house' *Explore York Images*, accessed 17 September 2022, <https://images.exploreyork.org.uk/Respages/Search.aspx?stype=2&sword=Barnby&filefilter=> © City of York Council / Explore York Libraries and Archives Mutual Ltd.

⁶'Map of York 1852', *Interactive Maps*, accessed 15 September 22, <https://yorkmaps.net/1852/#17/53.9622/-1.0821>

⁷Lewis Borrett White, *English Sacred Poetry of the Olden Time* (London: Religious tract society. 1864), 24.

⁸John Henry Maunder, *Olivet to Calvary* (London: Novello. 1904), 32.

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LIST OF ACCOMPANYING MATERIAL

Alice Mary Smith *The Complete Sacred Choral Music* ed. Leonard Sanderman, 2019

⁹ Document held by the West Sussex Record Office in Chichester, uncatalogued.

¹⁰ Artiste, 'Women as Composers' *The Monthly Musical Record*, 1 Jul, 1877 (Vol. 7, London: Augener, 1877), 108.

¹¹ Joseph Barnby, *Canticles in E*, ed. Sjouke Bruining, 2012, Choral Public Domain Library, accessed 30 March 2022, <http://www1.cpd.org/wiki/images/4/49/Barnby-Canticles-in-E.pdf>

¹² John Stainer, *Magnificat and Nunc dimittis in B flat*, ed. Robert Nottinham, 2007, Choral Public Domain Library, accessed 30 March 2022,

https://www.cpd.org/wiki/images/b/bc/Stainer_magnificat_and_nunc_dimittis_in_b_flat_2.pdf

¹³ Charles Villiers Stanford *Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in E flat* (Salisbury: Cathedral Music, 1997).

¹⁴ Charles Villiers Stanford *Morning, Evening and Communion Service in B-flat major, Op.10* (London: Novello, 1902)

¹⁵ Charles Hubert Hastings Parry, *I was glad* (London: Novello, n.d., 1911 version)

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is not a new, complete history of High Church liturgical music in parishes, but considers five important moments in this history from a revisionist perspective. It focuses especially on those areas which are not commonly considered at the centre of church music history. This includes interdisciplinary studies encompassing poetry, theology, and national identity as well as biographical sections on musicians who for different reasons have been pushed to the periphery of modern histories of church music. The result is a collection of five chapters which can be read as independent articles, or be considered as an organic whole. The final chapter allows some larger lines to be drawn. As each chapter has its own conclusions, the final conclusions of the whole thesis are more practical, drawing the material into the world of parochial church music today.

The first chapter argues that the ideosyncracies of the Tractarian choral movement of the 1840s have their roots in the poetry of Keble's 1827 *Christian Year*. It discusses Keble's wide appeal through overt alignment with academic practice at Oxford, imbuing the poetry with some of the concomitant issues. The influence of Dante's musical philosophies is analysed in Keble's poetry and biography, before consideration is given to questions regarding the ontological nature of liturgy and music, when they are first considered a romantic object.

The second chapter moves from the generic to the specific, and looks in detail at the writings on church music by the Tractarians between 1840-1845. Leaning heavily on articles from the *British Critic*, the Tractarian party organ, a pattern emerges which relates to affection and sympathy versus reserve and economy. The focus on plainsong revival is related to principles of 'sacred economy' and a 'want of sympathy', and an insular approach to life. The theology of reserve is considered alongside antiquarian liturgical research as primary causes for the plainsong and early music revival of the 1840s, which defined the narrow canon of Tractarian music in the mid-nineteenth century.

Barnby's choir at St Andrew's, Wells Street, developed an elaborate repertory which signifies the confluence of five canons that had until then been distinct, with little overlap: Cathedral,

Tractarian, Continental Catholic, Choral Society, and contemporary composition. Barnby is considered as a composer, as a conductor in the pre-recording era (and how this affects canonisation), as a choir trainer, educator, and as an enabler of female musicians, especially Alice Mary Smith and Ethel Smyth. Barnby's decisions on repertory are considered in the light of emergent incarnational theology, which lacked 'Tractarian severity',¹⁷ and in light of a continuum between liturgical, sacred, and secular in English choir culture.

The fourth chapter continues my research into Alice Mary Smith, building on the publication of my edition of her complete sacred choral music in 2019. Her place in music history is examined: simultaneously part of many histories, but squarely outside every canon. This leads to a discussion of the phenomenon of canon formation, the issues with 'novelties' in Victorian concert programmes, issues regarding publication, and the archival methodologies used for her manuscripts. Finally, an in-depth set of analyses seeks to develop an understanding of her compositional processes and character from her work, in response to Macfarren's words: 'the lasting presence of her mind [is] in the compositions she has left'.¹⁸ The 2019 edition of her sacred choral works accompanies this thesis.

The final chapter considers the influence of the English Musical Renaissance on English late nineteenth-century church music. It considers the influence of nationalism and the development of a National Style on the formation of our church musical canon. Works by Barnby, Stanford, and Parry are analysed and compared to each other and to other representative works from the period to discuss the priorities of early twentieth-century composers and historians. The influence of Vaughan Williams is considered in relation to the emergence of an increasingly iron-clad canon of liturgical music.

¹⁷ Gwendolen Stephenson, *Edward Stuart Talbot 1844-1934* (London, 1936) 13, 52.

¹⁸ Document held by the West Sussex Record Office in Chichester, uncatalogued, MacFarren to Frederick Meadows-White after the death of Alice Mary Smith.

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work of which I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged and referenced.

This work was proofread by Simon Whalley, Dick Sanderman, and Katelyn Emerson, in accordance with the regulations of the University of York.

No previously published work by the present author was included in this thesis. Some material for chapter 2 was presented in an early form in 'The British Critic and High Church music 1814-1843: continuity and imitation' at the Church Music & Worship conference at Durham Cathedral & The University of Durham in April 2018. Some ideas in chapter 3 are expanded from the article 'The English Cantata between Elijah and Gerontius', published in Dutch in *Muziek en Liturgie*, April 2019.

CHAPTER I

The English choral tradition as a realisation of the romantic liturgical imagery in Keble's *The Christian Year*.

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Summary

In *The Christian Year*, first published in 1827, Keble turns descriptions of liturgical music into a romantic object, whilst aligning his sympathies with a Dantelian vision of sacred music. These *tableaux* are largely fictional but became part of the romantic portrayal of England's heritage. Due to the widespread distribution of Keble's work, various Tractarian innovations could be introduced as a recreation of a romanticised depiction of the past: a return to an imagined tradition which never was. The prevalence of Keble's *The Christian Year* in church and society was a significant inspiration to the pioneers of both the plainsong and early music revival and the later choral movement across the Church of England.

Introduction

Most histories of Anglo-Catholicism still begin their narrative with Keble's Assize sermon on National Apostasy, preached on the 14th of July, 1833, following the example set by Newman.¹ Keble's role in the movement has otherwise been left largely in the shadow of the dramatic life story of Newman.² However, various recent histories have sought to redress that balance and reconsider the influence of Keble.³ An essential part of that revisionist agenda is to consider more carefully the impact of his work before 'National Apostasy', which, because of Newman's approach, is often excluded from the 'canonical' history of the Oxford Movement, or relegated to secondary importance. Such an approach to history-writing is entirely aligned with the nineteenth-century preoccupation with 'change' and 'progress', made object, and made canon, by elevating certain occasions to watershed moments. However, such a narrative of history forgoes the nuance of gradual change, of individual taste, as well as the role of continuity.

Various revisionist histories in literary studies⁴ have sought to reevaluate the significance of Keble, usually considering his influence on poets in the nineteenth century. This chapter seeks to extend this revisionist approach from poetry into liturgy and society, to look for an answer to some of the idiosyncrasies which arise in the high church 'choral revival' compared to the 'cathedral tradition'. These questions consider both surface features as well as underlying ideals. Outwardly, we have few answers to the questions: "Why so much early music? Whence chant, modality, and

¹ Newman builds his 'history of my religious opinions' around the Assize sermon, using that day to divide chapters 1 and 2, marking it as a watershed moment. He writes: 'The following Sunday, July 14th, Mr. Keble preached the Assize Sermon in the University Pulpit. It was published under the title of 'National Apostasy.' I have ever considered and kept the day, as the start of the religious movement of 1833.' John Henry Newman, *Apologia pro Vita Sua*. (London, Longmans, Green, and Co, 1908, 1st ed. 1865), 33.

² Newman arguably began this manner of depiction too, writing: 'The true and primary author of it [Tractarianism], however, as is usual with great motive-powers, was out of sight. Having carried off as a mere boy the highest honours of the University, he had turned from the admiration which haunted his steps, and sought for a better and holier satisfaction in pastoral work in the country. *Ibid.*, 17.

³ Blair suggests Beek 1959, Martin 1976, Gilley 1983, Griffin 1987, Henery 1995, Edgecombe 1996, and Blair 2004 as significant, relatively non-partisan contributions. See Kirstie Blair, 'John Keble', *Oxford Bibliographies*, accessed 31 January 2022, <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199799558/obo-9780199799558-0038.xml>

⁴ *Ibid.* Martin 1976, Gilley 1983, Edgecombe 1996, and Blair 2004 are especially concerned with the poetic and the literary.

polyphony in Victorian England?”. Inwardly, there are questions pertaining to the nature and function of liturgical music, both in terms of its effects on congregants and performers, as well as regarding its role in the liturgy.

To claim that such questions are entirely unanswered is overly bold. However, key authors⁵ of histories of the ‘choral revival’ often satisfy such questions by citing from the most extreme ritualists (figures like Oakeley, who left the Church of England in 1845). This does not take into account the reality that for most of the second half of the nineteenth century, the normative mode of choral singing in high church parishes was Gregorian chant, and a considerable proportion of the choral anthems in regular use were modal.⁶ Such a prevalence of this mode of music-making is not explained by the writings of a few extreme ritualists, who had little cultural capital in the mainstream of society. The root does not lie in the extremities, but in the origins. It is in a study of the soft influence of Keble on Victorian society that plausible explanations of these idiosyncrasies can be found.

Considering the best-seller status of Keble’s poetry, the impact of his poetic historical imagery can hardly be overestimated.⁷ Keble’s poetry relies heavily on romantic religious imagery of an idealised liturgical reality. Within this world, which combines history with fiction, music is considered as a natural and essential part of humanity and Christianity. The importance of images such as ‘pure white-robèd souls’⁸ listening to the ‘Church’s solemn chant’,⁹ created in *The Christian Year*, becomes evident in their anachronism. This poetry predates the liturgical changes of the

⁵ See chapter 2. See also Bernarr Rainbow, *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church 1839-72* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1970), William J. Gatens, *Victorian Cathedral Music in Theory and Practice*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), Jeremy Morris, *The High Church Revival in the Church of England: Arguments and Identities* (Theology and History Series: 2. Leiden: Brill. 2016), Peter Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760–1857* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994), ed. James Pereiro, Peter Nockles, Stewart J. Brown, *The Oxford Handbook of the Oxford Movement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

⁶ See Bernarr Rainbow, *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church 1839-72* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1970), especially chapter 2.

⁷ See page 4-5.

⁸ John Keble, ‘Tuesday in Whitsunweek’, *The Christian Year* (London: Bickers and Son, 1875, 1st ed. 1827), 145.

⁹ Ibid.

'Choral Revival' and Ritualists by almost a generation.¹⁰ The collection was written between 1823 and 1827: long before young ritualist clergy in surplices would be promoting the use of chanting – be it Gregorian or Anglican – in their parish churches. The essays on church music offered by Palmer, Oakeley, Bennett, and other minor figures in the ritualist wing of the Tractarian party also date from around two decades after *The Christian Year*.

The greatest significance of Keble's poetry is perhaps in its soft power, which transformed the mental images conjured by the concepts of church, liturgy, and religion across the nation. It effected the widespread introduction of elements from a variety of pasts (and some from a creative mind) into the soul of a deeply conservative country. The *tableaux* created in Keble's poetry became embedded as part of the popular notion of tradition. In doing so, he forever changed the identity of the Church of England. After all, the power of tradition in English culture is firmly established, as seen in legal and political concepts such as the Common Law and the Ancient Constitution.

This chapter considers to what degree it can be argued that Keble's *The Christian Year* paved the way for the introduction of chanting, polyphony, and robed choirs into the mainstream of English religious life. How did Keble influence the English mind? Who influenced Keble? How does this change the narrative about Tractarian church music? Why does this revision matter?

The impact of Keble's *The Christian Year*

Before setting out the influence of Keble on the nation's liturgical life, it is worth considering the broader reception of *The Christian Year*. It is difficult to overstate the importance of *The Christian Year* to nineteenth-century England. Wheeler simply describes it as 'the most popular volume of verse in the nineteenth century'.¹¹ King expands:

¹⁰ Most poems were written before 1823 and published in 1827. By contrast, the start of the choral revival is often put between 1840-1850. For further information on the writing process, see Joshua King 'John Keble's 'The Christian Year': private reading and imagined national religious community', *Victorian Literature and Culture* (Vol. 40, No. 2, 2012), 399.

¹¹ Michael Wheeler, *Heaven, Hell and the Victorians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, abridged edition 2010), 60.

A series of devotional lyrics organized around the Book of Common Prayer, *The Christian Year* was the century's poetic blockbuster, going through 158 editions before its copyright expired in 1873 and setting what might be a world record for the number of editions produced in its author's lifetime; by the century's end, at least half a million copies had been sold and nearly every literate Victorian household would have had one.¹²

This broad reception is also noted by Goodwin, who similarly argues that 'The volume appealed not only to those sympathetic with the Anglo-Catholic movement but also to a broader spectrum of Victorian era'.¹³ This influence was not just direct, to someone who chose to read Keble's works, but it was so integral to the national discourse that references to the *Christian Year* can be found in the works of all major Victorian novelists and poets – be it positively or negatively.

Keble's influence on other poets and authors has been of particular interest to literary scholars.¹⁴ King argues that 'abundant citations in novels, poems, letters, and essays indicate that it was impresséd [sic] into the memory of nearly every nineteenth-century author.'¹⁵ This line of thought is taken further by David Jasper, who considers the poetry of the Oxford Movement, especially *The Christian Year*, to be one of the founding elements of Anglo-Catholicism.

The Oxford Movement was born in the spirit of poetry. John Keble's *Christian Year* was published in 1827, six years before he preached the Assize Sermon, and the guiding spirits of the Movement, with the exception of Pusey, were poets or novelists of more than modest competence.¹⁶

This approach is continued and expanded by Kirstie Blair in 'The Influence of the Oxford Movement on Poetry and Fiction', in which she traces the influence of Keble on the later poets of the nineteenth century. She demonstrates the influence of poetry on the social and devotional life of Victorian England, quoting Prickett, who argues that 'Tractarian poetry was (after Shakespeare's) the most successful ever written in English',¹⁷ and continues by highlighting the importance of Keble's example

¹² King, 'John Keble's "The Christian Year"', 397.

¹³ Gregory H. Goodwin, 'Keble and Newman: Tractarian Aesthetics and the Romantic Tradition', *Victorian Studies* (Vol. 30, No. 4 Summer, 1987), 475 quoting Edward Bouverie Pusey's 'Preface,' in John Keble, *Occasional Papers and Reviews*, ed. E. B. Pusey (Oxford: James Parker, 1877)

¹⁴ Consider Baker, Tennyson, Chapman, King, Blair, etc.

¹⁵ King, 'John Keble's "The Christian Year"', 397.

¹⁶ David Jasper, 'The poetry of the Oxford Movement: theology in literature', *International journal for the Study of the Christian Church* (Vol. 12, Issue 3-4, 2012), 218.

¹⁷ Stephen Prickett, 'Tractarian Poetry' in *The Blackwell Companion to Victorian Poetry*, ed. Alison Chapman, Richard Cronin and Antony H. Harrison (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 279, cited in Kirstie Blair 'The Influence of the

in this. She posits that 'It is also not an exaggeration to say that every major Victorian poet had a significant relationship with Tractarian poetics.'¹⁸ Both Blair and King agree that Keble's work was hugely influential in shaping the national discourse, extending the function of the poetry well beyond private devotion, into the generation of an imagined 'national Christian community',¹⁹ and a way of sharing theology and 'disseminating ideology'.²⁰ Blair perceptively posits that the theological understanding of the English people was probably shaped more by poetry than it was by theological publications.²¹

Having established the importance of *The Christian Year* on the national discourse in general terms, it is possible to consider it in a focused sense, considering its influence on liturgical formation through romantic imagery. This idea has been left largely unexplored, but for a paragraph on the topic in Fr Barry Orford's contribution to the *Oxford Handbook of the Oxford Movement*.

Keble made an important contribution to the use of hymns by the disciples of the Tractarians for two reasons. Firstly, he clearly embraced Romanticism. Like Heber, he brought a love of the natural world within the orbit of worship. Secondly, he persuaded reluctant High Churchmen that accepting verse into the Church did not mean falling into dangerous Evangelical enthusiasm. In his Advertisement to the original edition of *The Christian Year* Keble also gave reassurance that increased freedom for the use of imagination and feeling in devotion should not be undisciplined. 'Next to a sound rule of faith,' he wrote, 'there is nothing of so much consequence as a sober standard of feeling in matters of practical religion; and it is the peculiar happiness of the Church of England to possess, in her authorized formularies, an ample and secure provision for both' (Keble 1827: I.v).²²

Orford's focus is largely on the introduction of sung verse (beyond metrical psalmody) into the liturgies of the Church of England. He considers the essence of reserve in liturgical praxis, which is also discussed in chapter two of this thesis. Orford's view of Keble as a romantic builds on

Oxford Movement on Poetry and Fiction', *The Oxford Handbook of the Oxford Movement*, ed. James Pereiro, Peter Nockles, Stewart J. Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 410.

¹⁸ Blair, 'Influence of the Oxford Movement', 410.

¹⁹ King, 'John Keble's 'The Christian Year'', 14.

²⁰ Blair, 'Influence of the Oxford Movement', 410.

²¹ Kirstie Blair, 'Keble and the Christian Year', in *Oxford Handbook of Literature and Theology*, ed. Andrew Hass, David Jasper, and Elisabeth Jay (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 612.

²² Barry Orford, 'Music and Hymnody', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Oxford Movement*, ed. James Pereiro, Peter Nockles, Stewart J. Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 377-378.

assessments of various literary critics, including Heady and Goodwin.²³ King gives a poignant example of the romantic penchant for the countryside from Keble's 'St Matthew's Day', and attributes a part of the popularity of *The Christian Year* to this focus, which transcends party lines of church and politics.

"oh! if even on Babel [the city] shine / Such gleams of Paradise, / . . . Shame on us, who about us Babel bear, / And live in Paradise [the countryside], as if God was not there!" (72-73, 78-79). After describing the unnoticed, repressed spiritual struggle among the anonymous "myriads" living in "crowded loneliness," the Keblean speaker, alone in his countryside retirement, pauses to be admonished by their good example. Fictively overheard by any given reader of *The Christian Year*, the solitary authorial speaker represents anonymous individuals, simultaneously carrying out their overlooked lives across the nation, as members of a Christian community. Such lines drew unanimous praise from Victorian commentators of every denomination.

Having established the significance and popularity of *The Christian Year*, King's explanation is significant, but falls short. A romantic focus on the natural is indeed inclusive to a nineteenth-century readership, but it does not explain the book's best-seller status. What other features of the publication made it acceptable to such a wide readership? What granted its contents such a significant cultural capital that it enabled the Oxford Movement to be 'born in the spirit'²⁴ of its poetry? How could poetry change so significantly the English church and Victorian society at large?

Active continuity

The *Christian Year* is unapologetically theological. Quotes from, and references to, Holy Scripture abound. One of the interesting omissions is any direct reference to the 'Church Fathers', especially considering that 'Keble was an authority on the fathers'²⁵ and would call the leaders of the early church 'practically infallible'²⁶ in his 1837 sermon *Primitive Tradition*. The approach taken, instead, is

²³ Chene Heady, "'Tun'd to Hymns of Perfect Love": The Anglican Liturgy as Romantic Object in John Keble's *The Christian Year*', in *Romanticism and the Object*, ed. Larry H. Peer (Houndmill: Palgrave, 2009) and Gregory H. Goodwin 'Keble and Newman: Tractarian Aesthetics and the Romantic Tradition'

²⁴ Jasper, 'The poetry of the Oxford Movement: theology in literature', 217.

²⁵ Heady, 'The Anglican Liturgy as Romantic Object', 139.

²⁶ Ibid.

one that is firmly based in the eighteenth-century Oxonian education system, where Classical writers and poets dominated the curriculum. In society at large, cries of ‘popery’ were swiftly generously bestowed upon those who spent any significant time studying the ‘Church Fathers’.

This appropriation of the Classics as important but imperfect prophets of Christendom is a consistent feature of the work of Keble, and indeed, of many Oxford-educated writers of the time.²⁷

Keble’s biographer, Charlotte Yonge, goes as far as to claim that

Before the Gospel was proclaimed, poets and philosophers were struggling towards the truth, and the words and forms of beauty that expressed these yearnings are, now that Satan’s dominion is overthrown, replete with bright and holy thoughts to the believer. So even his own region of heathen fable has been won from Satan, and become our spoil.²⁸

The same sentiment can be found in Keble’s ‘Third Sunday in Lent’, of which the most relevant stanzas are given below. Note especially the final two stanzas, which claim Jewish and Grecian culture for Christendom in something of a poetic crusade. The justification is offered in the first stanza – Satan has been vanquished and has no more dominion. In Keble’s reading, which was common across Europe for centuries, this implies that any non-Christian culture may be annexed and its peoples proselytized.

See Lucifer like lightning fall,
Dashed from his throne of pride;
While, answering Thy victorious call,
The Saints his spoils divide;
This world of Thine, by him usurped too long,
Now opening all her stores to heal Thy servants’ wrong.

[...]

And now another Canaan yields
To Thine all-conquering ark:—
Fly from the “old poetic” fields,
Ye Paynim shadows dark!
Immortal Greece, dear land of glorious lays,
Lo! here the “unknown God” of thy unconscious praise.

The olive-wreath, the ivied wand,

²⁷ For further information, see Paget Toynbee, *Britain’s Tribute to Dante in Literature and Art* (London: Oxford University Press, 1921).

²⁸ Charlotte Yonge, *Musings over the “Christian Year” and “Lyra Innocentium.”* (Oxford: James Parker, n.d., 1871?), 86.

“The sword in myrtles drest,”
Each legend of the shadowy strand
Now wakes a vision blest;
As little children lisp, and tell of Heaven,
So thoughts beyond their thought to those high Bards were given.

And these are ours: Thy partial grace
The tempting treasure lends:
These relics of a guilty race
Are forfeit to Thy friends;
What seemed an idol hymn, now breathes of Thee,
Tuned by Faith’s ear to some celestial melody.

There’s not a strain to Memory dear,
Nor flower in classic grove,
There’s not a sweet note warbled here,
But minds us of Thy Love.
O Lord, our Lord, and spoiler of our foes,
There is no light but Thine: with Thee all beauty glows.²⁹

The same sentiments can be found in Keble’s ‘Fourth Sunday after Trinity’, which are made explicit in Yonge’s commentary on the same.

Even a child cannot read of Socrates' life and death, without reverence for his grasp of the truth, almost out of reach; and Plato's system was only too perfect for a heathen. Nay, Virgil almost divined the restoration at hand; and though Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius, "the seekers after God," failed to comprehend the Light when it was already shining in the world, they were deeply sensible of the longing for perfection. Even the rude north looked beyond the dread "twilight of the gods," to a perfect restitution of all things. These thoughts were "the wreck of Paradise," and long upbore whatever was good or pure; but though the suffering of nature was perceived, neither reason nor hope could have discovered the remedy.³⁰

There is a clear parallel here with the work of Dante, as Keble remarks himself in an 1841 Latin lecture as Professor of Poetry at Oxford, where he discusses the implications of Dante's choice of Virgil as his guide through the underworld ‘*per arcana et infima loca*’.³¹ By doing so, Keble suggests that the appropriation of the classics has a long tradition in Christian writing.

Keble’s alignment with established academic practice is purposeful. It is not an active eschewing of theological matters. Biblical references and those to the established practices of the

²⁹ Keble, ‘Third Sunday in Lent’, *The Christian Year*, 76-78.

³⁰ Yonge, *Musings*, 187.

³¹ ‘through the mysterious and low places’, i.e. *Inferno* and most of *Purgatorio* from John Keble, *Praelect. xl*, quoted in Toynbee, *Britain’s Tribute to Dante in Literature and Art*, 92.

Church of England abound throughout the volume.³² It is also not an omission of ignorance. Keble himself was very familiar with the work of the 'Church Fathers'. Only a decade after the publication of *The Christian Year*, Keble and Pusey worked with Newman to begin planning and publishing a series of some fifty translations of the *Library of the Fathers*, published under the somewhat more cumbersome title *A library of fathers of the holy Catholic church: anterior to the division of the East and West*. This series was perfectly acceptable in the late 1830s: both archbishops were subscribers and encouraged the translations to enable wider study of these works, many of which were taught in the original language at Oxford.³³ Therefore, it is likely that Keble's decision was an active act of continuity. This is also how it was viewed by certain contemporaneous writers, such as William Lake in the *Contemporary Review*.

[W]e may reckon amongst the best signs of [the] Age. . . the fact that poetry, so pure and unworldly, should be, far above any other that can be named, the constant companion of every class of thoughtful Englishmen and Englishwomen, - a true 'Eirenicon' [an attempt to make peace], in which, spite of all differences of thought and feeling, -
"Reconcilèd Christians meet,
And face to face and heart to heart,
High thoughts of holy love impart,
In silence meek or converse sweet."³⁴

By aligning his style and sources with those of the academic establishment, Keble's work was readily accepted by his readers. This allowed the smaller nuances of change and innovation to masquerade as tradition. It allowed Keble's anachronistic view of music in liturgical worship to become acceptable to English society at large, as his poetic imagination came to be considered as tradition in the generations that grew up reading *The Christian Year*.

This aligns with the view Blair and King offer regarding Keble's influence on the national discourse. His poetry was actively designed as a way of sharing his theological convictions, and

³² Peter Wilcox, *John Henry Newman, Spiritual Director 1845-1890* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2013), 38.

³³ Peter Nockles, "'Lost causes and ... impossible loyalties': the Oxford Movement and the University", in *The History of the University of Oxford, Volume VI: Nineteenth-Century Oxford, Part 1*, ed. M.G. Brock and M.C. Curthoys (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 201.

³⁴ William C. Lake, 'Mr. Keble and "The Christian Year."' *Contemporary Review* (May/August 1866), 314-37, quoted and annotated in King, 'John Keble's 'The Christian Year'', 415.

‘disseminating ideology’:³⁵ an ideology that has a very clear idea regarding the philosophy, form, and function of liturgical music, which will be considered in the next section.

Keble stands in a line of people, who, like Dante, paint the classics as imperfect prophets of Christendom. This approach to pre-Christian writing was normative at Oxford in the nineteenth century. ‘We read [...] Heathen Ethics at Oxford [...] in connexion with Divine Revelation, that we may know wherein, precisely, our Rule of life transcends the theories of the wisest Heathens.’³⁶ It could be argued that English Church Music in its nineteenth-century incarnation is a pursuit that is firmly aligned with Oxford’s academic tradition since its inception.

The example given above was by Frederick Oakeley, famous for his time at Margaret Street Chapel before joining the Roman Catholic church with Newman.³⁷ In his 1837 *Remarks upon Aristotelian & Platonian Ethics*,³⁸ Oakeley actively follows the example of Keble in terms of the approach and perspective of his writing, and even dedicates the book to him. *Remarks* was published ten years after *The Christian Year*, and it is remarkable that, although Keble’s approach was one of active continuity with established academic practice, *The Christian Year* had enough of an impact to become widely referenced in all manner of academic and non-academic writing. Oakeley opens with four stanzas from *The Christian Year*, followed by a tribute to Keble.

Such thoughts, the wreck of Paradise,
Through many a dreary age,
Upbore whate’er of good and wise
Yet lived in bard or sage:

They marked what agonizing throes
Shook the great mother’s womb:
But Reason’s spells might not disclose

³⁵ Blair, ‘Influence of the Oxford Movement’, 410.

³⁶ Frederick Oakeley, *Remarks upon Aristotelian & Platonian Ethics as a Branch of Studies Pursued in the University of Oxford* (Oxford: Parker, London: Rivington, 1837) 11.

³⁷ With this in mind the following passage from Oakeley’s *Remarks* is particularly noteworthy, though irrelevant to the argument given here. Oakeley, *Remarks*, 13 .

‘forasmuch as the basis of our System is not Revelation merely, but that particular View of it, which our Reformers adopted from Catholic Antiquity, at the same time freeing the doctrine of the Church from the superincumbent weight of Popish additions it would plainly be a benefit to show, as shall be attempted, that the character of our Ethical, as of our other, studies in this place, falls in with the peculiar System and Designs of our Church.’

³⁸ Oakeley, *Remarks*, 8.

The gracious birth to come:

The hour that saw from opening heaven
Redeeming glory stream,
Beyond the summer hues of even,
Beyond the mid-day beam.

Thenceforth, to eyes of high desire,
The meanest thing below,
As with a seraph's robe of fire
Invested, burn and glow:

To the author of the above stanzas the following pages of which the design however imperfectly soever executed is to recommend the study of heathen ethics in the spirit of the church are respectfully inscribed under a grateful sense of the benefit which he has been enabled to confer upon the present age.

In summary, the omission of references to the 'Church Fathers' and the overt goal of active continuity with the established academic practice at Oxford is clear throughout the work of Keble and significantly shaped the thoughts and methodologies of the next generations, including those of Oakeley, whose role in the 'Choral Revival' is well-documented. Considering, however, Keble's influence on nineteenth-century England was so substantial, it can be argued that his poetry did in many ways shape the liturgical changes of the Victorian era,³⁹ underpinned by the philosophies and praxes of the Oxonian academic tradition.

The Dante influence

Keble's view on music in liturgy is shaped significantly by the work of Dante. The influence of Dante on Keble is well-documented by Charlotte Mary Yonge, the Victorian author, who grew up in Otterbourne. Keble was the vicar of Hursley, a neighbouring village, and Yonge became a close friend of the Keble family. Keble acted as a mentor to the young writer, and Charlotte spent many evenings at Hursley Vicarage, where Keble lived with his wife and his disabled sister, Elizabeth. On such evenings, reading together was part of the daily round. 'The authors most constantly read and

³⁹ Heady shows that Tennyson, Francis, Nockles, Fraser, and others have argued this. Heady, 'The Anglican Liturgy as Romantic Object', 137.

beloved were, it seems to me, Dante, Spenser, Wordsworth, Scott and Manzoni.⁴⁰ In her writings, Yonge offers various accounts of such nights in the Keble household.

After evening church, followed the sweet restful lingering about the garden, the cheerful tea-table, the spell of Dante, then reading or talk, as inclination might prompt, till bed-time.⁴¹

On our way back from Evening Service, we were standing looking at the stars, (by the dining-room window,) and the Bishop (of Brechin) was talking about Dante, when the sky behind the church was suddenly bathed in electrical light, like a flash of lightning, only it was so clear!⁴²

In the most extensive of these, the night of studying was prompted by the citation of Dante's work in the sermon (presumably delivered by Keble).

We had just returned from Evening Service at seven, and were sitting together in the fading light, when it chanced that some quotation was made from that wonderful poet; Mrs. Keble at once brought us a copy of the *Divina Commedia*, then a second copy for Miss Keble's use; and we spent a happy evening in reading two or three very favourite, and not very difficult, cantos of the *Paradise*; Mr. Keble standing by, with his Latin Dictionary in his hand, to which he often referred, would not suffer a word or a phrase to pass without fathoming its meaning. The sublime scene (Cantos 24-26), in which Dante is interrogated by the three chief Apostles, concerning his faith, hope, and love, impressed him much. So, at another time, did Dante's fearless invectives against the wickedness of several popes. He examined, with interest, some passages relating to the blessed Virgin, in order to ascertain Dante's theological views respecting her. The hours spent then and afterwards, in carefully studying those last cantos of the *Paradise*, and also some exquisite passages in the opening of the *Purgatorio*, were supremely delightful.⁴³

The first two sources refer to the reading and discussion of Dante in passing without any further comment, suggesting that this was a normal part of the daily routine of the household, and indeed of the circles in which they moved in society at large. This is reaffirmed by Yonge in her discussion of Keble's *Fourth Sunday after Trinity*, in which she traces the work of Dante.

Yet all is not mirth and joy in creation. Living things still feel pain, the more acute in proportion to their finer development; decay passes on all in existence; and, as Dante touchingly says, the loveliest forms in nature are as if made by an artificer with a trembling hand.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Yonge, *Musings*, ix.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁴² *Ibid.*, cii.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, lxxix-lxxx.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 187.

Summarily, the evidence from Yonge, Keble's most important biographer by virtue of their close connection and her extensive writing, establishes that Dante was a considerable influence on Keble. She shows how the work of the poet permeated the daily life at Hursley vicarage and relates the work of Keble directly to that of Dante in her commentaries.

The influence of Dante can be seen in Keble's poetry in further detail, especially in the way in which Keble considers and conceptualises music in *The Christian Year*. Considering the centrality of Dante in Keble's life, and his influence on the conceptualisation of music in Keble's poetic work, it is important to consider Dante's philosophy of music. Extensive treatises have been written on Dante and music.⁴⁵ Although a full reconsideration of the topic is beyond the scope of this research, some important observations are given below.

There is a clear distinction between music in *Purgatorio* and that in *Paradiso*. The music of the penitents in purgatory, the '*musica humana*[,] serves three functions [...] : soothing, worshipping, and teaching.'⁴⁶ This music is 'essentially monophonic and its functions [are] meant to be an integral part of the penitential rites of the souls.'⁴⁷ On the other hand, the music of heaven described in *Paradiso* celebrates true harmony between God and his created people building on the polyphonic music first heard at the end of *Purgatorio*, in the Garden of Eden. It 'expresses humanity's ultimate fulfilment. Although unintelligible to a mortal ear, it is of the highest quality.'⁴⁸ In *Inferno*, the soundworld of Dante is largely dominated by noise, alongside some liturgical references which highlight the purifying nature of the *musica humana*. However, this is not relevant here, as Keble does not discuss Hell or noise in any detail in *The Christian Year*. The important distinction to note is between the music of heaven and the music of earth: on the one hand a music of incomprehensibly

⁴⁵ For example Ciabattoni (below), and Aste (below), as well as Maria Ann Roglieri, 'The Music of Dante's Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise' in *Dante and Music: Musical Adaptations of the Commedia from the Sixteenth Century to the Present* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2001).

⁴⁶ Kristina Aste, 'Music as Mirror' *Elements* (Fall, 2008), 70.

⁴⁷ Francesco Ciabattoni, *Dante's Journey to Polyphony* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 93.

⁴⁸ Aste, 'Music as Mirror', 73.

harmonious beauty, and on the other hand the simpler, improving *musica humana*, with its three functions: to soothe souls, to praise God, and to catechise people.

Ciabattoni argues that the music of *Purgatorio* echoes the mediaeval views of the musical and aesthetic aspects of the *Laus Dei* (the praise of God).⁴⁹ The next subchapter will demonstrate how the *musica humana* heard in *Purgatorio* shaped the poetic images of liturgical and devotional music created by Keble. If such is the case, then by extension, Keble's musical imagery also captures these ideals by extension, although twice-removed from the source.

When considering the *musica humana* of *Purgatorio* as an expression of the values and practices of the *Laus Dei*, Ciabattoni relates Dante's work to the exegeses of the Psalms and the Song of Songs by Aquinas, who in turn bases his work on Ambrose, Augustine, and Boethius.⁵⁰ Aquinas argues, '*necessaria est laus oris, non quidem propter Deum, sed propter ipsum laudantem, cuius affectus excitatur in Deum ex laude ipsius.*'⁵¹ The songs of praise in the liturgy are not sung, day after day, for God's sake, but because through worship, our devotion to God grows.

When considering the music of *Paradiso*, 'the majority of scholars [...] rule in favour of Dante embracing the theory of the harmony of the spheres. Among these are Natalino Sapegno, and Umberto Bosco and Giovanni Reggio'.⁵² In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, these Platonic-Pythagorean notions of the harmony of the spheres had been largely overrun by Aristotelian thought: the cosmos had been silenced, and the literal heavens lost their innate music. Dante however, holds on to the idea of the harmony of the spheres. Bosco and Reggio give *Paradiso* I.76-78 as a particular example of this belief and relate it to Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*.

*Quando la rota che tu sempiterni
desiderato, a sé mi fece atteso*

⁴⁹ Ciabattoni, *Dante's Journey to Polyphony*, 93.

⁵⁰ See Zygmunt Baranski, "'Tu numeris elementa ligas": Un appunto su musica e poetica in Dante' *Rassegna Europea di Letteratura Italiana* 8 (1996), 89-95 quoted in Ciabattoni, *Dante's Journey to Polyphony*, 93.

⁵¹ (We need to praise God with our lips, not indeed for His sake, but for our own sake; since by praising Him our devotion is aroused towards him). Thomas Aquinas *Summa Theologiae*, IIa-IIae q.91 a.1, quoted and translated in Ciabattoni *Dante's Journey to Polyphony*, 94.

⁵² Ciabattoni, *Dante's Journey to Polyphony*, 210.

*con l'armonia che temperi e discerni*⁵³

In the *Dream of Scipio*, Cicero gives a short analysis of the music of the spheres, building on Platonic philosophy. Coleman-Norton summarises Cicero's as follows:

In its simplest form the theory seems to be that the sounds of the octave [...] are produced by the motion of the spheres moving in relation to one another: between the outermost sphere (*caelum*) and which contains the fixed stars, and the lowest sphere, (*tellus*) and which is motionless in the center, the remaining seven spheres, which are the planets (*orbis* or *globus*), move (*Rep.* 6. 17. 17-18. 18), but the motion is such that the seven planets move in the opposite direction to that of the heaven. Musical sound, not mere noise, results, because the motions are made in certain numerical proportions to one another and because in heaven nothing proceeds by chance or by confusion.⁵⁴

Keble was not only aware of this mode of thought, but he wrote of such a system positively and in some detail in his 1836 commentary on Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*. In this commentary, he voices his belief that Dante also subscribed to such a system, giving concrete examples. The idea that Dante ascribed to 'the Pythagorean theory of the harmony of creation'⁵⁵ remained a staple of English scholarship for another century. Keble's notes on the matter were considered authoritative by his contemporaries, including Ichabod Charles Wright, a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, who includes Keble's notes in his 1845 translation of Dante.⁵⁶

This favours an opinion not uncommon among the Fathers and Schoolmen, of a correspondence between the intellectual and material heavens, in such sort that the nine spheres [...] answered to, and were influenced respectively by, the nine orders

⁵³ Dante, *Paradiso*, l.76-78.

Dante Lab Reader, Dartmouth College, accessed 31 January 2022, <http://dantelab.dartmouth.edu/reader?reader%5Bcantica%5D=3&reader%5Bcanto%5D=1> which also offers the following delightfully lyrical German translation by Karl Streckfuss, 1854.

Als nun der Kreis, der durch dich ewiglich
In Sehnsucht rollt, mein Aug an sich gezogen
Mit Harmonien, verteilt, gemischt durch dich

The Princeton Dante Project offers a 2007 translation by Robert Hollander and Jean Hollander.

When the heavens you made eternal,
in desire, caught my attention
with the harmony you temper and attune

Princeton Dante Project, Princeton University, accessed 31 January 2022,

https://dante.princeton.edu/cgi-bin/dante/campuscgi/mpb/GetCantoSection.pl?INP_POEM=Par&INP_SECT=1&INP_START=75&INP_LEN=15&LANG=2

⁵⁴ Paul Robinson Coleman-Norton, 'Cicero and the Music of the Spheres' *The Classical Journal* (Vol. 45, No. 5, Feb., 1950), 237-241, 237.

⁵⁵ Barbara Smythe, 'Music in the Divine Comedy', *Blackfriars* (Vol. 6, No. 68. 1925), 649-660, 655.

⁵⁶ Ichabod Charles Wright, *Dante, Vol iii. The Paradiso, translated by Ichabod Charles Wright, M.A., Late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman. 1845), 20-21.

of the celestial Hierarchy, as expounded in the books ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite. This double scheme (or *συστοιχία*) stands as follows: –

<i>In the invisible heavens.</i>			<i>In the material heavens.</i>		
The Seraphim	actuated	.	The Primum Mobile.		
The Cherubim	.	.	The Sphere of fixed stars.		
The Thrones	.	.	That of Saturn.		
The Dominations	.	.	— of Jupiter.		
The Virtues	.	.	— of Mars.		
The Powers	.	.	— of the Sun.		
The Principalities	.	.	— of Venus.		
The Archangels	.	.	— of Mercury.		
The Angels	.	.	— of the Moon.		

Dante has several allusions to this opinion. See *Par.* Canto viii. Terz. 12, 13; xxix. 15; and xxviii. throughout.⁵⁷

Keble relates Dante’s approach to heavenly music directly to movement and visible celestial bodies in his 1825 essay *Sacred Poetry*. This ‘compares Milton’s description of Heaven with Dante’s, which he [Keble] says is “as simple as possible in its imagery, producing intense effect by little more than various combinations of three leading ideas — light, motion, and music.”’⁵⁸ He repeats this in his 1841 *Praelectiones*, when he characterises Paradiso as being defined by ‘Luce Motu, Cantu.’ – light, motion, and song.⁵⁹

These sources demonstrate that Keble’s understanding of Dante aligns with that set out earlier in this chapter, ascribing great significance to the concept of the harmony of the spheres. Keble’s own view on the matter may have differed, but considering the influence of Dante on his poetry, it is an important factor nonetheless. It would also be unfair to entirely dismiss the possibility that Keble may have held similar views of his own. Sir Thomas Browne, less than two centuries before Keble still ascribes to an intellectual understanding of the music of the spheres:

For there is a musicke where-ever there is a harmony, order or proportion; and thus farre we may maintain the musick of the spheres; for those well ordered motions, and regular paces, though they give no sound unto the eare, yet to the understanding they strike a note most full of harmony.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ The author references Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* B. v. ch. 69.

⁵⁸ Toynbee, *Britain’s Tribute to Dante in Literature and Art*, 69, referencing John Keble, ‘Sacred Poetry’, *London Quarterly Review* (Vol. 32. 1825).

⁵⁹ John Keble, *De Poeticae vi medica, praelectiones academicae Oxonii habitae, annis 1832 – 1841* (Oxford: J.H. Parker. 1844), xxxiii.

⁶⁰ Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici* (1643) part 2, section 9.

This opens up further avenues for research. Should Keble's practical decisions in church music in his parish, where they sang Gregorian chant and hymns, be related to a Gafurian understanding of modality in relation to the planets? Did he consider music in a Keplerian manner, relating intervals to planetary movement? While interesting hypotheses, any such considerations would be almost entirely speculative and move well beyond the scope of this research.

This section has shown that Dante's musical philosophy remains a complex and rich source for discussion. However, most scholars, including Keble, agree that Dante considers music to have the following fundamental characteristics:

- 1.- There is a distinction between the character and function of earthly and heavenly music.
- 2.- Heavenly music is an expression of the harmony of the spheres – beyond human comprehension, polyphonic, and actuated by celestial beings and the Divine itself.
- 3.- Earthly music is primarily monophonic, is understandable, and is beneficial to people, as it heals, teaches, and furthers the glorification of God. Earthly music is part of the *Laus Dei*.

The following section will demonstrate how these Dantelian ideas have shaped the imagery in Keble's *The Christian Year* by first considering the difference in character between earthly and heavenly music in Keble, and then consider the functions of earthly music.

Dante's musical philosophy in *The Christian Year*

The first observation made earlier is that in Dante, there is a distinction between the character and function of earthly and heavenly music. We see the same distinction in Keble's poetry. He associates the concept of harmony closely with heaven.⁶¹ This is especially clear in the poems for the Fourth

⁶¹ Much like in Dante scholarship, it is not entirely clear whether Keble's concept of harmony should be understood in the triadic sense in which we understand it, or whether it should be understood as complex polyphonic music. It is a term heavily imbued with notions of the mystical and incomprehensible, which the Romantic mind would not typically attempt to neuter through empirical analysis or precise definition.

Sunday in Advent, Christmas, Trinity Sunday, and that on Catechism. Earth, on the other hand, is almost always associated with monody, through terms such as chant and unison. The relationships between earth and monody, heaven and harmony are a clear Dantelian trope.

Keble's poetry demonstrates that, as far as earthly music is concerned, including liturgical music, he favours a theology which errs on the side of reserve rather than abundance. The last stanzas of 'Fourth Sunday in Advent' show the contrast clearly: Keble urges the reader to be content themselves with monody – simple and lowly as it is – until you are taught true harmony in the heavenly afterlife.

In vain, with dull and tuneless ear,
I linger by soft Music's cell,
And in my heart of hearts would hear
What to her own she deigns to tell.

[...]

And thou, too curious ear, that fain
Wouldst thread the maze of Harmony,
Content thee with one simple strain,
The lowlier, sure, the worthier thee;

Till thou art duly trained, and taught
The concord sweet of Love divine:
Then, with that inward Music fraught,
For ever rise, and sing, and shine.⁶²

Keble invokes the same image in 'Catechism', with the nuance that oversimplification is also a danger. He argues that children may strongly benefit from hearing sacred music they do not understand, and could not sing alone. Again, he posits that aided and taught by heaven, the faithful can echo something of the heavenly music in their own chant, having unwound 'all the harmony'.

Oh! say not, dream not, heavenly notes
To childish ears are vain,
That the young mind at random floats,
And cannot reach the strain.
Dim or unheard, the words may fall,
And yet the heaven-taught mind
May learn the sacred air, and all
The harmony unwind.⁶³

⁶² Keble, 'Fourth Sunday in Advent', *The Christian Year*, 16-18.

⁶³ Keble, 'Catechism', *The Christian Year*, 281.

Particularly significant is also that nature and chant are very frequently mentioned in the same phrase, implying that singing is a natural activity for creation. It should be noted that *chanting* was quite a charged term in the 1830s and 40s due to the romanising tendencies of Ward and Oakeley, but did not carry the ecclesio-political connotations of Gregorian chant in the 1820s. However, the idea that chanting is God's intended purpose for humanity is very far removed from the reality of a gallery band tradition in which congregational singing was a rarity. Where it was practised, it was usually not the normative form of worship, but only used for paraliturgical psalmody.⁶⁴ Themes of chant and nature are clearly seen in the poems for the Third Sunday after the Epiphany, Fifth Sunday after Trinity, Twenty-First Sunday after Trinity, and Fourth Sunday after Trinity. The latter includes the following stanza, clearly linking earthly living, nature, and monody. The final phrase implies that this type of music is limited to this earthly life, in typical Dantelian fashion.

All true, all faultless, all in tune
 Creation's wondrous choir,
 Opened in mystic unison
 To last till time expire.⁶⁵

It is noteworthy that Keble does not write on the topic of hell and its associated noises at all in his *Christian Year*, in a subtle yet distinct departure from Dante. 'Wednesday before Easter' is the only poem to mention either hell or noise, and it is significant that the traditional Dantelian associations between the concepts are subverted. Hell is offered without any sonic associations, while noise is mentioned a few lines further, but in relation to earth – 'Earth's ruder noise / Of griefs and joys'.⁶⁶ Noise is associated with the strong emotions of grief and joy. Thus, Keble brings to the fore the Tractarian concern regarding overly emotion-driven music and the emotional charge of

⁶⁴ See Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church, Vol. 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), especially chapter 3.

⁶⁵ Keble, 'Fourth Sunday after Trinity', *The Christian Year*, 157.

⁶⁶ Keble, 'Wednesday before Easter', *The Christian Year*, 96. It may be of interest to the reader that three stanzas of the poem, including the cited phrase, are published in various hymnals as *O Lord, my God, do Thou Thy holy will*, set to the hymn tune KEBLE (10.4.10.4.10.4) by Joseph Barnby.

certain musics. As such, it shows a sympathy towards the music theology of reserve codified by the next generation of Tractarians, which is addressed in greater detail in the next chapter.

Another noteworthy omission is the reference to any instruments. Barbara Smythe writes of Dante's heaven that: 'One reason for the exclusion of instruments is, no doubt, the absence of any material element in the Dantesque Heaven'.⁶⁷ While Dante and Keble base this exclusion on the writings of various 'Church Fathers' as well as much Roman doctrine, advocating the use of unaccompanied voices, the omission of instrumental music is far detached from the liturgical reality of the early nineteenth century. If any congregational singing took place at all, it was ruled from above by gallery bands and organists who offered a distinctly unruly contribution to the rest of the service.⁶⁸ The character of Keble's liturgical imagery, in other words, is much more shaped by mediaeval ideals than it is rooted in Georgian reality.

Having considered the Dantelian distinction between earthly and heavenly music in Keble's poetry, the following paragraphs will focus on the function of earthly music. In Dante, these functions are 'soothing, worshipping, and teaching'.⁶⁹ crucially, music is made and offered as part of the *Laus Dei* – the continual practice of glorifying of God through our lives.

The soothing function of music is clearly defined in 'Second Sunday after Epiphany', where Keble argues that despite the troubles of life, a Christian can and should 'still chant their morning song' 'through the world's sad day of strife'⁷⁰ due to the graces of faith, hope, and love. In other words, he implies that if every day is started with a devotion that includes singing, (the use of morning song to mirror even song may be accidental) it will provide something to hold onto throughout the day. In a time where the daily use of the offices was very limited, and singing at them was even rarer, this is an important statement. The soft power of the poetic suggestion regarding the

⁶⁷ Smythe, 'Music in the Divine Comedy', 652.

⁶⁸ cf. Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*.

⁶⁹ Aste, *Dante's Treatment of Music in the Divine Comedy*, 70.

⁷⁰ Keble, 'Second Sunday after Epiphany', *The Christian Year*, 44.

merits of sung daily offices should not be underestimated. King writes on this explicitly, arguing that

Keble

emphasizes that daily behavior as a member of a faith community ("practical religion") is determined at least as much by "discipline," by routinely formed "thoughts and feelings," as by a core set of teachings, or "a sound rule of faith." The special value of the Book of Common Prayer, he observes, is its ability to support belief by conditioning habits of feeling and thought.⁷¹

The same soothing function of sung daily worship is highlighted in Keble's 'St. Matthew'. Here, the focus on the pastoral benefit of internalised music is combined with Keble's frequently repeated emphasis on the benefit of a disciplined daily routine not just in worship, but also in work; most famously described in 'Morning': 'the trivial round, the common task will furnish ... a road to lead us daily nearer God'.⁷² In 'St. Matthew', that same focus on discipline is cast especially in Keble's impression of the grey and lacklustre life in industrialised cities.

There are in this loud stunning tide
Of human care and crime,
With whom the melodies abide
Of th' everlasting chime;
Who carry music in their heart
Through dusky lane and wrangling mart,
Plying their daily task with busier feet,
Because their secret souls a holy strain repeat.⁷³

The same topic is broached in Keble's poem for St. Simon and St. Jude, in which he hints at why music has such a soothing quality. When sung by a group of the faithful, it begins to form an accord, a harmonious whole; when different voices 'their high and low in concord set for sacred song'.⁷⁴ Note that Keble does not use the word harmony – which he reserves for the heavenly musics, following the example of Dante and the Classics. However, in his use of 'accord' and 'concord' he implies that the sacred song of an ensemble of the faithful echoes in itself something of the harmony of celestial music. It is within such a focus on concordant music, sung in accordant ensemble by a choir of God's household – the church – that we begin to see more and more

⁷¹ King, 'John Keble's "The Christian Year"', 398.

⁷² Keble, 'Morning', *The Christian Year*, 3.

⁷³ Keble, 'St Matthew', *The Christian Year*, 261.

⁷⁴ Keble, 'St Simon and St Jude', *The Christian Year*, 271.

concretely the furrows which Keble would open in the mind of the English church, into which the next generation would plant the musical seed of Gregory the Great, Tallis, Byrd, and Merbecke.

Who is at hand that loves the Lord?
Make haste, and take her home, and bring
Thine household choir, in true accord
Their soothing hymns for her to sing.⁷⁵

The soothing function observed in previous poems is combined with those of teaching and worshipping in 'Tuesday in Whitsun-week'.

And yet of Thee from year to year
The Church's solemn chant we hear,
As from Thy cradle to Thy throne
She swells her high heart-cheering tone.

Listen, ye pure white-robèd souls,
Whom in her list she now enrolls,
And gird ye for your high emprise
By these her thrilling minstrelsies.

And wheresoe'er in earth's wide field,
Ye lift, for Him, the red-cross shield,
Be this your song, your joy and pride—
"Our Champion went before and died."

Keble goes as far as to extend the soothing function of music to the incarnate Christ, who, having become fully human, is encouraged by music in his earthly life. 'With hymns of angels in His ears, Back to His task of woe and tears'.⁷⁶ In the latter stanzas, the catechetical function of music is highlighted in this poem which is 'Addressed to Candidates for Ordination'. Keble describes the encouragement that music brings throughout the Christian year, from cradle to crown. The poem concludes with a command to sing God's praises. Thus, the three Dantelian functions of church music are set out for the ordinands that would lead the church in future generations: soothing, or pastoral (music as 'heart-cheering'), teaching, or catechetical ('Listen!'), and worshipping God ('Be this your song').

⁷⁵ Keble, 'St Simon and St Jude', *The Christian Year*, 270.

⁷⁶ Keble, 'Tuesday in Whitsun-week', *The Christian Year*, 144.

The same threefold function of music is even clearer in Keble's poem for St. Luke, which encourages music in time of weeping, teaching the Gospel through music, and the singing of hymns of praise and thanksgiving.

Whose joy is, to the wandering sheep
To tell of the great Shepherd's love;
To learn of mourners while they weep
The music that makes mirth above;

Who makes the Saviour all his theme,
The Gospel all his pride and praise—
Approach: for thou canst feel the gleam
That round the martyr's death-bed plays:

Thou hast an ear for angels' songs,
A breath the gospel trump to fill,
And taught by thee the Church prolongs
Her hymns of high thanksgiving still.⁷⁷

This threefold Dantelian function of music can also be seen in the last stanzas of 'The Conversion of St. Paul.'

As to Thy last Apostle's heart
Thy lightning glance did then impart
Zeal's never-dying fire,
So teach us on Thy shrine to lay
Our hearts, and let them day by day
Intenser blaze and higher.

And as each mild and winning note
(Like pulses that round harp-strings float
When the full strain is o'er)
Left lingering on his inward ear
Music, that taught, as death drew near,
Love's lesson more and more:

So, as we walk our earthly round,
Still may the echo of that sound
Be in our memory stored
"Christians! behold your happy state:
Christ is in these, who round you wait;
Make much of your dear Lord!"⁷⁸

In this poem, music is considered to teach 'Love's lesson'; it is considered to sustain us through 'our earthly round', and we are encouraged to 'make much of your dear Lord', that is, or to ascribe a

⁷⁷ Keble, 'St. Luke', *The Christian Year*, 269.

⁷⁸ Keble, 'The Conversion of St. Paul', *The Christian Year*, 231.

significant amount of attention to him, and devote a great deal of time to singing and sharing his praise. It is important here to remember Yonge's comment about the reading habits in the Keble household. 'The authors most constantly read and beloved were, it seems to me, Dante, Spenser, Wordsworth, Scott and Manzoni.'⁷⁹ The mention of love's lesson, then, must be taken as a reference to Spenser's famous poem 'Most glorious Lord of life', which ends with the couplet 'So let us love, dear Love, like as we ought; love is the lesson which the Lord us taught.'⁸⁰ In Keble's poem, however, it is music which teaches that lesson, not the Lord. This relates directly to Keble's conceptualisation of music: specifically of heavenly music as an extension of the divine body. As we have demonstrated earlier, Keble considers heavenly music as an expression of the harmony of the spheres – actuated by the Divine. In 'The Conversion of St. Paul', above, we see an inference to this. It is more concretely laid out in 'Dedication', where God as Holy Spirit is directly addressed as 'Fountain of Harmony'.⁸¹ In other words: the apparent departure from Spenser's musical theology is better considered as an integration of Dantelian thought into the Spenserian narrative.

In summary, the influence of Dante is tangible throughout *The Christian Year*. Discussions of music in Keble's poetry in this collection universally echo Dante's musical language, both on a superficial and fundamental level. Keble outlines a similar distinction between the character of heavenly and earthly musics, and ascribes similar functions to earthly (and therefore liturgical) music. Despite an intriguing difference over the origins and place of noise, it can be argued that Keble's philosophy of music is heavily influenced by Dante. The influence of Dante, however, transcends the philosophical, and can also be shown more concretely in the various romantic images of mediaeval liturgy and music embedded in Keble's poetry.

⁷⁹ Yonge, *Musings*, ix.

⁸⁰ Spenser, sonnet LXVIII, quoted from Walter Raleigh, *The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser: Life of Spenser and criticism of his works Vol. VI* (London: Sharpe. 1810), 181.

⁸¹ Curiously, this poem is omitted from my edition of the *Christian Year*, however, it is present in most editions. John Keble, 'Dedication', *The Christian Year* (Cassell: London, Paris, New York & Melbourne 1887) digitised by Project Gutenberg, accessed 2 February 2022, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/4272/4272-h/4272-h.htm>

Liturgy and music as romantic objects

Chene Heady has recently argued for a re-reading of Keble's poetry, considering the Anglican liturgy as a romantic object in *The Christian Year*.⁸² Heady's argument is primarily concerned with a reassessment of Keble's poetry as a typological interpretation of the Book of Common Prayer, which was still the only liturgical material in use in the Victorian Church of England. The following section seeks to consider the role of music in this context, examining both how Keble treats the harmony of heavenly music as a type of the Divine, and how he considers earthly music in the liturgy.

The Dedication of Keble's volume begins to intertwine the themes of nature and religion that occupy almost every page of *The Christian Year*.⁸³ Music – to Keble – is not just natural. It is the divine extension of nature. It is inherently sacred, as the source of it is in God itself. The very first words in *The Christian Year* address the Holy Spirit as the 'Fountain of Harmony' who 'summon[s] New worlds of music'.⁸⁴ From the outset, *The Christian Year* discusses music as a romantic object in typological language, using music, especially harmony, as a type for the divine.

Fountain of Harmony! Thou Spirit blest,
By whom the troubled waves of earthly sound
Are gathered into order, such as best
Some high-souled bard in his enchanted round

May compass, Power divine! Oh, spread Thy wing,
Thy dovelike wing that makes confusion fly,
Over my dark, void spirit, summoning
New worlds of music, strains that may not die.

Oh, happiest who before thine altar wait,
With pure hands ever holding up on high
The guiding Star of all who seek Thy gate,
The undying lamp of heavenly Poesy.

⁸² See Heady, 'The Anglican Liturgy as Romantic Object'.

⁸³ See Heady, King, and Jasper for more on the importance of nature in *The Christian Year* and its connection to Butler's *Natural Religion*, as taught at Oxford.

⁸⁴ John Keble, 'Dedication', *The Christian Year* (Cassell: London, Paris, New York & Melbourne 1887) digitised by Project Gutenberg, accessed 2 February 2022, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/4272/4272-h/4272-h.htm>

Another connection that is firmly made in 'Dedication' and continued throughout the volume is that between music and liturgy. From the 'New worlds of music, strains that may not die',⁸⁵ Keble immediately transitions into the realm of the physical church building, writing: 'Oh, happiest who before thine altar wait'.⁸⁶ From the outset, music is connected to the regular attendance of daily services, which is so actively promoted throughout *The Christian Year*. The change of mood in the poem, signposted by the interjective 'Oh', does help to maintain the Classical division between the *musica mundana/universalis* and the *musica humana*. This division is worked out more clearly in poems that follow. Throughout the volume, it becomes clear that, like the heavenly music is cast as a type of the divine, so is liturgical music cast as a type for the highest goal for earthly life.

Like Dante's poetry in *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*, Keble's poetry uses references to liturgical musics, although the references are less explicit and less frequent. They are more akin to the music of *Purgatorio* than those of *Paradiso*. 'The former is essentially human, the latter is superhuman. The blessed sing words and music that were familiar to Dante, *Osanna*, *Regina caeli*, *Gloria Patri*, etc., but the manner of their singing is hardly describable. In purgatory, on the contrary, the singing is never beyond human comprehension.'⁸⁷ Perhaps it is for this reason that Keble's pastoral poetry for Christians on earth refrains from too many overt references to liturgical works, but focuses instead on the role and context of liturgical music.

Significantly, many of the references to liturgical music in *The Christian Year* relate to the singing at the Holy Communion service, including some of the parts of the ordinary like the *Gloria in excelsis*. Even within high-church circles, the singing of any such *liturgica* was most uncommon.⁸⁸ If any singing was done in the parish churches of the 1820s, it was almost exclusively metrical psalmody.⁸⁹ These liturgical references could be argued to be in reference to the cathedral tradition

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Smythe, 'Music in the Divine Comedy', *Blackfriars*, 653.

⁸⁸ See Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church, Vol. 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), especially chapter 3.

⁸⁹ *ibid*

Keble might have experienced upon occasional visits to Christ Church, Oxford, or Winchester. However, a far more likely explanation is the Dante influence, especially that of *Purgatorio*, which is full of liturgical anthems, canticles, and sacred song.⁹⁰ Here, the shape of an imagined liturgical tradition begins to take place most clearly. The main driver for Keble's imagery is not a carefully researched return to the mediaeval practices of the English parish churches – of which even now, we know frightfully little – but rather, to invoke the idealised poetic *tableaux* of liturgical music in the poetry Keble admired, most crucially that of Dante. Examples of the invocation of liturgical music become even more common in Keble's later, more advanced collection *Lyra Innocentium*.⁹¹ The following paragraphs will highlight some of ways in which Keble begins to construct an imagined tradition of liturgical music in *The Christian Year*, also considering contextual elements such as ritual and architecture.

The poem for Ordination incorporates the Prayer Book's 'Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire', that for The Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary includes repeated utterings of an *Ave Maria!* (surprisingly using the Latin phrase with its musical connotations despite the concomitant charged theological connotations), and the poem for Christmas Day repeats the 'Glory to God' of the Angels, linking it directly to the 'Glory to God' of the Communion Service.

The function of music in the liturgical drama is highlighted in the poem on Communion. Music, architecture, and ritual unite to give a detailed liturgical image in the poem for the service of Communion, a service also known in the Book of Common Prayer as the Denouncing of God's Anger and Judgements against Sinners.

The prayers are o'er: why slumberest thou so long,
Thou voice of sacred song?
Why swell'st thou not, like breeze from mountain cave,
High o'er the echoing nave,
This white-robed priest, as otherwhile, to guide,

⁹⁰ Smythe, 'Music in the Divine Comedy', *Blackfriars*, 653.

⁹¹ John Keble, *Lyra Innocentium* (New York: Stanford and Swords. 1850, 1st ed. 1846) is considerably more advanced. It equates the choir with church in 'Stammering', 144, and references liturgical innovations such as singing the Great Amen (210). 'Choristers in White' (280) describes suprliced choirs who sing Mattins and Vespers in a choir which is off limits to sinners. 'Redbreast in Church' affirms the sense of church music as a created institution, as something entirely natural (285) and references choristers, organs, and choir screens.

Up to the Altar's northern side?—
A mourner's tale of shame and sad decay
Keeps back our glorious sacrifice to-day:

Describing this most grave and solemn service, Keble uses imagery of formal ritual and grand architecture to inspire awe. Music, however, remains directly tied to God. Because there is sin, there can be no music; the connection to God is lost, and the priest cannot approach the altar. Note how music is not used here as a paraliturgical element through which the congregation responds, but as an essential part of liturgical movement and drama. It presumes that in a normal situation, music guides the surpliced priest up to the northern side of the altar, the side which was then used for the celebration of Communion.⁹²

Keble's poem for the First Sunday of Easter is particularly advanced in the liturgical imagery conjured. Especially relevant is the reference to a processing choir in the context of sacramental worship, and the staunch defence of congregational and devotional hymn singing, considering it as important to the spiritual welfare of Christians as acts of charity.

"My servant, let the world alone—
Safe on the steps of Jesus' throne
Be tranquil and be blest."

"Seems it to thee a niggard [ungenerous] hand
That nearest Heaven has bade thee stand,
The ark to touch and bear,
With incense of pure heart's desire
To heap the censer's sacred fire,
The snow-white Ephod wear?"

Who lead the choir where angels meet,
With angels' food our brethren greet,
And pour the drink of Heaven?

[...]

Alms all around and hymns within—
What evil eye can entrance win
Where guards like these abound?⁹³

⁹² For a longer discussion of this topic, see John F. Nash, *The Sacramental Church: The Story of Anglo-Catholicism* (Wipf & Stock: Eugene, OR, 2011), 207.

⁹³ Keble, 'First Sunday after Easter, *The Christian Year*, 116-117.

The liturgical imagery surrounding this musical soundscape is especially rich. The first phrases cited above could be read as an endorsement of monastic living, which would later be widely encouraged by Tractarians. The following stanza invokes a very catholic view of the sacramental liturgy and the nature of priesthood. Keble's views on the Real Presence of God in the Eucharist are made clear in the statement that the altar is the place 'nearest Heaven'. The mention of incense and surplices (which are based on, and almost identical to, the 'snow-white Ephod') in the 1820s is particularly significant, considering these outward ceremonials would become especially contentious in the partisan decades that would follow, igniting riots in various parishes.⁹⁴ The poem for Ordination, mentioned earlier, extends the wearing of surplices also to a choir. It is not entirely clear whether Keble here refers to a choir – as opposed to nave – full of surpliced ordinands singing the *Veni Creator*, or whether he refers to a choir – a collection of singers – of surpliced lay singers singing the *Veni Creator* to the ordinands. Either explanation is valid and possible. Both paint liturgical pictures that would only become widespread fifty years later, though the latter would be considerably more contentious.

In such an advanced liturgical context, we find a reference to the mediaeval hymn *Panis Angelicus*. Keble mirrors this passage from St. Thomas Aquinas' famous *Sacris solemniis*, set below alongside the relevant section in Keble's 'First Sunday of Easter'.

Panis angelicus
fit panis hominum;
dat panis caelicus.

Who lead the choir where angels meet,
With angels' food our brethren greet,
And pour the drink of Heaven?⁹⁵

Note Keble's subtle reference, upholding the defining tripartite structure of angelic–human–heavenly as well as the overtly eucharistic core subject. As stated earlier, Keble overtly avoids quoting the Church Fathers, never mind the *Doctor Angelicus*. The reference is too tidy and pointed to be accidental, but cautious enough to be covert, and intelligible primarily to those of a more catholic persuasion.⁹⁶ It is noteworthy that Keble insists on referring to bread and wine in both species,

⁹⁴ Most famously Pimlico, see Rainbow, *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church (1839-1872)*, 149.

⁹⁵ Keble, 'First Sunday after Easter, *The Christian Year*, 116.

⁹⁶ This is an excellent example of reserve, discussed in chapter 2.

breaking with Aquinas' model, and steering clear of any argument over the doctrine of concomitance.⁹⁷

One of the most colourful examples of Keble's architectural ideals may be found in 'Trinity Sunday', containing various references to the ideals of the Ecclesiological or Cambridge Camden Society, which would be founded over a decade after the publication of the poem. The church is described as an awe-inspiring, devotional building with three aisles, a choir, and behind that, the sanctuary. Considering the gothic revival had not yet fully begun, this type of statement (concealed as it is in poetic verse) was rather bold for the church at the time. However, it carries the very same romantic semi-historical imagery as Walter Scott invoked in his Waverley novels, which, in turn, precurse *The Christian Year* by more than a decade.

Such trembling joy the soul o'er-awes
As nearer to Thy shrine she draws:—
And now before the choir we pause.

The door is closed—but soft and deep
Around the awful arches sweep,
Such airs as soothe a hermit's sleep.

From each carved nook and fretted bend
Cornice and gallery seem to send
Tones that with seraphs hymns might blend.

Three solemn parts together twine
In harmony's mysterious line;
Three solemn aisles approach the shrine:

⁹⁷ Since the utraquist war, this doctrine was particularly associated with the traditional Roman catholic church. The argument about concomitance kept the Tractarians engaged in discussion during later years. Particularly noteworthy is the 1867 exchange of letters between Pusey and the Roman Catholic Newman, in which Pusey gives arguments for and against, in mild language, while Newman is searching for a sense of black or white truth, and writes against concomitance by saying he is drawn to the Tridentine teachings on the matter. See Henry Parry Liddon, *Life of Pusey, Vol. IV* (London: Longmans, Green. 1897), 167-172.

It is also worth noting here that in 1828, Keble added a poem for the Gunpowder Treason, and did get in some theological hot water.

Oh, come to our Communion Feast:
There present, in the heart
Not in the hands, th' eternal Priest
Will His true self impart.-

In the 1850s, a bishop took this to mean Keble did not believe in the Real Presence, and Keble was pressed to change the poem. Kirstie Blair expands on this further in the *Oxford Handbook of Literature and Theology*, 612, and uses this as evidence that England's national theological understanding was more heavily shaped by Keble's poetry than it was by the any theological publications, Tractarian or otherwise.

Yet all are One—together all,
In thoughts that awe but not appal,
Teach the adoring heart to fall.

Within these walls each fluttering guest
Is gently lured to one safe nest—
Without, 'tis moaning and unrest.

The busy world a thousand ways
Is hurrying by, nor ever stays
To catch a note of Thy dear praise.

Why tarries not her chariot wheel,
That o'er her with no vain appeal
One gust of heavenly song might steal?

Alas! for her Thy opening flowers
Unheeded breathe to summer showers,
Unheard the music of Thy bowers.

What echoes from the sacred dome
The selfish spirit may o'ercome
That will not hear of love or home!⁹⁸

It is important to note that the poem equates the décor of the church – woodcarving, intricate stonework and arches (as well as less gothic elements as galleries and a dome) – with music. The various architectural features 'seem to send tones that with seraph hymns might blend'.⁹⁹ It even considers overall church architecture in musical terms. 'Three solemn parts together twine In harmony's mysterious line; Three solemn aisles approach the shrine.'¹⁰⁰ Initially, one might read this as: the architecture is in tune with heaven. A more fulfilling reading, considering that architecture makes not music, but does create an acoustic and an environment, goes a little further. Is he arguing that the music sung within those walls is hallowed – is attuned to heaven – by the environment: by the fact it is being sung in a church? The bold architectural-musical statement is made even stronger by its explicit connection to the Trinity – the most complete expression of Deity – as Keble writes 'Three solemn parts together twine In harmony's mysterious line; ... Yet all are One—together all'. Is

⁹⁸ Keble, 'First Sunday after Easter, *The Christian Year*, 146-147.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

Keble arguing that the *musica humana*, when offered liturgically, in church, can be heard by the Divine as harmonious, fully, or to a degree, approaching the heavenly music?

In 'Christmas Day', the most overt connection between heavenly music and liturgical music is established. Music, in general, dominates the poem from beginning to end. The exciting opening 'What sudden blaze of song spreads o'er th' expanse of Heaven?' finds its counterpart in the final phrase: 'And in the darkness sing your carol of high praise'.¹⁰¹

What sudden blaze of song
Spreads o'er th' expanse of Heaven?
In waves of light it thrills along,
Th' angelic signal given—
"Glory to God!" from yonder central fire
Flows out the echoing lay beyond the starry choir;

Like circles widening round
Upon a clear blue river,
Orb after orb, the wondrous sound
Is echoed on for ever:
"Glory to God on high, on earth be peace,
And love towards men of love—salvation and release."¹⁰²

As mentioned earlier, the poem includes repeated utterings of the *Gloria*. The connection between music and liturgy is made through architectural inference. "'Glory to God!" from yonder central fire Flows out the echoing lay beyond the starry choir.'¹⁰³ Notable is the romantic approach of nature as a typological representation of religion. The fields of Bethlehem are transformed to the churches of the west by the introduction of the notion of an echo, more commonly associated with churches than with the countryside. Through this echo, the sound of the first *Gloria* is brought to that of its reiteration in the second stanza, where it is more overtly related to the regular repetition of the angelic *Gloria* during the liturgy. The 'wondrous sound is echoed on for ever'.¹⁰⁴ In the footnotes, Keble even specifically mentions which *Gloria* he had in mind while writing the poem: 'Pergolesi's beautiful composition'.¹⁰⁵ Keble uses these elements to link the readers' mind to the sung *Gloria* at

¹⁰¹ Keble, 'Christmas Day', *The Christian Year*, 18-21.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, presumably in reference to the stand-alone *Gloria*, marked by syncopated opening motifs.

the end of a service of Holy Communion in a reverberant building. Both in terms of liturgical and architectural practice in the 1820s, such an image is an excellent example of an imagined romantic poetic vision. Theologically, it is also very significant. Keble creates a link between the *Gloria* at the Nativity and the *Gloria* at every Communion service. It could be suggested that thus, Keble is suggesting that Christmas and Communion are linked by the incarnation: that, during communion, we celebrate time and time again God coming amongst us. When this line of thought is continued to the margins of the plausible: at Bethlehem and at Communion, the *Gloria* celebrates God coming amongst us, physically.¹⁰⁶

In summary, Keble frequently uses music as a romantic object. References to music are often enriched and contextualised by attributing a clear liturgical or pastoral function to the music in a way that was almost entirely alien to the English church in Georgian times. From the first words of the Dedication of *The Christian Year*, God is considered as the source and origin of heavenly music. In the course of the volume, Keble frequently uses liturgical music as a typological representation of the Divine, as in the poems for the Communion and the First Sunday after Easter. Only at the celebration of the Incarnation do the origin and the typological representation become one. Keble briefly goes beyond his usual theology of reserve, and at Christmas, the *Gloria in Excelsis* of the angels joins with that of the whole church of all time and place, uniting the earthly music with the heavenly to celebrate the mystery of the incarnation.

Conclusions

This chapter began by setting out the impact of Keble's *The Christian Year* on Victorian society.

Histories of the 'Choral Revival' have focused largely on the practical, visible expression of it, as well as historical inspirations. The direct inspiration for these changes – the reason they happened from around the 1840s – is usually relegated exclusively to the realm of theology, especially that of the

¹⁰⁶ For further considerations of the doctrine of the real presence, see Keble's theological writings on the topic, especially John Keble, *On Eucharistical Adoration* (Oxford: Parker. 1857).

Oxford Movement, and then contextualised within the romantic movement at large. This does not do justice to the very nature of the Oxford Movement, which, while deeply theological, was ‘born in the spirit of poetry’.¹⁰⁷ The chapter has also considered the rich, anachronistic descriptions of music in *The Christian Year*. Some of these poetic images of music align with practices of the ‘Choral Revival’ which cannot be considered as a continuation or imitation of (the remnants of) the existing cathedral music tradition. Therefore, it could be argued that the liturgical changes in High Church parishes in the nineteenth century can be considered as a logical extrapolation of the poetic *tableaux* of church music in *The Christian Year*. As such, these changes are based on an imagined tradition of church music, based largely on the musical philosophies of the Classics, poetically Christianised by Dante, romantically reinterpreted by Keble, and put into practice by the next generation.

Many contemporary considerations of Keble’s poetry focus on the distinction between contemporary contempt for the long, simple poems, in stark contrast with its contemporaneous popularity. Some assessments, such as those by Blair, offer further nuance, and demonstrate that Keble’s poetry is not widely popular now because its values align with those of his time but not with ours. These assessments, however, do not usually offer an assessment of the impact of the poetry. This is difficult to prove definitively, but hypotheses on the subject can begin to explain many of the idiosyncrasies of the nineteenth-century liturgical changes that largely created and almost entirely defined the English choral tradition, when compared to earlier practice in England, English Cathedral practice, and continental practices both old and new. In other words – because of the very considerable influence of *The Christian Year*, elements of the values embedded in Keble’s poetry became foundational values of the Victorian Church of England and the ‘Choral Movement’ at large. Those values remain, even if the poetry itself is no longer widely read.

The *tableaux* of liturgy and music in Keble’s poetry became embedded as authoritative images of tradition in the memory of Victorian England, forever changing the popular understanding of the traditional in the Church of England. Keble’s work, in many ways, was made for this role. It was

¹⁰⁷ Jasper, ‘The poetry of the Oxford Movement: theology in literature’, 218.

distinctly anti-radical, and actively connected to the historic authority of both the Book of Common Prayer and the methodologies of the University of Oxford, whilst also retaining a clear and intentional connection to romantic authority, of which 'Nature, Memory, and Poetry' are 'key sources'.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, the omission of hot topics ecclesial and political makes Keble's writing unusually inclusive for the Victorian audience: this helped his writing to be accepted by a wide variety of the population, from High Church to Low Church, from Catholic to Baptist, and from Liberals to Conservatives.

In *The Christian Year* – widely read, widely accepted, and widely considered with significant authority – Keble regularly describes music, as demonstrated. These poetic descriptions do not focus on the rules of the Church Fathers, but rather on the ideals of poets and philosophers. The conceptualisation of music in *The Christian Year* is almost entirely Classical, conceived in the spirit of Dante, building on Pythagorean and Platonic philosophy. As such, Keble aligns himself largely with the musical ideals of Ss. Gregory and Bernard, whose musical-aesthetic philosophies are largely based on the same sources.¹⁰⁹

On a philosophical level, this means that music, especially harmony, is seen as an extension of the divine, while earthly music supports a variety of functions to the benefit of humankind: healing, teaching, and the glorification of God. On a practical level, this means that Keble's writing on music often takes the form of a romantic image of mediaeval liturgical praxis, painting a picture that was very alien to the Georgian Church of England: a picture in which music in society, but especially in church, had pastoral and formative liturgical functions which were a far cry from the reality of rowdy metrical psalm-singing accompanied by fiddler or flageolet. Liturgical music is not just a typological representation of the Divine, but is also encouraged practically, as part of a good Christian life.

¹⁰⁸ Heady, 'The Anglican Liturgy as Romantic Object', 138.

¹⁰⁹ Bernard Bosanquet, *A History of the Aesthetic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2011, 1st ed. 1892), 137.

The introduction of similar practices into the English church only took half a generation following the publication of *The Christian Year* in 1827. When the children who grew up with Keble's imagery in mind took on ministerial roles in parishes, they began to translate the poetic liturgical and musical ideals of Keble into practice, changing and reconsidering the essence, role, and nature of liturgical music.

William James Early Bennett was one of the people to introduce the type of music which Keble's poetry idealises: congregational chanting. Bennett was in the formative years of his life, attending Christ Church, Oxford, when *The Christian Year* was published and he was heavily involved in the Oxford Movement. Eighteen years later, in 1845, he writes in defence of congregational chanting. In doing so, he realises (intentionally or subconsciously) the *tableaux* of liturgical musical practices in Keble's poetry. For Bennett himself, the authority for such changes comes from the Early Church.

It is a true Catholic principle in its very best sense to love such usages and customs as bear the mark of antiquity. To give to anything name of "innovation," is to give it the name most odious in the eyes of a Catholic and an Englishman.¹¹⁰

However, his discussion continues beyond the scholar and the academic, and (unintentionally) begins to highlight why Keble's descriptions of church music would become so important to the experience of the congregants, especially the poor, in relation to the introduction of chanting and choral singing in the English church. He writes that to them, personal experience is considerably more important, meaning that they will base their ideas of tradition primarily on experiences from their formative years. In my estimation, the same can be said for the most educated of people, even though they might be able to give thoroughly-researched rationales: nostalgia is not dependent on education, occupation, or wealth.

But they whose occupations in life are (as must be the case in the great majority of the people) so all-absorbing as to deprive them of the opportunity of searching and reading for themselves, will of course measure antiquity by their own memories. For them antiquity reaches no further than a single generation.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ William James Early Bennett, *The principles of the Book of Common Prayer considered : a series of lecture sermons* (Cleaver: London. 1848), v-vi.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

If such is the case, the start of the “choral revival” in the early 1840s makes complete sense. Those who were children when Keble’s poetry was published and might have heard the poems in school, church, and at home, would be emerging into roles of responsibility in church and society around 1840. That is not to say there are no other factors to consider. However – Keble’s poetry should be considered as the hoe which ploughed the furrows that turned the barren musical landscape of the eighteenth-century English church into the fertile soil in which a unique church-musical landscape would flower and flourish.

The connection between Keble’s poetry and Tractarian musical practices – an early music revival of Gregorian chant and polyphony sung by robed choirs (see chapter 2) – is overt. These are the same outward images which we see in Keble, and indeed in Dante. However, it can be argued that Keble’s poetry also sets the stage for the Anglo-Catholic musical traditions of the 1860s and 1870s. The incarnational devotional focus found here can also be seen in the work of Liddon. It continues the Caroline high-church affection for the incarnation and precurses the incarnational theology of *Lux Mundi* (see chapter 5). Throughout *The Christian Year*,¹¹² earthly liturgical music is described as a typological representation of the Divine. In the ‘Dedication’, God is described as the origin and the end of heavenly music. However, it is only in the incarnation that liturgical music and heavenly music meet. The songs of heaven and church unite when Christ comes down in Bethlehem, the House of Bread,¹¹³ much as, at Holy Communion, the church is instructed to join in the song of heaven moments before Christ comes down among the faithful in bread and wine during the prayer of consecration.

This is significant for two reasons. First, it continues and expands upon the focus on the incarnation that can be seen in the works of Lancelot Andrewes and the Caroline divines.¹¹⁴ Second,

¹¹² Consider ‘Dedication’, ‘Christmas’, ‘Commination’, and ‘First Sunday after Easter’.

¹¹³ With thanks to Fr Christopher Johnson for a timely reminder of the significance of the meaning of the name of the place of the incarnation at Christmas 2021.

¹¹⁴ With thanks to the Rev’d Dr Simon Cuff for helping to establish these connections. On Andrewes and the Incarnation, see Davidson R. Morse, *Lancelot Andrewes’ Doctrine of the Incarnation* (MTS thesis, Nashotah House Seminary: Nashotah, WI. 2003).

and more importantly, it begins to open a door. Although Keble does not go much beyond the coalescence of earthly and heavenly music at the Nativity, the next generation extends this theology to work increasingly on the inclusion of far more elaborate music, especially at Holy Communion. The clergy of the next generation were working in a very different context: the Anglo-Catholic movement has spread wide, and an increased focus on sacramental worship is not seen only in the churches of the Oxford Movement, but also in the Liturgical Movement of the Roman church, encouraging the Anglo-Catholics, especially who might be considered to be 'Romanists'. Both in theology and in music, they moved away from 'Tractarian severity'¹¹⁵ and became more 'open to the value of freer, larger, more instinctive things from which they [the Tractarians] shrank'.¹¹⁶ In musical terms, the 'more instinctive' can be directly related to the highly affective content of the music of Gounod, Stainer, Sullivan, and Barnby, especially in contrast to the practices of the less overtly Romanist Anglo-Catholics, who more commonly maintained a simpler tradition of chanted plainsong. In other words: Keble's poetry begins to open a door to the performance of more elaborate music at Holy Communion: music which is not just plainsong, but liturgical, earthly, improving music in the Dantelian sense. It now more and more commonly also includes elaborate harmony-driven music, echoing the complex musics of the heavenly realm, as – through the focus on the incarnation – our earthly choirs were considered to be able to join with the heavenly musics in a mystical sense: lofty ideals that went far beyond Tractarian reserve. Although Keble remained a proponent of plainsong as the normative liturgical music,¹¹⁷ it can be argued that the incarnational focus of his poetry paved the way for the music of the 1870s. Keble briefly goes beyond his usual theology of reserve, and at Christmas, the *Gloria in Excelsis* of the angels joins with that of the whole church of all time and place, uniting the earthly music with the heavenly to celebrate the mystery of the incarnation.

¹¹⁵ Gwendolen Stephenson, *Edward Stuart Talbot 1844-1934* (London, 1936) 13, 52.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ Letter from John Keble to Rev. Alfred Kent of Coln St. Aldwins, Fairford, dated Hursley, St. Stephens Day, 1859. Kent has suggested an organist. Keble asks: 'Does he know & like the Helmore Church Music? for that is quite the staple here'. ... 'will [he] be pleased to act under, & not claim to act with, a Clergyman.' ... 'I take it for granted that he is a regular Communicant.' Current location of the letter unknown – it was sold by Richard Ford in 2020.

Finally, the nature of liturgical music in Keble's *The Christian Year* must be considered. It is not described simply as a scientific phenomenon, but rather is cast as a romantic object, specifically, often charged with typological meaning, as Chene Heady has argued at length in his chapter on Keble in *Romanticism and the Object*.¹¹⁸ Heady goes as far as to argue that Keble 'thought that the Prayer Book possessed a divine music which itself reflected the music of heaven'.¹¹⁹ While I would not go quite as far, the conceptualisation of liturgical music in *The Christian Year* is clearly important. Music – untouchable, transient, emotive – takes on the role of an object in Keble's poetry.

This was a new approach to liturgical music, enabled by Keble's use of typology. Through typology, Keble connected high churchmanship with nature, memory, and poetry, whilst remaining firmly within established ecclesiastical tradition, and avoiding 'the dual errors of individual interpretation of scripture and Romantic individualism'.¹²⁰ Thus, typology enabled Keble to bridge 'the chasm between Romanticism and high churchmanship'¹²¹ and introduce a romantic poetic discourse to the Church of England. With it, he introduces liturgical music as a romantic object. 'Romanticism is the first movement in Western culture to question the ontological primacy of the sensible object'.¹²² As Keble's poetry 'harness[es] the forces of Romanticism',¹²³ it allows something as ephemeral and mystical as music to become object.

If Keble makes liturgical music into a romantic object, as Heady has argued, this has significant repercussions for the way the history of church music can be considered. Lydia Goehr has argued in the *Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* that music must become an object before it can go through a process of canonisation. In most musical contexts, especially in instrumental music, this is achieved through the 'work concept'. Erauw summarises:

¹¹⁸ For an argument of liturgy (including music) as romantic object, see Heady, 'The Anglican Liturgy as Romantic Object'.

¹¹⁹ When assessing this statement, it should be noted that Heady seems to be very keen on the Prayer Book.

¹²⁰ Heady, 'The Anglican Liturgy as Romantic Object', 139.

¹²¹ Jeffrey W. Barbeau, *The Cambridge Companion to British Romanticism and Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 27.

¹²² Larry H. Peer, 'Introduction: Romanticizing the Object', in *Romanticism and the Object*, ed. Larry Peer (Houndmill: Palgrave, 2009), 1.

¹²³ Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context*, 197.

... a musical work was now something that continued to exist beyond and outside its performance, something that could be maintained for ever in its textual form. Even more, a musical work became something which, because of its transcendental nature, could be repeated without becoming out-dated. As a consequence, only from this period on, could musical works begin to function as a canon.¹²⁴

This is not entirely valid for church music in England. As Weber has argued,¹²⁵ England already had established canons based primarily on church music: the pedagogical canon of the *stile antico*, which consisted of church music from the likes of Josquin, Palestrina, and Frescobaldi; a performing canon of music in the cathedrals and chapels royal which included music by Byrd and Purcell, as well as a performing canon of works performed by the *Academy of Ancient Music* and the *Concert of Antient* [sic] *Music*, who had a remarkably varied repertory of old works that is more difficult to define in today's understanding of a canon. As Weber writes, in this context, 'one should not think of "canon" as a universally authorized play-list'.¹²⁶ Beyond the precincts of cathedrals and chapels royal, church music was not canonised, but it was primarily utilitarian. It was *Gebrauchsmusic*, used to convey and amplify devotional poetry. However, because the music was often repeated, even some of the small-scale musical works from the time before Keble did become canonic, in a way. Consider for example how even today we can still speak of 'The Old Hundreth'¹²⁷ in the same objective way we might discuss 'The John Passion' or 'Beethoven Nine'. Having become 'works', these pieces now exist outside of their performance and accrue meaning beyond the sonic experience of hearing the music. Having established this important caveat, which operates on the level of the particular, it is possible to consider how Keble's object-making of liturgical music, on a general level, changes its nature ontologically and essentially.

¹²⁴ Willem Erauw 'Canon Formation: Some More Reflections on Lydia Goehr's Imaginary Museum of Musical Works' *Acta Musicologica* (IMS - Vol. 70, Fasc. 2 (Jul. - Dec., 1998), 109-115), 109.

¹²⁵ William Weber 'The History of the Musical Canon' in *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press. 1999), 345-346.

¹²⁶ Weber 'The History of the Musical Canon', 347.

¹²⁷ And to a lesser degree *Old 104th*, *Old 120th*, *Old 124th*, which also still remain in the *New English Hymnal* by those names.

When liturgical music becomes a romantic object, it becomes a self-sufficient entity: a timeless, transcendental object,¹²⁸ which can therefore also acquire a great sense of importance. Liturgical music was no longer just a vehicle for carrying poetic devotion and unifying voices. When it became an object, it turned into something that people could use to shape their identity: something that could become partisan, political, loved, hated, approved, or disapproved. Objectification through the “work concept” would achieve this. The fact that Keble uses liturgical music as a romantic object, however, immediately ties it to poetry, memory, and nature. Therefore, it becomes a much more emotive topic. Memory connects it to our understanding of tradition, heritage, and therefore conservative identity. Nature connects it to intellect and academic ideals. Memory connects it to nostalgia and emotion. Because of these many combined factors, liturgical music, as a romantic object, had become a hill upon which one could choose to die – and many did. We see this in the UK, for example in the defences of one type of liturgical music or another that proliferated from the 1840s,¹²⁹ the partisan nature of plainsong in the specific and the generic,¹³⁰ as well as the violent responses to liturgical change.

Keble’s poetic *tableaux* of liturgical music as romantic objects do not create a canon, but they do, and did, communicate aesthetic ideals: ideals that were aligned with those of Dante and Plato. These ideals, in turn, are largely aligned with the priorities of Ss. Bernard and Gregory, through causative and resultant connections. These implicitly-communicated aesthetic ideals in Keble’s poetry elevate musical styles and traditions that share these ideals, especially plainsong and music of

¹²⁸ See Erauw, ‘Canon Formation’.

¹²⁹ See Bennett Zon, *The English Plainchant Revival* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), esp. chapter 7.

¹³⁰ For an example of this partisan nature in both the specific and the generic, consider the *The Bradford Observer* of 10 June 1874, which reviewed the eighth annual festival of the ‘West Yorkshire Plain Song Union’, founded by Canon Sharpe, the Anglo-Catholic vicar of Horbury, whose celibate lifestyle was presumably the aim of the taunts regarding monasticism in the following extract.

‘Why all the labour and experience of hundreds of years in the perfecting of the science of music should be ignored, and the discarded barbarities of square-headed, notes, diamonds, and a four-line stave, and the monotony of unison chanting, be revived we know not; we suppose that the devotees of plain-song are anxious to copy the monks of old as closely in their music as in other respects. If this be their aim, they are to be complimented on the success with which the beautiful service of the Church of England was yesterday metamorphosed into a travestie [sic] on the High Mass as performed in the cathedrals on the Continent.’

the *stile antico*. This may have been a leading driver behind the plainsong and early music revival of the 1840s.

Many of the sources from the 1840s justify the use of plainsong and early music and ascribe authority to its style, tradition, and use. However, none of these sources explains why clergy were so keen to introduce the music. Considering the influence of Keble's *The Christian Year*, perhaps, for the pioneers of both the plainsong and early music revival of the 1840s and the larger 'choral movement' of the mid-nineteenth century, one of the main drivers was the framework of Dantelian aesthetic sympathies that had become dear to them through Keble's *The Christian Year*.

CHAPTER II

Towards a Tractarian musical theology

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Summary

This chapter considers every article on the topic of church music published in the Tractarian party organ *The British Critic* from 1825 to 1843. This shows the growing understanding of the history of the liturgy, especially after the publication of William Palmer's *Origines Liturgicae* of 1832.¹ Based on the understanding of the liturgical, the use of paraliturgical² metrical psalmody is increasingly considered redundant. In many Tractarian churches, plainsong is introduced for parts of the service, especially psalmody. This results in a very restrained, reserved tone of worship. Many Tractarians embraced this severity, keen to avoid the enthusiasm of the dissenters and the theatre of the Italians. Frederick Oakeley publishes a more nuanced musical theology in a series of articles on church music in the 1840s. His approach differs slightly from that of many Tractarians on a point of nuance: the suitability of hymnody in the English liturgy. Oakeley is not averse to affective music in the liturgy, because his definition of sacred music is not based on the absolute, on musical features that can be analysed, but on the subjective: on the composers' intent and the listeners' reception.

¹ William Palmer *Origines Liturgicae or antiquities of the English Ritual and a dissertation on primitive liturgies*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1832), 2 vols.

² Paraliturgical is defined as 'Not part of the official liturgical canon'. The term is often used by Jo Wainwright to denote music which is not a contingent part of the liturgy but is used devotionally within the service, e.g. the anthem at evensong, or a hymn at mass.

Oakeley's writing on hymnody gains traction. Although he exchanges Canterbury for Rome in 1845, his influence is overt in the work of John Mason Neale, priest-poet, and author of *The Hymnal Noted* of 1851. Oakeley's assent to affective music in the liturgy stands in a complex relationship with the preponderance of affective content in some high Victorian church music. There is certainly no direct line between the two topics, but there may be an indirect causal relationship.

Introduction

If the purpose of chapter 1 is to show the reason why the Tractarian Choral movement developed as it did, distinct from the cathedral tradition, the purpose of chapter 2 is to suggest why it could eventually change to a richer, more diverse tradition, as described in chapter 3. Considerations of sacred style are expanded upon in the discussion of sacred style and national style in chapter 5.

This chapter primarily considers the liturgical priorities in the 1840s. The period was preceded by a shift in church music from the paraliturgical metrical psalmody to music with distinct formal and liturgical functions, based on a growing awareness of the catholic roots of the Book of Common Prayer through the liturgical research of Lloyd and Palmer. Tractarian liturgical changes in the 1840s led to the practical beginning of the nineteenth-century choral revival.³ The repertoire consisted largely of plainchant and early music, as advocated by Oakeley, Bennett, Helmore, and other Tractarians.

This chapter will examine the writings on liturgical music in *The British Critic*: a journal for High Churchpeople, which later became the party organ of the Oxford Movement.⁴ Each article from between 1825 and 1843 is considered: in 1825 the journal became a quarterly journal with a

³ Bernarr Rainbow, *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church 1839-72* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1970), especially chapters 1 and 2.

⁴ According to Houghton, the editors during this period were: c.1823–1833 Archibald Montgomery Campbell, supported by Edward Smedley 1827–1833, 1834–1837 James Shergold Boone, 1837–1838 Samuel Roffey Maitland, 1838–1841 John Henry Newman, 1841–1843 Thomas Mozley.

distinctly theological focus,⁵ and the publication folded in 1843.⁶ This chapter represents the first thorough examination⁷ of all articles in the party organ of the Tractarians on the topic of church music. An examination of *The British Critic* demonstrates that there was no united approach to music in the early days of the Oxford Movement, but that the Tractarians were made up of a group of strong-willed individuals. However, this written source, the party organ of a fundamentally conservative group, is valuable, as it consistently demonstrates precedence, rather than celebrating creative innovation. Precedence is valuable, as it puts some of the musical changes implemented in ‘visible’ places like Oxford and London into a national context of continuity. The ‘novel’ developments that have become a familiar part of the history of Tractarian church music, were often imitations of - or adaptations from – customs that existed in eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century high-church parishes in the provinces. Thus, this chapter may help to eliminate some of the historic London-centricity of many history books and demonstrate the diverse and national nature of the High Church movement.

This research enabled an examination of the shift in high-church thinking which developed into the Oxford Movement. These findings help to bring further musical nuance to the overall church-historical arguments of Nockles, Morris, Rainbow, and Temperley. The work of Temperley gives a very concrete, practical, well-researched background. It remains a landmark publication for any research on eighteenth-century music and music in the English parish church.⁸ The work of Morris recasts the musical and liturgical ideals of the Oxford Movement as the development of

⁵ Barbara Laning Fitzpatrick, ‘Rivington family (per. c.1710–c.1960)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2004), accessed 20 March 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/70881>

⁶ Simon Skinner, ‘Mozley, Thomas’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2004), accessed 20 March 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19479>

⁷ The research into this has been made much more manageable by Esther Houghton’s ‘Curran Index’, published online by *Victorian Research*, providing an index with helpful footnotes regarding authorship for all articles published in the *British Critic* during that period. Esther Houghton, ‘Curran Index’, *Victorian Research*, accessed 20 March 2022, http://www.victorianresearch.org/British_Critic.pdf

⁸ Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church, Vol. 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1979)

eighteenth- and nineteenth-century high-church thought and praxis.⁹ Thereby it offers an important sense of continuity with the earlier tradition, and rebalances some of the narratives of ‘innovation’ offered in slightly more partisan works on Tractarian music. While Rainbow’s *The Choral Revival* remains the most important secondary source on the topic, it is marked by a clear sense of admiration and identification with Frederick Helmore: one of Rainbow’s predecessors as Director of Music at the College of St Mark and St John, Chelsea.¹⁰ Similarly, Nockles’ work is of a consistently high quality, but with a gentle bias towards the work of St John Henry Newman.¹¹ The goal of this thesis is to combine the level of concrete detail that can be found in Temperley and Rainbow with the contemporary academic methodologies and perspectives found in Nockles and Morris. Tractarian music theology is difficult to define due to the wide variety of views held by the various individuals who collectively made up the Tractarian movement. Additionally, most of the concerns of the writers of the *Tracts of the Times* were primarily about matters of theology and the relation between church and state. However, there are some key texts on music and liturgy which helped to shape Tractarian views and were informed by Tractarian writings. This chapter will focus especially on the works of Frederick Oakeley and William James Early Bennett.

The theological writings considered are primarily from the radical wing of the Tractarians, the ritualists. Amid Catholic emancipation,¹² any papist tendencies were viewed with great suspicion. Ritualists felt beleaguered. Their churches were sometimes quite literally beleaguered by rioters.¹³ Following the departure of the most extreme of the ritualists in 1845,¹⁴ the Anglo-Catholic church was still considered with suspicion, but was more unified, internally. Externally, the re-establishment of a Roman ecclesiastical hierarchy in England in 1850 led to another frenzy of anti-catholic

⁹ Jeremy Morris, *The High Church Revival in the Church of England: Arguments and Identities* (Theology and History Series: 2. Leiden: Brill. 2016)

¹⁰ Rainbow, *The Choral Revival*

¹¹ Peter Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760–1857* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994), in *The Oxford Handbook of the Oxford Movement*, ed. James Pereiro, Peter Nockles, and Stewart J. Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)

¹² For more on the emancipation, and the relief act of 1829, see Robert Hinde and Wendy Hinde, *Catholic Emancipation A Shake to Men’s Minds* (Oxford: Blackwell. 1992)

¹³ For more on the Pimlico riots, see Rainbow, *The Choral Revival*, 143

¹⁴ Newman, Ward, Faber, Oakeley, Dalgairns, and many others turned to the Roman Catholic church.

sentiment, which was levied in equal measure at those serving under the bishop of Rome, and anyone considered to have catholic sympathies.¹⁵ Further moments of tension arose with the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874, proposed by Archbishop Tait, and supported by Disraeli and Queen Victoria. This ban on various catholic practices in the English church led to the imprisonment of five clergymen between 1877 and 1882. The cases focused on liturgical praxes such as the mixing of the chalice, the wearing of vestments, and the use of candles. In their music, Anglo-Catholics were never formally challenged. Perhaps this was because their musical praxes, rooted in Keble's liturgical imagery, were based in continuity.¹⁶ Tractarian choirs were outwardly largely aligned with the cathedral tradition. While some local newspaper critics would take issue with surplices and the use of plainchant, clergy were never sanctioned for their choice of musical repertory. Ontologically, music is transient and hard to codify, especially in the church-musical genres where the 'work concept' is relatively distant. The transience of music allowed it to be authentic. As such, music could become a true expression of Anglo-Catholic sentiment: a realm in which they could turn orthodoxy into orthopraxis without fear of legal reprisal.

Tractarian music, marked by restraint and reserve, eventually became a vehicle for joy, affection, and assuredness.¹⁷ How and why did the severity of the 1840s turn to confidence in the 1860s? What theological or external factors changed, enabling such a fundamental shift in character?

Reconsidering paraliturgical psalmody

Articles about church music in *The British Critic* from 1825 until the mid-1830s are marked by growing discontent with metrical psalmody. Initially, the problem is levied primarily at the Old and New versions of Sternhold & Hopkins and Tate & Brady, not at metrical psalmody itself. However, as interest in the liturgy is revived, the concept itself begins to be challenged, and the paraliturgical manner in which the psalms are used is questioned. Eventually, this made for fertile ground into

¹⁵ See also Denis Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992).

¹⁶ See chapter 1.

¹⁷ See chapter 5

which the plainchant revival could develop, alongside the increasingly widespread use of both Anglican chant and plainsong. When psalms were returned to their liturgical function, hymnody could be introduced as paraliturgical music. The developments in the use of psalmody and hymnody are organically connected. They should be considered results of the growing consensus that psalmody was not intended for, or suitable for, paraliturgical use, and that metrical psalmody could never fully capture the nuances of the original poem in form, function, or meaning.

After the *British Critic* started its *New Series* in 1814, the first article on music appeared in 1825. It was written by Edward Smedley, clergyman, editor of the *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana*, frequent contributor to the *British Critic*, and possibly at one point the editor of the journal.¹⁸ Smedley's early articles demonstrate the discomfort with the metrical psalmody that had been brewing for decades, but was now growing fast. The writing of this period demonstrates a musical conservatism which could even be perceived as a lack of interest: the priority was an almost puritanical emphasis on bible-true poetry, where music had to be utilitarian – simple and familiar – with no other role or goal than to be a vehicle for poetry. Nothing was required of music beyond adequacy in this task of bringing many voices into unison. Smedley writes of Thomas Dale's new translation of the psalms:¹⁹

[they are] not adapted to those simple melodies commonly used in our churches, ... which might give adequate expression to the highest conceivable degree of poetical excellence. The metres in common use ought at all events to be retained, as they are by far the best suited to the expression of beauties whose very essence is simplicity.²⁰

It is difficult to establish whether a genuine focus on musical simplicity was a priority, or whether the operative word in this extract is 'adequate', which would indicate a lack of interest verging on apathy, stemming from conservatism. However, the next discussion of music in the *British Critic*, also by his hand, seems to suggest that it would be inaccurate to assert that Smedley was not

¹⁸ Esther Houghton and Josef Altholz, 'The "British Critic", 1824-1843,' *Victorian Periodicals Review* ,(24.3, Fall 1991), 111-118.

¹⁹ Thomas Dale, *Irak and Adah, specimens of a new translation of the Psalms* (London: Richardson. 1822)

²⁰ Edward Smedley, 'The Book of Psalms' *The British Critic* (Volume 23, March 1825, 252-255) 253-254.

at all interested in music: his 1827 article on 'Heber's Hymns' does seem to indicate a care for music. Smedley argues that Heber's poetry, as hymns, 'are not to be read as finished compositions for the cabinet, but in the light of words for simple and solemn music they are not meant, or not only meant, to be said, but sung also.'²¹ In other words, he demonstrates a degree of interest in music, arguing that it enriches the poetry and that, while secondary to the poetry, it is a part of the essence of the hymns. His statement could be understood as arguing that texts intended to be sung require a musical voice to be fully understood.

The article on 'Heber's Hymns' demonstrates a growing discontent with metrical psalmody. Smedley's objection is essentially on doctrinal grounds. On the same grounds, he sees the great catechetical use of poetry and hymnody. This was also noted, in the 1834 article on *Versions of the Psalms*, and expanded upon in the 1836 article by S.F. Wood, both of which are discussed later in this chapter. Smedley writes:

[Sternhold &] Hopkins, and T. Brady and Tate, do not sin only by faults of style. If regarded as Davidian psalms in metre, they are so grossly and so generally unfaithful to the originals, that they lose all title to respect on the score of identity; and if taken only as hymns in themselves, can any thing; with a liberal exception of about a dozen in both the versions, be more vulgar in language, wretched in conception, and if it were worth the while to prove it on such an occasion, false in doctrine than these authorized canticles?²²

Smedley ends his discussions of church music with a song of praise about Keble's *Christian Year*, discussed in chapter 1. This shows not only the significance of the book itself, but more concretely, that Tractarian music theology must always refer back to the work of John Keble, which grounded and inspired many later theological and practical expressions of Tractarianism. Smedley goes as far as to say that 'We have so high a sense of its genuine worth, that ... It may well be placed next or near to the pure and pleasing poetry of George Herbert.'²³

The 1831 article 'New translations on the Book of Psalms' begins a series of reviews with an in-depth theological analysis, asking questions about how to translate the Bible. The anonymous

²¹ Edward Smedley, 'Heber's Hymns', *The British Critic* (Volume 2, October 1827, 443-453).

²² *Ibid*, 445.

²³ *Ibid*, 453.

author does not prioritise the music but opens with a nineteen-page denunciation of liberalism before beginning the review. The main issue addressed is, again, metrical psalmody, especially the expansive approach taken by poets who elongate the original poem, adding sentences with their own ideas for the sake of rhyme, metre, or exegesis. Although, to twenty-first-century eyes, the author appears to be very low church, and almost puritanical in his convictions, the article contains an interesting foretelling of the return of prosaic psalms, which would take another decade.

The skill of the best scholars has failed in the endeavour to parcel out the sacred text, as is visible enough in the very elaborate work of Dr. French and Mr. Skinner. Our advice therefore is, return to plain prose, the ornaments thus bestowed on the Bible only tend to unnerve and weaken its declarations, and must always contribute to diminish its authority.²⁴

The historian should be careful not to draw a direct line from this article to Tractarian efforts to spread chanted prosaic psalmody in the 1840s. Although the underlying principles are, on one level, the same, the spirit of the argument is totally different. These early reviews actually stand more closely in line with Keble's 1839 *Psalter in English Verse*,²⁵ which translated the psalms into metre, almost entirely without the addition of any words that did not appear in the original: a hugely complex exercise that was only partially successful. Chanting – Anglican or Gregorian – the prose of the psalms would have crossed many red lines which even the high-church clergy of the 1830s would not have crossed. The pioneers of chant in the 1840s betray a youthful zeal which they did not own. The connecting factor between these two generations, however, is a desire for absolute accuracy of the biblical text.

An anonymous 1834 article on 'Versions of the Psalms' offers hints in the same direction, stating that the effect of rhyming psalms has become very tired, even in the newly-published versions that were being reviewed, which were in blank verse.

We find in both these versions, a monotony of versification, a recurrence of the same cadences, a balance of clauses in the same sentence, agreeable because natural and proper in other kinds of metre, but entirely destructive of the true excellence or perfection of blank verse; and we also find an attempt to conquer these defects by a

²⁴ Anonymous, 'New translations on the Book of Psalms', *The British Critic*, (Volume 9, April 1831, 404-440), 434.

²⁵ John Keble, *The Psalter, or Psalms of David in English Verse* (Oxford: Parker. 1839).

somewhat tedious circumlocution and a pompous array of words, in which no fresh conceptions are conveyed.²⁶

Like Smedley the author emphasises the catechetical value of setting sacred texts to music:

It would be a good in many points of view to attain a more completeu [sic] *uniformity* in this portion of our public worship, as well as to make it really a thing of public and united worship, instead of a performance enacted, as it too often is, only by the clerk and the charity-children. The dissenters, we fear, understand much better than most church men, the power of psalmody, not simply in attracting a congregation, but in attaching it to a house of prayer, and building up its faith, and giving wings almost of fire to its devotions.²⁷

More important is the anonymous article 'La Trobe on Church Music' in the *British Critic* of July 1831.²⁸ This article reviews the book *The Music of the Church considered in its various branches, Congregational and Choral: an historical and practical treatise for the general reader* by John Antes LaTrobe, curate of St Peter's in Hereford, and Chaplain to the Right Hon. Lord Mountsandford, which was published earlier that year. The relevance of both this anonymous review in the High Church days of *The British Critic*, and the book itself are heightened by the fact that Oakeley refers back to this book in the Oxford Movement days of the *British Critic* in 1843. These connections begin to shatter fables of sudden innovation and novelty in London, and instead show the continuity between the rural high church traditions and the practices that were introduced in London in the 1840s. Oakeley refers to LaTrobe's work as authoritative in his 1843 article 'Music, Chiefly Ecclesiastical',²⁹ which indicates that LaTrobe's work was read and respected amongst musically-engaged High Church clergy. LaTrobe provides further connections: his father, Christian Ignatius LaTrobe, was the superintendent of the United Moravian Brethren at Fulneck, near Leeds, whose worshipping tradition is known for its rich hymnody.³⁰ John Antes LaTrobe had trained as an organist, and later

²⁶ Anonymous, 'Versions of the Psalms', *The British Critic* (Volume 15, January 1834, 153-161), 154.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 161.

²⁸ Anonymous, 'La Trobe on Church Music', *The British Critic* (Volume 10, July 1831, 120-137).

²⁹ Frederick Oakeley, 'Music, Chiefly Ecclesiastical', *The British Critic* (Volume 34, October 1843, 277-320)

³⁰ His father had also supervised the publication of a *Selection of Sacred Music from the works of the most eminent composers of Germany and Italy*, 6 vols. 1806–25, through the medium of which many fine modern compositions were first introduced to the notice of the British public.' This collection was largely in the original (often Latin) with occasional translations, and was largely made up of Italian and Viennese Roman Catholic church repertory. Christian Ignatius LaTrobe was also a keen composer of sacred and secular music. He was incredibly well-connected with the music world – he developed a close friendship with Joseph Haydn, and maintained close connections to Novello and Breitkopf and Härtel, acquiring new, sometimes unpublished

became a priest in various high church enclaves in the depths of the countryside, including Kendal, Hereford, and Gloucestershire. Considering this background, and his influence on Tractarian choral pioneers such as Oakeley, LaTrobe should be considered as an important link connecting the remaining provincial high church traditions and the Ritualist innovations in London.

Towards liturgical music

When the Tractarians started their gradual takeover of *The British Critic* between 1836 and 1838, a shift can be seen in the journal's articles on music. Music is no longer considered just as a paraliturgical option but is increasingly seen as the normative mode of worship. As more people become familiar with the origins of the English liturgy, liturgical music is also reconsidered, leading to a reassessment of the function and nature of psalmody and hymnody. The quantity and quality of articles on church music also dramatically increases. Between 1814 and 1835, four articles about music were published, while twelve articles about music were published between 1836 and 1843: a rise from an article every five years to about two a year.

One of the driving forces behind the liturgical historical research published in this period was William Palmer of Worcester College, near Oxford.³¹ Palmer was initially an influential Tractarian, but decreased his involvement with the movement as opposition grew.³² His *Origines Liturgicae* of 1832 offers historical research on the liturgy, giving various justifications for the sung liturgy as the normative mode of worship. His *Treatise on the Church of Christ* of 1838 argues that the Church of England is an integral part of the universal catholic church, together the Roman and Orthodox churches. The latter was described by Gladstone as 'perhaps the most powerful and least assailable

contemporary European music. John Antes LaTrobe took after his father, while two of his brothers would rise to positions of power abroad: one became lieutenant-governor of Victoria; the other was the architect of the United States Capitol.

³¹ 'A Keble wit who once posted a letter mockingly to "Worcester College, near Oxford" (because it is nearly in Jericho) received a reply to "Keble College, near Rome".' Benedict Le Vay, *Eccentric Oxford* (Chalfont St Peter: Bradt Travel Guides. 3rd ed 2019, 1st ed. 2005), 94.

³² Peter Nockles, 'Palmer, William Patrick (1803–1885)'. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.). (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2004), accessed 20 March 2022, <https://doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/21225>

defence of the position of the Anglican church from the sixteenth century'.³³ Both works significantly shaped the minds of clergy across the Church of England, encouraging them to trace their roots, reconsider their identity in a historical light, and engage with romantic antiquarianism.

A lot of the research published by Palmer was already known to the most important Tractarians because the material was based on a lecture series given at Christ Church in the 1820s, which many of them attended. This is made clear in Oakeley's 1840 article on the 'Church Service' in *The British Critic*. In this consideration of the study of the liturgies of the English church, he does not begin by looking to Palmer's famous *Origines Liturgicae* of 1832, but instead goes back to one of the formational figures of the Oxford Movement, Charles Lloyd. He held the Regius Professorship of Divinity at Oxford in the 1820s, and 'revived theological studies in the university and was regarded as: "if not the founder of a new school, at least the infuser of a new and more energetic spirit"'.³⁴ Alongside his public lectures, he developed a pattern of regular private lectures or seminars at Christ Church, which were attended by graduates, including various leaders of the Oxford Movement: Froude, Newman, Oakeley, and Pusey. 'Short, stocky, and prematurely bald, Lloyd was remembered for informally bantering with, and occasionally bullying, the attenders at his private lectures.'³⁵

Oakeley recalls:

One of the first persons to give an impulse, in our own time, to liturgical studies, was the late Bishop Lloyd ; of whose private lectures, as Divinity Professor at Oxford, upon the English Prayer Book, in connexion with the Services out of which it was constructed, we can ourselves speak from recollection, as having been singularly fitted, both from the kind manner of the lecturer, and his great stores of information, to interest the theological students who had the advantage of attending them.³⁶

'Lloyd's revelation of the ancient roots and historical development of the Anglican liturgy and dogma influenced a generation of Oxford theologians', partially through his own work, and partially through

³³ William Gladstone 'Heresy and Schism', *The Nineteenth Century* (August 1894. London: Marston & Co.), 165.

³⁴ William J. Baker, 'Lloyd, Charles' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.). (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2004), accessed 20 March 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16822> Baker quotes the *Gentlemen's Magazine*, 1st series, 99/1 (1829), 561

³⁵ Baker, 'Lloyd, Charles'.

³⁶ Frederick Oakeley, 'The Church Service', *The British Critic* (Volume 27, April 1840, 249-276), 251

the fact that ‘many of his liturgical notes [were] ... incorporated into William Palmer’s *Origines Liturgicae* (1832).’³⁷ Oakeley, writing from his own recollections, goes a little further, writing:

Bishop Lloyd had prepared, we believe for publication, some MS. notes upon the Prayer Book, which fell, after his premature death, into the hands of Mr. Palmer ... The investigations which the Bishop had carried to a certain point only, Mr. Palmer pursued much further ; having traced in his valuable and learned work the various portions of the English Prayer Book from their more immediate to their primitive sources.³⁸

It is with this new liturgical awareness, fed by the historical research of people like Lloyd and Palmer, that the perception of the function and essence of music in the liturgy fundamentally changes in the mind of clergy in the 1830s. This is crucial: it represents a move away from discussions of superficial changes to paraliturgical psalmody, and instead, reorients music, considering it as a true and normative part of the liturgy. The first article to show this S.F. Wood’s 1836 article on ‘Bunsen’s Hymns and Prayers’. According to Houghton,³⁹ it is the second article to be contributed by a Tractarian author.

Samuel Francis Wood⁴⁰ was a notable London-based high churchman and lawyer. His 1836 article features a long exposition about hymnody flowing forth from early church canticles such as the *Te Deum* and the *Gloria in Excelsis*, through St Ambrose, St Hilary, the council of Toledo, up to the reformation and beyond. Wood argues that these hymns of the early church, ‘many of them still to be found in the Roman Breviary, [are] the venerable heritage of the Church.’⁴¹ He argues, that considering even Luther translated and kept the best of them, these hymns are a general ecclesiastical heritage: something that is an integral part of the whole universal church. For Wood, such ancient approval was more important than contemporary theological thought. Considering that Wood was a lawyer, working in a country with common law, in which precedence is almost universally binding, this article is not just a review: it almost reads like a legal defense. Wood was the

³⁷ Baker, ‘Lloyd, Charles’.

³⁸ Oakeley, ‘The Church Service’, 251

³⁹ Houghton, ‘Curran Index’.

⁴⁰ See also James Pereiro, ‘Samuel Francis Wood: A London Tractarian’ in *Ethos and the Oxford Movement: At the Heart of Tractarianism*, ed. James Pereiro (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2007)

⁴¹ Samuel Francis Wood, ‘Bunsen’s Hymns and Prayers’, *The British Critic* (Volume 19, Apr 1836, 315-325), 317.

first to use *The British Critic*, a conservative high church party organ, for such a controversial article on music.

It should be noted that not all Tractarians were convinced of the merits of the hymns of the Breviary. For instance, William James Early Bennett offers considerably more nuance on the history of the various hymns from the Breviary, and their suitability to the theology of the Church of England, as he understood it:

[T]he Breviary, as in use at that time, contained in its antiphons or anthems, many objectionable doctrines, specially in regard to the addresses made to the Virgin Mary and other saints. This feature of the Romish Breviary, so strongly marked at the time of the Reformation, is not however to be found in the purer ages of the Roman Church. Gregory VII was the first person who put together a Breviary; and in that first Breviary there is no mention of addresses to the saints. No "Ave Maria," or "Salve Regina," or "Alma Redemptoris," was there : those hymns which afterwards deformed and to this day so much disfigure the Romish service-book. We must always remember that it was not until the thirteenth century that these objectionable hymns were introduced.⁴²

Wood's writing on hymnody includes a comparison with the German status quo at the time. Although he is unsatisfied with the state of church music in England, which was rather precarious at the time, he did not propose to import the German system. He prioritises the preservation of the integrity of the English liturgical heritage.

In the possession of [our hereditary Liturgy] we need not seek new treasures in foreign lands. ... But our Hymnody is not in such a state as to relieve us from the necessity of taking counsel of others; and we shall do well to consider, with reference to the collection before us, both what our condition really is, and where our deficiencies chiefly exist.⁴³

True to his legal background, Wood sets out a structured argument of seven points, arguing 'why the English hymns might naturally be inferior to those of Germany, both in number and value'.⁴⁴ The first argument he puts forward is that 'there is certainly a more general love of music among the'⁴⁵ Germans. The second, is that 'their character, in spite of the epithet we are wont to apply to it, has

⁴² William James Early Bennett, *The principles of the Book of Common Prayer considered : a series of lecture sermons* (London: Cleaver, new ed. 1848. 1st ed. 1845), 60-61.

⁴³ Wood, 'Bunsen's Hymns and Prayers', 322.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

more warmth and susceptibility than our own'.⁴⁶ Thirdly, he considers the English language to be less suitable for singing, as, 'during the period of its greatest flexibility and vigour' it was not applied 'to the composition of hymns'.⁴⁷ Fourthly, fifthly and sixthly, he blames the people who were too catholic, too protestant, and too apathetic, arguing that 'the troubled times of the first Charles'⁴⁸ led to a period in which there was 'excessive dread of every thing bordering on enthusiasm ... and so the time past on till a period of apathy succeeded, which shut out all immediate prospect of any progress in Hymnody.'⁴⁹ Seventhly and finally, he argues that there was no fundamental need for hymnody because the liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer already gave the congregation a very active role. Such an argument is probably rather astounding to a post-Vatican II reader.

It must likewise be remembered that while such causes indisposed us to the production and use of hymns, a liturgy admitting the active participation of the people in its recital partially supplied their place in Christian worship. This is illustrated by the case of the Separatists, who, having substituted extemporaneous prayer by the minister, and so reduced their followers to the condition, externally at least, of passive hearers instead of active worshippers, have been obliged to resort to congregational singing, in order to keep their association from falling to pieces, and the flame of devotion from going out.⁵⁰

Wood argues that the liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer is so well-structured that it does not require hymns to maintain the drama of the liturgy. Crucially, his writing begins to draw a clear distinction between liturgical and paraliturgical elements of the church service, and encourages a reconsideration of issues of contingency in the liturgy. What is essential? What is optional? This reconsideration, in turn, would lead to a re-valuing of psalmody as a core part of the liturgy. It could even be speculated that a more active understanding of hymnody as being merely paraliturgical may have helped in the reintroduction of hymns to Anglican worship by lowering the pressures put on the genre. However, given the nature of the sources from the period, often written by people with

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

strong opinions, and rarely written by those whose opinions had been calmed, it is unlikely that such a hypothesis will ever progress firmly beyond speculation.

Wood's article seems to have had genuine influence. An article from 1837, written by an anonymous high church person takes an incredibly similar stance, calling for an English hymnal built on early church hymns, confessing that the existence of early church hymns had been news to them. The anonymous high churchperson was unlikely to have been a Tractarian, as their letters and communications have been well-researched. One of the books reviewed is Chandler's *Hymns of the Primitive Church*.⁵¹ The article in *The British Critic* cites the following passage from Chandler's work verbatim. The words and phrases used in it are closely reminiscent of *Origines Liturgicae*, and it is likely the author was a moderate.

I was not aware, however, till very lately, of there being any such ancient hymns extant : it certainly seemed most likely that if there had been any genuine primitive ones good for anything, they would have been brought into notice long since, and therefore I concluded that there was nothing in that way superior to those rhyming jingling hymns which are found in the Popish missals, as barbarous in their latinity, as defective in their doctrine.⁵²

Oakeley's 1840 article on the *Church Service* strikes a very similar tone, promoting the 'ancient' and deriding the contemporaneous practices of the Roman church, which he would join in 1845.

[W]e are ... satisfied that the more ancient records of Catholic truth will always be found to constitute a protest against the peremptory decisions of a later age, as well as the existing practice in countries under Papal influence ... [We hail] with great satisfaction, the publication, both in the original and in English, of the sublime Breviary Hymns, and other like proofs of a growing taste for the ancient Forms of Prayer and Praise.⁵³

Sources like this demonstrate that romantic liturgical antiquarianism was a major factor driving the reconsideration of psalmody and the rediscovery of hymnody in the 1830s and 1840s.

While each high church cleric held his own individual views, party organs like *The British Critic* helped to shape those views. Its reviews of current liturgical and theological writings clearly had an

⁵¹ John Chandler, *The Hymns of the Primitive Church: now first collected, translated, and arranged* (London: Parker. 1837)

⁵² *Ibid.*, viii.

⁵³ Oakeley, 'The Church Service', 252-3.

impact, and helped to spread the ideas and ideals of the authors. The anonymous 1837 reviewer notes that the author of the book under review, 'Mr. Chandler ... was directed to some translations which appeared in the *British Magazine*; and, in consequence, he procured a copy of the Parisian Breviary, and one or two other old books of Latin Hymns'.⁵⁴ The *Hymni Ecclesiae, à Breviario Parisiensi* (Oxon. 1838) is reviewed in 1840, and later that year, it is cited by Oakeley in his article on the *Church Service*. This demonstrates the importance of the notices and reviews in this party journal – they gave the individuals in the high church party a common ground, and a common inspiration. The purpose of the journal is also discussed in the articles. In 1842, Oakeley writes that the publications by Dr Hook of Leeds Parish Church are designed 'to animate the zeal, and amend the spririt of his brethren at a distance'.⁵⁵ While clergy interacted with the information in the journal on an individual level, their common frame of reference turned them into a more cohesive party. With this in mind, the labels of ritualist, Tractarian, and high churchperson lose a lot of their importance. The excellent revisionist work of Nockles⁵⁶ and Morris⁵⁷ has begun to address the issues with these distinctions, often arbitrarily drawn for hagiographical purposes. *The British Critic* shows us a collection of individuals that shares a very considerable common ground. The liturgical research published and reviewed here was widely read, leading to increasing calls for reform: also in music.

The historical research of Lloyd and Palmer was not only important because of its results, but also because of the methodology. Looking at the descriptions of the history of the liturgy, John Chandler proposes to reverse-engineer this in music. He wants to take the best of the ancient and the modern hymns, 'in accordance with what was done in the case of the Liturgy', and combine them into one hymnal.

It has long struck me that as our Liturgy is compiled, in a great measure, from ancient materials, so, if there were any ancient hymns still extant, of the same date and

⁵⁴ Anonymous, 'Ancient Hymns: Hymns of the Primitive Church', *The British Critic* (Volume 22, July 1837, 117-129), 120.

⁵⁵ Frederick Oakeley, 'Psalms and Hymns', *The British Critic* (Volume 32, July 1842, 1-33), 1.

⁵⁶ Peter Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760–1857* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994).

⁵⁷ Jeremy Morris, *The High Church Revival in the Church of England: Arguments and Identities* (Theology and History Series: 2. Leiden: Brill. 2016).

character with the prayers, they would be most suitable for our purpose ; for they would, from their antiquity, carry more weight with them than any modern ones could do, and the precedence they claimed would more readily be granted to them ... the best of the modern ones might be very advantageously brought in to finish it off, and this would be in accordance with what was done in the case of the Liturgy, where some of the prayers and collects are ancient, and some modern⁵⁸

Such a marriage of the old and new eventually took the form of *Hymns Ancient & Modern* (1861). It is an excellent example of the pattern of partial innovation and partial imitation that dominates this period. The musical developments of the nineteenth century need to be read in their theological and liturgical context. The significance of the growing historical liturgical awareness of the 1830s is considerable for church musicologists, as most musical ‘innovation’ of the later nineteenth century can be traced back to this broadly dissipated bank of knowledge, and the methodologies that underpin it. Therefore, it could be argued that Palmer’s *Origines Liturgicae* was far more important to the way in which liturgical music in England was reimagined in the nineteenth century than has been previously stressed.

William James Early Bennett, the founder of St Barnabas, Pimlico, argues that this liturgical research does not only generate information and inspiration for liturgical change, but that it creates a responsibility to effect such change, and to teach others about it, especially the parishioners. Bennett argues that a priest who has become aware of the history of the English liturgy has no choice but to apply this knowledge in practice, and share the rationale for these changes with the parish. He writes: When a priest ‘adopts a closer conformity with the Prayer Book than may have been customary’⁵⁹ he does so because the priest ‘has no will of his own as an individual; he has no right or power in any way to deviate from that which the Church commands.’⁶⁰ He subscribes to Book of Common prayer at ordination,⁶¹ declares his ‘unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by the Book of Common Prayer...’⁶² and is licensed by the bishop to

⁵⁸ Chandler, *The Hymns of the Primitive Church*, viii.

⁵⁹ Bennett, *The principles of the Book of Common Prayer considered*, vii.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, viii.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*, ix.

perform their office 'according to the form prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, made and published by authority of Parliament, and the canons and constitutions in that behalf, lawfully established and promulged, AND NOT OTHERWISE, OR IN ANY OTHER MANNER.'⁶³ If the Prayer Book, then, is authority, the editions must be carefully examined for their veracity. 'Even those published at Oxford and Cambridge, are not in every way correct, and therefore particularly in the rubrics, must not altogether be trusted.'⁶⁴ Moreover, Bennett argues that the Book of Common Prayer must be held in its historical context in order to be fully understood.

He must therefore go back to that which is the first, that of Edward VI, set forth in the year 1549. Having got that book, he must even then have a knowledge of what the traditional customs of the Church were in the various dioceses of England at the time of its compilation. He must bear this rule strongly in mind, that whatever was in use in the Church before the Reformation, *and is not forbidden in our present Book*, remains a custom to us, authorized, sanctioned, and continued. Such, for instance, is the turning to the East in prayer, especially in saying the Creed. This was a custom of the Church before the Reformation; *and not being forbidden*, remains a custom still. ... all that is not purposely put aside, purposely remains. And this applies to a thousand minute points of ritual in the Prayer Book⁶⁵

These notions of precedence and authority are paramount in the considerations of conservative high churchpeople in a country governed by common law. Precedence and authority give validity and legality. Oakeley writes that 'we are far indeed from wishing to advocate ... any change in the celebration of Divine Service ... at all, (not prescribed by the rubric, or commanded by authority)'.⁶⁶ Such caveats offered considerable room for interpretation and discussion. Bennett argues that research and teaching are required: research to understand older practices; teaching to explain those practices to others. This approach was designed to clearly show people the distinction between liturgical restoration and liturgical innovation. Considering Bennett's church was the scene of the Pimlico riots, it could be argued his teaching was too limited, engaging only the congregation, but not the wider public, enabling division.

It is a true Catholic principle in its very best sense to love such usages and customs as bear the mark of antiquity. To give to anything the name of "innovation", is to give to

⁶³ Ibid., ix-x.

⁶⁴ Ibid., x.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Oakeley, 'Music, Chiefly Ecclesiastical', 308.

it the name most odious in the eyes of a Catholic and an Englishman. But those whose occupations in life (as must be the case in the great majority of people), are so all-absorbing as to deprive them of the power of searching and reading for themselves, will of course measure antiquity by their own memories. For them, antiquity reaches no further than a single generation. ... The Church has only patiently and by discrete teaching to remove these narrow limits of the notion of antiquity, and she will cast back the imputation of “novelty” on the very point now cherished and beloved as ancient.’⁶⁷

In musical terms, that crucially means that the service is normatively sung. Such an opinion was expressed by John Jebbe, a close friend of Dr Hook of Leeds Parish Church, in *The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland* of 1843. Oakeley applauds his work, writing ‘We join very heartily in Mr. Jebb's advocacy of music as a concomitant of the Eucharistic Office.’⁶⁸ The restoration of music to the liturgy was not always seen as invention, because such practices were still familiar from the cathedral world. Oakeley writes:

In some of our own churches, especially at Leeds, the example has been set of restoring music in those parts of our Communion Service, in which the rubric expressly allows it. At Durham Cathedral, and we believe also at Exeter, it has never been discontinued.⁶⁹

This precedence allowed the intoning of the services to be restored without too much criticism.

Oakeley writes in 1843 that, in his experience, little objection was raised to it.

[T]he musical intonation of the Service [is] ... a very great step towards the ceremonial practices of our ancestors, [and] we are not less surprised than delighted to find how very little objection has been raised in any quarter to its restoration among us.⁷⁰

A more contentious expression of the same mode of thought led to a reconsideration of metrical psalmody. There is no doubt that the Oxford Movement had a major role in the eventual decline of metrical psalmody, although it should be noted that this movement was long underway, and that their dismissal was far from universal among Tractarians. However, there was a widespread understanding of the metrical psalms as a paraliturgical, optional element of the service, rather than a contingent part of the same, as demonstrated by Bennett.

⁶⁷ Bennett, *The principles of the Book of Common Prayer considered*, v, vi.

⁶⁸ Oakeley, ‘Music, Chiefly Ecclesiastical’, 319-1920.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 320.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 308.

Now in regard to the metrical psalms, it should be well understood that they do not form a regular and component part of our service. They are only permitted to be sung, not commanded. ... we shall find that they were intended by their compilers to be sung as moral and religious songs in private houses, rather than in the public services ; and if in churches at all, then be fore or after sermons, rather than in the service itself. In some places, it is customary at the present day, for the country people to assemble in the church, and practise the singing of psalms, more as a pastime than anything else, before the service has begun.⁷¹

Such an understanding of metrical psalmody may well have hastened the demise of the genre, but this was not the primary intention of the Tractarians. Even the fairly radical Oakeley writes, in 1842: 'We are not going to speak against our own metrical versions of the Psalms, excepting so far as they are attempted to be set up as a substitute for Christian Hymns.'⁷² Offering similarly unenthusiastic, but qualified criticism, Wood states that 'we shall perhaps admit that their real effect has been, not to supersede hymns, but to prevent Church singing from falling into oblivion altogether.'⁷³ Tractarian writing was not usually very positive about metrical psalmody, but they were not against it in principle. Even John Keble composed a collection of metrical psalms in English, which was widely praised among Tractarians, but found very little liturgical use. In summary, they did not overtly attack metrical psalmody, as many twentieth-century scholars have suggested.⁷⁴ However, they did help to change the understanding of the function of psalmody in the liturgy.

The previous paragraphs have set out chronologically how the conversation shifted from discussion of metrical psalms to music as part of a historical liturgy, newly understood, in which there are distinct roles for paraliturgical hymnody and liturgical psalmody. The following section will turn to considerations of restraint, sympathy, and affect in liturgical music.

⁷¹ Bennett, *The principles of the Book of Common Prayer considered*, 301-302.

⁷² Oakeley, 'Psalms and Hymns', 2.

⁷³ Wood, 'Bunsen's Hymns and Prayers', 323

⁷⁴ i.e. Rainbow, *The Choral Revival*, 12, 38. Rainbow writes of the 'deliberate attempts ... to find a more appropriate mode of singing during the service than the old metrical psalmody had provided', and describes metrical psalmody as 'the normal tone of ... Anglican churches before the influence of the Tractarian movement made itself felt'.

Sacred style in Tractarian music theology

From the growing awareness of the difference between psalms and hymns arises the first decidedly Tractarian music theology, primarily formulated by Frederic Oakeley. Oakeley founded the choral tradition at Margaret Street Chapel, London, and is considered by some as the practical originator of Ritualist church music, a 'pioneer of liturgical and musical development'.⁷⁵ *The British Critic* printed three significant articles by Oakeley on church music, which begin to offer an insight into his music theology: 'Chanting', 1840, 'Psalms and Hymns', 1842, and 'Music, Chiefly Ecclesiastical', 1843. In the preceding issue of *The British Critic* of July 1843, Oakeley⁷⁶ writes on 'Musical Festivals: Sacred and Semi-sacred Concerts', which provides additional context.

The anonymously published article 'On Music, chiefly ecclesiastical' in *The British Critic* of October 1843 was referenced but not addressed in *A Passionate Humility* and in *The Choral Revival*. However, since Esther Houghton has demonstrated⁷⁷ that was written by Frederic Oakeley, its significance has increased considerably, and the article is worth a close examination. In general, the article gives an elaborate, written rationale behind the musical developments at Margaret Street, contextualising them in earlier developments in the church in England and abroad. In a letter, unearthed by Houghton, Oakeley writes to the editor, Thomas Mozley, that he wants to publish this paper as an 'amende' – a penalty or reprimand – to Richard Redhead, the young organist of Margaret Street Chapel. It is therefore, in its conception, a document with an overt agenda of teaching and persuasion.

Frederick Oakeley is the first Tractarian to begin codifying a distinct Tractarian music theology. His understanding of music is both quite traditional and advanced. He considers music in

⁷⁵ Peter Galloway, *A Passionate Humility: Frederick Oakeley and the Oxford Movement* (Leominster: Gracewing, 1999), 216.

⁷⁶ Identified by Houghton through a letter to Mozley. 'Curran Index' reads 'BC 969 Musical Festivals: Sacred and Semi-sacred Concerts, 170-194, Frederick Oakeley. Oakeley to Thomas Mozley, 17 June 1843, Newman MSS. says the title should be "Musical Festivals." (Esther Houghton working file)'.

⁷⁷ Houghton's 'Curran Index' gives: 'BC 972 Music, chiefly Ecclesiastical, 277-320, Frederick Oakeley. Oakeley list; Oakeley to T. Mozley, 26 July, N.Y., Newman MSS., wants to put something in October issue on music as an "amende" to Mr. Redhead, Oakeley's organist. (Esther Houghton working file) (08/16)' See also: Esther Houghton and Josef Altholz, 'The 'British Critic'.

theological, philosophical, metaphysical, missional, and social terms. His music theology considers music as an interplay between music *an sich*, listener, and context. This approach is quite advanced for the period. Music is considered not just as an imitative art, or a reinforcement for poetry, but it is also considered *an sich*. This leads Oakeley to argue that there is fundamentally no such thing as a particular sacred style. Music is sacred by intention, reception and context. He considers music as a social medium between composer and listener, which can only be fully understood and analysed when the context of the performance is taken into account. In this almost anthropological or ethnographical approach to music, severity and restraint are not considered as goals. Rather, they are held up as symptoms of a problem – of a lack of sympathy. Oakeley argues such restraint should not be required in church, the refuge of sinners and house of God, citing Psalm 27. Although Oakeley left the Church of England in 1845, his articles on church music had been published in the main party organ of the Tractarians: their influence should not be underestimated.

Oakeley writes that sacred music ‘lacks a prophet’ (*vate caret*), to write about music ‘in its metaphysical, moral, and theological bearings’:

In short, to the best of our belief, music as yet *vate caret* (and we might add *sacro*); it suffers for want of its competent encomiast. ... Is it too much to hope that some German (Catholic) writer may take up the subject of Music in its metaphysical, moral, and theological bearings?⁷⁸

Through his various contributions to *The British Critic*, he seems to take this project upon himself, and begins to formulate a Tractarian philosophy and theology of music. Oakeley begins this undertaking by considering how music affects the listener, putting the subjective experience of music at the front and heart of his approach. He considers this to be influenced by three factors: the music *an sich*, the listener, and the context.

Among the many difficult inquiries which any philosophical review of music must entail, is that into the proximate causes of its influence ; how far they are to be sought in any intrinsic qualities of the melody or harmony itself, and how far in the characteristics of the mind, upon which it is impressed, and the circumstances under which it is presented. ... Too little weight has commonly been assigned to what may be called (though the phrase is somewhat too ambitious) the subjective element; the

⁷⁸ Oakeley, ‘Music, Chiefly Ecclesiastical’, 281, the latter section is given in a footnote.

particular constitution of the individual mind, its associations, habitual or casual, personal history, and the like.⁷⁹

Oakeley considers music itself to be a powerful and complex force, which is not sufficiently credited when it is only considered as a vehicle for poetry. He considers William Jones' assessment of music as an imitative art⁸⁰ 'certainly unsatisfactory to the instincts of a musical enthusiast.'⁸¹ However, he does hold music and poetry in close relation. Sometimes, music can be at its most effective when supporting poetry. 'It is moreover evident, that a great proportion of music works its stupendous effects, merely as it is an expressive medium of *poetry*.'⁸² Moreover, he considers poetry to be the most satisfactory philosophy of music,⁸³ because it does not just consider the outward characteristics, but also considers the inward character of the music itself, and the effect it has on its listeners.

[P]oetry ... convey[s], on the whole, a truer account of the effects, and ... character, of music, than the more elaborate and well-considered dissertations of many metaphysical and aesthetical writers. ... Poets [are] ... Poets ... in this case, the truest philosophers.⁸⁴

From the outset, the affective content of music is central to Oakeley's musical theology. He even argues that emotion is at the very core of the musical exchange between composer and listener, claiming that sympathy is the foundation of 'musical genius'.⁸⁵

Oakeley subscribes to the doctrine of affections, or *Affektenlehre*. He argues that subjective experiences of affect in music should be considered as real, and the description of musical experiences as valuable. Although nineteenth-century western classical music was primarily driven by tonal structures, *Affektenlehre* was still relatively common in contemporaneous music theory.⁸⁶ In

⁷⁹ Ibid., 283.

⁸⁰ Presumably in reference to William Jones, *Essay on the Arts, Commonly Called Imitative*, 1772.

⁸¹ Oakeley, 'Music, Chiefly Ecclesiastical', 279.

⁸² Ibid., 284.

⁸³ This considerably strengthens the argument of Chapter 1, that the music of the high churchpeople of the nineteenth century should be held in the perspective of Keble's poetry.

⁸⁴ Oakeley, 'Music, Chiefly Ecclesiastical', 279.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 278. '... mysterious in its origin, nature, and use, the "gift," as all are agreed in calling it, of musical genius, and the sympathy, upon which the vast and extensive influence of that gift is founded... What fairy-spirit was ever pictured, more eccentric in her movements, or more capricious in her preferences?'

⁸⁶ See chapter 4 for more on *Affektenlehre*.

Affektenlehre, scholars had sought to codify the emotional charge and function of particular musical gestures and devices. Scholars from the sixteenth century onwards had adapted Classical theories of rhetoric in an attempt to understand and codify how distinct musical elements make people feel. This analysis focused on rhythm, melody, harmony, and modality or tonality. While practice and theory informed each other in the development of each element of this system, they are particularly interwoven in the development of temperaments, which are a practical necessity on fixed-pitch instruments. Each mode was considered to have particular characteristics, or *proprietas modi*. These were later adapted to also help composers to understand the different effect of distinct keys in the tonal system which only recognised major and minor modes.⁸⁷ Oakeley subscribes to the Classical understanding of the character of the modes, writing:

the spirit-stirring Phrygian, ... the soothing Dorian, or voluptuous Lydian "mode," have been treated by some authors as mere fables, and by others very unsatisfactorily disposed of...⁸⁸

The affective content in music was not only considered by theorists and theologians, but also experienced by ordinary people. Oakeley quotes the testimony of a dissenter, who notes and applauds this:

‘A desire is daily increasing and extending itself ... [emanating] from the new Oxford school, or any school ... to make the externals of ... worship more affecting and impressive. And of the externals spoken of, sound Church music, I presume to think, is a most important part.’⁸⁹

This focus on the affective content in music appears to be at odds with Tractarian music of the time, which was defined by severity and restraint. Thomas Helmore begins Novello’s primer on *Plain-Song* with a quotation from Hooker, which captures this spirit:

‘In Church Music, curiosity and ostentation of art, wanton or light or unsuitable harmony, such as only pleaseth the ear, and doth not naturally serve to the very kind and degree of those impressions which the matter that goeth with it leaveth, or is apt to leave, in men’s minds, doth rather blemish and disgrace that we do than add either beauty or furtherance unto it.’⁹⁰

⁸⁷ See chapter 4 for more on the tonal and modal key characteristics.

⁸⁸ Oakeley, ‘Music, Chiefly Ecclesiastical’, 280-281.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 303.

⁹⁰ Thomas Helmore, *Plain-Song*, (London: Novello, 1877), citing Richard Hooker *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*.

This restraint was not only found in music, but also in liturgy in the wider sense. Bennett even argues that such dispassionate moderation is the identifying mark of the Church of England.

THE middle path of the Church of England, both in her ritual and her Liturgy, is, in the estimation of all men of calm and dispassionate judgment, her singular beauty. ... In fact, moderation is the acknowledged character of our Church; moderation without compromise.⁹¹

In poetry and preaching, such restraint often took the form of reserve. For example, Keble's approach to the doctrine of reserve was through analogy: parables which only Christians could understand fully. This meant that emotion is always one step away: not a direct experience, but a feeling created through sympathy with the characters in the analogy. According to Butler, this heightens the emotion. While it may deepen the experience, it avoids a direct, spontaneous, enthusiastic response.

[A]t the very heart of Keble's poetry ... is Butler's idea of the relation between sensation and reflection that bears close comparison with Wordsworth's notion of 'emotion recollected in tranquillity' ... Butler remarks ... that 'our external organs of sense are necessary for conveying in ideas to our reflecting powers ... yet when these ideas are brought in, we are capable of reflecting in the most intense degree, and of enjoying the greatest pleasure, and feeling the greatest pain, by means of that reflection, without any assistance from our senses'. ... Keble draws his devotional reflections from nature, by recourse to analogy.⁹²

A similar approach towards reverence through restraint is found in Keble's preaching manners. Jasper quotes Pusey, who remembers Coleridge's comments on Keble's spoken style. '[I]ts humility, diffidence ... 'quietness, the almost tearful monotony of his delivery became extremely moving, when you recollected how learned, how able, how moved in his own heart, and how earnest was the preacher'.⁹³

This calmness and dispassionateness in preaching, liturgy, and music is usually compared to the enthusiasm of the dissenters, and the theatre of the Roman church. The dissenter's focus on enthusiastic feelings and emotional experiences is dismissed by all Tractarians. Oakeley writes that

⁹¹ Bennett, *The principles of the Book of Common Prayer considered*, 51-52.

⁹² David Jasper 'The poetry of the Oxford Movement: theology in literature', *International journal for the Study of the Christian Church* (Vol. 12, Issue 3-4, 2012), 227-228.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 229.

their 'Protestant tone of feeling generally requires elevation':⁹⁴ that their worship requires more formality and temperance. Bennett writes that 'in the self-will and self-seeking of the Dissenter, even his prayers ... verge towards the applause of men'.⁹⁵ The aversion to this charismatic focus on religious experience is perhaps best captured by Edward Bouverie Pusey, who writes in 1842 that 'Wesleyanism is degenerated into developed heresy [because it is] ... substituting ... feelings and experiences for repentance, good works, and the Sacraments'.⁹⁶ Similarly, the Tractarians despised the Roman church. For instance, Bennett writes that in 'the Church of Rome, with all its boast ... the music is for display, it has the character of the opera or theatre : with us it is meant to be solely for religion'.⁹⁷ He consistently contrasts the Tractarian penchant for austere congregational plainsong with the Roman preference for the delights of Schubert and Cherubini, writing:

in the Church of Rome, it has happened that the musical service, by reason of its exceedingly ornate and theatrical character, has attracted a crowd of mere idle listeners ... the fault is to be mended in the congregation ... that they join, every one, in the voice of her chaste and ancient psalmody.⁹⁸

Being described as being of a 'theatrical character' was one of the worst charges that could be levied against any music. Oakeley goes as far as to suggest that it can be morally evil, writing: 'There is a great deal of music, of a most marvelous power ... for evil [including] a vast proportion of the music of the theatre and the ballroom'.⁹⁹ Therefore, he argues that all music should be solemn if it is to be sacred, writing:

Nothing, surely, that is cheap and common place ; nothing that savours of earth and reminds of the world; no vulgar forms, no chamber postures, no familiar phrases, no colloquial tones, nothing but what is choice, orderly, composed, solemn, graceful, harmonious, has its place in our Lord's Sanctuary, the resort of the Angels, the asylum of the sick and weary soul, the school of Divine wisdom and heavenly music.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴Oakeley, 'The Church Service', 252-3.

⁹⁵ Bennett, *The principles of the Book of Common Prayer considered*, 301.

⁹⁶ Edward Bouverie Pusey, *A Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, of Some Circumstances Connected with the Present Crisis in the English Church* (Oxford: Parker. London: Rivington. 1842), 161.

⁹⁷ Bennett, *The principles of the Book of Common Prayer considered*, 299.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 303-304.

⁹⁹ Oakeley, 'Music, Chiefly Ecclesiastical', 279.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 305.

Therefore, theologians were usually quite weary in their attitude towards both music and musicians.

Bennett surmises:

The Church of England has ever been mindful of the danger of such an attraction in her music, as would affect the ear and not the heart. She would gladly affect the heart by the ear, but is fearful of affecting the ear only.¹⁰¹

For many Tractarians, this awareness of the affective quality of music, combined with their focus on restraint, and their new awareness of the history of the English liturgy, led to a focus on congregational plainsong and chanting in the services. Bennet writes that 'Chanting the service is found more efficacious to awaken the attention, to stir up the affections, and to edify the understanding, than plain reading of it.'¹⁰² To him, Gregorian chant contained the right level of expressive content for the poetry of the psalms: 'The Gregorian chants still remain ... The grandeur, dignity, and majestic simplicity of their music, so well expressing the feeling of the prophet David, are acknowledged and admired by all.'¹⁰³

In summary, the musical theology of the early Tractarians was primarily marked by restraint. Although allusions to sympathy and affection were common in their discussion of liturgical music, they were considered as good things only in very small portions. This may be considered to be, at least in part, because of the association of elaborate and enthusiastic musics with the Romans and dissenters, respectively. In the previous sections, Oakeley's views were cited alongside those of other Tractarians, demonstrating considerable alignment with prevailing Tractarian opinion. However, his views were considerably more nuanced, and did not stop at a simple endorsement of psalmody and plainchant. Rather, he begins to distinguish very actively between the functions of psalmody and hymnody, both in the liturgical and emotive sense. By creating an awareness of the distinction between these genres, Oakeley opens wide the door for more affective music in the liturgy.

¹⁰¹ Bennett, *The principles of the Book of Common Prayer considered*, 304.

¹⁰² Bennett, *The principles of the Book of Common Prayer considered*, 288, citing 'Dr Bisse, Rationale of Cathedral Service'.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 291.

In his 1843 article 'Music, Chiefly Ecclesiastical', Oakeley posits that 'Christian *Hymns*, as we have again and again observed, ... supply the outlet of devotional enthusiasm in contradistinction to ... psalmody.'¹⁰⁴ He had posited similar views in his 1840 article 'Chanting', writing: 'the Psalms of David were never intended by the Church Catholic to furnish what we may call an outlet of enthusiastic feeling. This was an object; but it was met, not by the psalms, but by the hymns.'¹⁰⁵ The same view is given in a more conservative tone by the Tractarian Isaac Williams in his 1840 review of the Keble's Psalter. He argues that hymns may be used an outlet of emotion, but they must not turn into 'egotistical expressions ... [of] passionate fervour and selfconfidence'.¹⁰⁶

For some Tractarians, an awareness of the emotive intent of hymnody might have been enough to eschew it altogether. Such an opinion was expressed by John Jebbe, a close friend of Dr Hook of Leeds Parish Church, in *The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland of 1843*. Oakeley counters:

We do not share Mr. Jebb's objection to *enthusiastic* singing in Divine Worship. On the contrary, we are persuaded that by the want of more liberal allowance for the expression of ardent devotional feelings in the course of public Service, our own Church has given an undue advantage to the Dissenters. People must, and will, be enthusiastic somewhere ; and, if the Church disappoint them, they will be either enthusiastic on wrong objects.¹⁰⁷

Oakeley overtly connects restraint to the veiled poems of the Old Testament, and hymns to the full revelation of the New Testament. He posits that the main '*differentia* of the Psalms in contradistinction from the Ecclesiastical Hymns, or, again, the Evangelical Canticles ... [is an] indirectness'.¹⁰⁸ To Oakeley, the 'especial value ... of the Psalms of David ... seems referable to the principles of a sacred *economy*'¹⁰⁹ while hymns are designed for 'the *explicit* declaration of Gospel truth, in glowing and elevated, though withal reverent, language.'¹¹⁰ Although he considers the psalms as a more

¹⁰⁴ Oakeley, 'Music, Chiefly Ecclesiastical', 318.

¹⁰⁵ Frederick Oakeley 'Chanting', *The British Critic* (Volume 28, Oct 1840, 371-390), 389.

¹⁰⁶ Isaac Williams, 'Oxford Psalter in English Verse', *The British Critic* (Volume 27, January 1840, 1-23), 3.

¹⁰⁷ Oakeley, 'Music, Chiefly Ecclesiastical', 317-318.

¹⁰⁸ Oakeley, 'Psalms and Hymns', 12-13.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 14.

reserved, restrained expression of the faith, he does not consider them to be the exclusive realm of the Jewish people. Instead, he claims the psalms for the church,¹¹¹ through the addition of the *Gloria Patri*. Oakeley posits that ‘The Church “makes all things new ;” and [so] ... she also make of the Psalms “a new song,” developing their latent tones into one great canticle of praise to her Redeemer.’¹¹² This is not merely a principle of ‘sacred *εἰρωμένη*, and as coming short of the full truth’,¹¹³ but rather because they function much like Keble’s poetry: their indirect imagery encourages a deeper level of engagement. Oakeley writes:

[Psalms] are conducive to the purpose of meditation. To the mind which resigns itself to the influence of those *suggestions* of Christian truth, which every single Psalm involves, they become the means of creating a series of mental images, and so form a continued incitement to faith. And to this end they contribute the more from being merely *suggestive*, and not plainly declarative of the Gospel facts and mysteries. Now it is the very *indirectness* of the Old Testament language, which fits it the more for lighting up a train of meditation. As in the case of instruction by parable, or again by symbols, the mind has something to supply, and this effort is an aid to the vividness of the impression. There is something singularly engaging in an idea of this kind...¹¹⁴

Oakeley directly aligns the indirectness of the psalms with the Doctrine of Reserve, widely accepted among the Tractarians. The analogies, the poetic distance, is cause for contemplation. Oakeley does not consider this to be the primary goal of singing the psalms, but a positive side-effect. He writes:

[C]ontemplation is [not] the direct object of Psalmody, which is a devotional act ... in the recitation of the Psalms, the range of contemplation is enlarged in proportion to the variety, as well as the *suggestive* and symbolical character of the topics they comprise.¹¹⁵

This contemporaneous understanding of Psalmody can help to explain why it was the primary form of music in many parishes. It aligned with the Doctrine of Reserve seen in preaching and poetry, and with the caution and restraint which was common at the time. This is also why Oakeley pushes for hymnody to be introduced into the services of the Church of England. While contemplation is necessary, it is not the full expression of worship. Oakeley argues that psalms, metrical or chanted,

¹¹¹ See also the discussion of Keble, ‘Third Sunday in Lent’ in chapter 1.

¹¹² Oakeley, ‘Psalms and Hymns’, 7-8.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

can not fulfill the functions of hymnody, and that a New Testament church must sing the hymns written for the church.

The Psalms ... differ characteristically from Hymns in the single point of their *indirectness*. [A]s the product of the Gospel dispensation, [Hymns are] *direct* upon those great Christian subjects which the Psalms do but dimly foreshadow, and remotely involve. They are, as one may say, *written* for the Church, and not merely adopted, and *adapted*, by her. And this it is ... which fits them for an end ... to which the Psalms are necessarily unequal; the *explicit* declaration of Gospel truth, in glowing and elevated, though withal reverent, language.¹¹⁶

On a musical level, Oakeley uses the same rationale to promote the use of plainsong for psalmody.

He argues that plainsong share the same abstract, veiled qualities as the service in which it is used.

In truth it might even be said that the Plain Chant is suited to its object rather because it is unnatural than because it is natural; or, at least, that the most abstractedly unnatural mode of utterance is the most natural under the circumstances. Divine Service, in all its particulars, is essentially *formal*. The mistake into which we are apt to run, is not that of considering it a form, but that of considering it nothing but a form. It is formal, but it is much more; it is sacramental; its forms are not opaque but transparent, not dead masses but subtle veils.¹¹⁷

Oakeley gives another defence for the use of plainsong, namely uniformity and catholicity. It safeguards stability despite the changes of prevailing fashion.

The advantage of the Ecclesiastical Chant towards the purpose of uniformity in Divine Worship is a point of view in which, as our main object in this article is a practical one ... Nothing can be, abstractedly speaking, less desirable than that the mode of celebrating Divine Service should fluctuate with the tastes of individuals, or be dependent upon accident. No doubt, then, one main use of Plainchant is to protect the Church against the risk of these undesirable variations.¹¹⁸

This brings Oakeley, indirectly to one of his most significant theses. He argues that there is not one particular style of music which is holier than another, as long as the intention of the composer was right, and the music is heard by the people in the right mindset and in the right context. This focus on the subjective creates a fundamentally different narrative in which the listener is centralised. While such a perspective may be more common for musicologists today, it was unique

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 12-14.

¹¹⁷ Oakeley, 'Music, Chiefly Ecclesiastical', 304.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 305.

at the time. This focus on the subjective begins to explain the centrality of affect and sympathy in Oakeley's contributions towards a Tractarian musical theology. He writes:

But, when ... asked to acknowledge the moral superiority, not merely of the works of one composer, or school of composers, over those of another, but of the more ancient music (as such) over the more modern (as such), or of the more simple over the more artificial, or of vocal over instrumental, or of pathetic over descriptive, then we are disposed to assume a more critical, if not sceptical, attitude; we are fain to suspect some undue attachment to theory, some crotchet of the individual, or some pedantry of profession. We feel that we are at once on ground where doctors may legitimately disagree; where there is scope for a variety of tastes and turns of mind, in themselves perfectly irrespective of any ethical distinctions : we remember that it is the very method of the Church to bring forth out of her treasure things new and old; that she is essentially, in matters indifferent, elastic and comprehensive ; ever knowing how best to convert to her own high purposes, the capricious forms of genius, and the unforeseen developements of art; providing with inexhaustible copiousness of resource for every emergency, and accommodating herself, with inimitable versatility of address, to every innocent prepossession.¹¹⁹

Oakeley's liberal approach to sacred style – suggesting there is none – is partially reliant on the focus on people, rather than the music *an sich*. He argues that the reception of music is heavily influenced by the 'dispositions [of the listeners] upon which ... the effect of music so materially depends.'¹²⁰ He extends this focus on people to the composer, and their disposition in composition, arguing that 'musical compositions ... reflect the *ηθος* [tr. ethos] of their composer, and are (to use Pindar's beautiful expression) *ακση σοφοις*, [tr: powers of wisdom,] vehicles of their own leading (moral) ideas to ... [listeners].¹²¹ The intention of the composer, and the reception of the listener is what defines sacred style to Oakeley. He argues that all things which have been

'designed, and executed, under direct devotional auspices, or with the benefit of that clear vision of spiritual things, [bear] ... the chaste and severe beauty of their external aspect, so as to be distinguishable, at a glance, from works of the same artist, or of other artists, accomplished under less blessed circumstances. ... [a] practised ear can at once detect the whole difference between the spirit of the worldling and the spirit of the Saint.'¹²²

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 286-7.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 285.

¹²¹ Ibid., 286.

¹²² Ibid., 286.

Although he notes that the actual music is likely to be different, his definition of sacred music relies on intent and reception, not on any analytical factors. Oakeley argues that sacred music must be sacred by design, which is distinguishable by the the music-loving congregant.

Such liberty in definition is given with significant caveats. He argues that some musical styles are less moral, writing: 'certain preferences and aversions of musical taste, which supply a very fair index to moral character'.¹²³ He even connects the musical profession itself directly to immorality. However he turns this into a positive – arguing that this is why it is such an important mission tool.

Oakeley is guarded against professional music(ians) because of the associations with immorality. This is a common theme among Tractarians. He argues that 'Holy Scripture, in more than one place, connects music with luxury and forgetfulness of God ... the peculiar and characteristic immorality of the musical "profession" encourages the belief, that this is a department in which the Enemy of souls is especially active. If there be regions to which, more than to others, malevolent spirits are prone to flock, they are, as we all know, those which give the greatest scope for the hallowing ministrations of Angels.'¹²⁴

This combination of music as missional, and as sacred by intent and reception, not by style, is arguably the pivotal thesis in Tractarian and later Anglo-Catholic musical theology. Its foundation in the writings of Oakeley might be surprising to many, considering Oakeley is usually associated with 'Popery, Palestrina, and Plain-tune'.¹²⁵ However, this impression is based largely on a simplification of his work at Margaret Street, and not on the nuances of his writings. He was quite aware of the breadth of musics which his philosophy might admit into the liturgy: 'Our own feelings, as will have appeared, incline to giving scope for other styles than the very simplest and severest'.¹²⁶ Again, Oakeley swiftly offers a caveat: ... but we must not be understood to extend any sort of indulgence to those tawdry "prettinesses" of which the taste of foreigners is more than tolerant'.¹²⁷ These caveats,

¹²³ Ibid., 285.

¹²⁴ Oakeley, 'Music, Chiefly Ecclesiastical', 291.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 299, paraphrasing John Jebbe.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 320.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 320.

however, are secondary to his overall message that liturgical music is defined by intent and reception, not by style or convention. He rejects narrowness, writing: ‘Stiffness, exclusiveness, bigoted adherence to system, pedantry, antiquarianism, narrowmindedness of all sorts, these have ever been the characteristics rather of sectarian and insulated bodies, than of [the Church catholic].’¹²⁸

In summary, Oakeley’s musical theology highlights the functions of different genres. The poetry of the book of psalms is characterised by indirect language: a veiled image of the partial revelation of the divine before the incarnation. He argues that hymnody is marked by directness, and should be considered as the enthusiastic response of Christians to their incarnate God. Oakeley argues that gospel canticles and hymnody can therefore be expressive and affective. His consideration of sacred style is based in intent and reception, offering scope for different styles to be used in the liturgy. Oakeley considers plainsong to be best suited for psalmody, as the genre and the style share a similarly indirect character. This implies that he considers affective music to be best suited for hymnody. This idea is contrary to the severe, restrained, unaffectionate approach to liturgical music implemented by most Tractarians at the time. How can these seemingly contrary ideas be harmonised?

Reserve as symptom of a want of sympathy

Oakeley argues that the severity of the Tractarians was not a virtue, but a temporary necessity. At the core of his argument is the idea that ‘the necessity ... of all reserve is entailed by the want of sympathy, on the part of others, with our own feelings.’¹²⁹ He considers it an appropriate response to the societal context of the 1840s, but does not consider it to be aligned with the intended response from Christians to their creator.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 287.

¹²⁹ Oakeley, ‘Psalms and Hymns’, 15.

Oakeley argues that enthusiasm and reverence can go hand in hand. To make this argument, he draws a clear distinction between reserve and reverence.

Reserve is not reverence, although under circumstances an essential condition of it. Reverence is a thing excellent *per se*, as we are maintaining that Reserve is not; it is a celestial quality. Reverence has respect merely to those above us; reserve, rather to the world around us. Reserve is a certain mode of dealing with men in an imperfect state, arising out of duty to a superior being. ... the great trial of earth is want of sympathy; and that as sympathy increases, reserve will grow indefinitely less.¹³⁰

Armed with this distinction, Oakeley considers the relationship between reverence and enthusiasm: seemingly opposite forces which come together in the divine service.

Enthusiasm and reverence are antagonist principles, which no power short of a divine one can adjust and harmonize. ... But the Church Catholic is a gracious and condescending Economy, adapted to man not as he is to be, but as he is; and, as such, she is ever on the look out, so to say, for his stray sympathies, seeking to enlist them in her holy Cause and to concentrate them upon their proper Object.¹³¹

Fundamentally, he argues that enthusiasm is a genuine part of the human experience, and is therefore something that is offered up to God, when Christians offer the divine all that they are. Therefore, the liturgy can not be governed by reserve and reverence alone. While it may be necessary as a temporary remedy, it can not be a lasting solution as it does not reflect the fullness of human experience.

For surely the principle of Reserve must never be so pressed, as to interfere with a due regard to the exercise of the religious *affections*. It is the especial glory of the Church, that she provides for the *whole* of our nature, where private systems invariably overlook some material element in its constitution. Reserve is an excellent remedy, but it is sorry food, at least if we are to have nothing else. ... While the duty, then, of Reserve under actual circumstances is unquestionable, the necessity for it must, and ought to be felt as painful. ... It may be that greater boldness is required of us; ... Experience, indeed, has abundantly shown that whenever the Church displays herself in her true colours, she wins hearts ...¹³²

Rather than seeing reserve as a virtue, he considers it as a suitable, but regrettable temporary response to the state of the Church. This could be interpreted to be related to the diminishing role of the church in society at large, and to the experience of a Tractarian church beleaguered by critics and

¹³⁰ Ibid., 18.

¹³¹ Ibid., 19, 20.

¹³² Ibid., 14-15, 17-18.

targeted by rioters. However, Oakeley also looks inwards, and suggests that the lack of orthopraxis might be a result of a lack of theological understanding and security in faith.

The fact, it must sorrowfully be admitted, is, that we are not (speaking on the whole) *at home* in devotional subjects. ... We are obliged to put restraints upon fervour as a security for correctness. So at least do the more prudent; but the more eager proceed with less caution, and often pay the price of their temerity. And thus it is, that ... [our worship is] seldom both earnest and deep, glowing and reverential, affectionate and humble. Our orthodoxy tends to stiffness, and our enthusiasm to heresy.¹³³

Oakeley considers reserve to be fundamentally at odds with the nature of the church. The church is a place where people should not need reserve. It is a place of safety and wholeness, Oakeley argues, citing Psalm 27, and writing: 'The Church is the antitype [sic] of the land flowing with milk and honey.'¹³⁴ If the liturgies of the church are a foreshadowing of the eternal worship, reserve is therefore inappropriate. "The angels surely are reverent; they "hide their faces" as they chant. But are they reserved *with one another*? Surely, almost any one would say, on the contrary...'¹³⁵ Therefore, he urges his readers to be bold, and begin to dismiss reserve, even when it is the more comfortable option, lest it develops into apathy.

But what true Christian does not *desire* to be open, where he safely and religiously can? At least, if he do *not* so desire, is there not ground of apprehension, lest, perchance, there be more or less of *apathy* in his reserve? For true it is, and it should be well remembered, that the mere effects of *apathy* and of reverence will be coincident; and, on the whole, we do not think it any great matter of wonder, nor ground of complaint, if much of what we may know to be reverential reserve, has sustained, in a censorious age, the imputation of indifference.¹³⁶

By drawing clear distinctions between the functions of different genres of liturgical music, Oakeley highlighted the severity of reserve and restraint in contemporaneous Tractarian praxis, including the liturgical arrangements he introduced at Margaret Street Chapel. While he considers such reserve necessary in the short term, he considers it to be a significant shortcoming, to be

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 16.

remedied. Church, to Oakeley, must be a safe place in which the Christian must offer their entire self to God. The liturgy must feed body and soul.

What changes did Oakeley propose to remedy this situation? How did later Anglo-Catholics interpret this Tractarian music theology? How was the musical change from the severity of the 1840s to the diversity of the 1860s possible without a major shift in theology? How can this musical theology be related to the incarnational theology embraced by some Anglo-Catholics in the 1870s?

Affective music as remedy

Oakeley's reassessment of reserve and restraint has a major impact on music in the liturgy. He considered it imperative that music would encompass the whole human experience. While psalmody is an important tool 'as well for regulating as for stimulating the affections',¹³⁷ it is indirect as a genre, written by poets who only knew the partial revelation of God. Therefore Oakeley looks to less reserved, more direct genres of sacred music. He argues that hymnody and canticles are valid liturgical forms alongside psalmody.

Of the three kinds of sacred song mentioned by the Apostle, it cannot be said that we are wanting in any. We have all the Psalms, and the principal of the Canticles. We have also Hymns; one of them, too, (the *Veni Creator*,) among the very most precious of those which are cast in the metrical mould. And thus the Reformers may be considered to have sanctioned three great principles; the first of them, that Hymns are the necessary complement of the Christian service of Praise; the second, that these Hymns must be accredited by the Church Catholic; the third, and by no means the least valuable of the three, that the Church may accredit compositions of this nature not directly taken from Holy Scripture.¹³⁸

Oakeley argues that the retention of the *Veni Creator* shows that it was the intention of the composers of the prayer book that hymns be retained. The *Veni Creator* is the only metrical hymn in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, authorised for use at ordination services. The inclusion of this single hymn in a specific service was not commonly seen as indication that hymnody was intended to be authorised by the English reformers. However, the *Veni Creator* did show precedence for the use

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 23.

of hymnody, and significantly contributed to the development of hymnody later in the nineteenth century. It was famously sung at the opening of every meeting of the committee which created *Hymns Ancient & Modern*.

This argument stood squarely against previous Tractarian narratives on hymnody. Wood had argued in 1836 that the lack of hymnody in the English church was the result of puritanism and apathy.

‘the troubled times of the first Charles [led to a period of] ‘excessive dread of every thing bordering on enthusiasm ... and so the time past on till a period of apathy succeeded, which shut out all immediate prospect of any progress in Hymnody.’¹³⁹

Oakeley’s rationale for the lack of further hymnody in the English church supports the narrative set out earlier. He argues that they approved of hymns, but were incompetent of creating a suitable translation as ‘they were not men of poetical minds’. Therefore, hymnody disappeared.

No doubt it would have been very difficult for the divines of that, or of any other age, to transfuse the spirit of the ancient hymns into an English version; and it involves, we hope, no disrespect to the Reformers, to say that they were not men of poetical minds. Latin, then, being, under the circumstances, out of the question, there was no course open to the remodellers of the Church Service, but that of obliterating the metrical hymns with one erasure.¹⁴⁰

Oakeley’s argument is consistent: hymns must be reintroduced to restore the functions and proportions of the liturgy. He argues hymnody and liturgy are inseparable, as they are one. ‘The Catholic Hymns in our Church Service [are] ... a sample of the whole body of which they form a portion, not less in the diversity of their characters than in the identity of their general scope and use.’¹⁴¹ Oakeley would not experience the reintroduction of hymnody in English liturgy first-hand. In September 1845, he joined Newman’s community in Littlemore, and shifted his allegiance from Canterbury to Rome. However, by that point his ideas on liturgy and music had been widespread through *The British Critic* and his liturgical practice at Margaret Street, leaving, in the words of

¹³⁹ Wood, ‘Bunsen’s Hymns and Prayers’, 322.

¹⁴⁰ Oakeley, ‘Psalms and Hymns’, 2.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 27.

Bernarr Rainbow, 'an indelible impression'¹⁴² on the incumbent and subsequent generations of high-church clergy.

One of the most significant disciples of Oakeley's approach to hymnody was John Mason Neale, author of *The Hymnal Noted* of 1851.¹⁴³ In his *Short Commentary on the Hymnal Noted* of 1852,¹⁴⁴ he copies Oakeley's argument almost verbatim. Oakeley argues that the reformers intended for hymnody to continue, but 'were not men of poetical minds'.¹⁴⁵ Martin Clarke argues that Neale casts hymnody as 'an unfulfilled desire of the reformers',¹⁴⁶ giving the same example, of the *Veni Creator*. Neale writes:

... there was one part which they did not translate; and that was the hymns. They tried more than once, but they could not succeed: and they had wisdom enough to know that they were not successful. They only put one translation in the Prayer Book, the hymn *Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire*, in the Ordination Service. They left it as their wish, however, that others might arise in the English Church who should be able to translate the hymns which they left untranslated.¹⁴⁷

The hymns contained in Neale's *The Hymnal Noted* also followed the requirements set out in Oakeley's *Psalms and Hymns* to the letter, drawing 'almost exclusively on medieval Latin hymns',¹⁴⁸ ensuring, as Oakeley had outlined, 'that these Hymns must be accredited by the Church'.¹⁴⁹ Neale's understanding of the function of hymnody also seems to have been influenced by Oakeley's writings. Neale opines that the ancient catholic hymns were direct responses of affection: they were '... written ... because the feelings of the writers were so warm at the moment that they *would* express themselves ...'. Neale's volume would become one of the most influential hymnals of the nineteenth century. Although it was primarily associated with the 'extreme high church wing',¹⁵⁰ as Temperley

¹⁴² Rainbow, *The Choral Revival*, 25.

¹⁴³ John Mason Neale, *The Hymnal Noted* (London: J.A. Novello, Ewer and Co. 1851).

¹⁴⁴ John Mason Neale, *A Short Commentary on the Hymnal Noted, from Ancient Sources, intended chiefly for the use of the Poor* (London: J.A. Novello, Masters. 1852).

¹⁴⁵ Oakeley, 'Psalms and Hymns', 2.

¹⁴⁶ Martin Clarke, ed., *Music and Theology in nineteenth-century Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate. 2021), 28.

¹⁴⁷ Neale, *A Short Commentary*, iii-iv.

¹⁴⁸ Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1979), 297, cited in Martin Clarke, ed., *Music and Theology in nineteenth-century Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate. 2021), 27.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 23.

¹⁵⁰ Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, Vol. 1, 297, cited in Clarke, ed., *Music and Theology in nineteenth-century Britain*, 27.

writes, *The Hymnal Noted* is often considered as 'the most important volume in the ... restoration of an English Catholic hymnody'.¹⁵¹ The hymns retained their modal plainchant, adapted and edited by Thomas Helmore. Because of this, the hymnal was never a commercial success, despite its influence. Barry Orford succinctly argues: '*The Hymnal Noted* was never to become popular with congregations. The music saw to that.'¹⁵² Even though plainchant psalmody became common among Tractarians, its modal language did not enable the Victorian listener to connect directly with the affect of the music. The same indirectness which made plainchant suitable for psalmody made it unsuitable for the more direct expression of the Christian faith found in hymnody. Although the *Hymnal Noted* did not become a commercial success for this reason, much of the poetry of Neale's collection was used in *Hymns Ancient & Modern*. As such, this collection can be considered as an important poetic response to the musical theology developed by Oakeley.

Conclusions

Oakeley's response to reserve, and the 'want of sympathy' found in the world and the church was to introduce a more affective genre of music: hymnody. Later Anglo-Catholics continued this trend of introducing ever more affective music into the church service.¹⁵³ As choral arrangements became more elaborate, it became increasingly common to sing anthems, canticles, and the ordinary of the communion service. Some churches remained closely aligned with the values of Bennett: all music but the anthems remained congregational, with canticles to plain chant and the Merbecke communion service. In other foundations, like St Mark's Chelsea, the indirectness of the modal musical language was used to combine elaborate choral provision with reserve, codified in a repertoire which consisted primarily of polyphony and chant. However, in other churches, Oakeley's

¹⁵¹ Susan Drain 'Neale John Mason', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19824> cited in Clarke, ed., *Music and Theology in nineteenth-century Britain*, 27.

¹⁵² Barry Orford, 'Music and Hymnody', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Oxford Movement*, ed. James Pereiro, Peter Nockles, and Stewart J. Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2017), 380.

¹⁵³ As is discussed in two case studies in chapters 3 and 4.

philosophy of a sacred style was followed through further, arguably beyond the bounds established by Oakeley through his various caveats on style and morality. In these churches, more direct and affective tonal music was used for hymnody and other liturgical parts, such as the ordinary. While Oakeley's goal was certainly not the introduction of the merry musics of the Second French Empire into the English liturgy, such practices can be considered as a logical extrapolation of his musical theology. He fervently pleaded for a more affective genre of liturgical music, and even argued that musical style does not determine sacredness – to Oakeley, almost anything can be sacred, as long as the intent and reception is sacred. Thus, the distance between the introduction of hymnody at Margaret Street, and the introduction of Gounod's *Messe Solennelle de Saint-Cécile* at St Andrew's, Wells Street, are closely related.¹⁵⁴ Oakeley's focus on the subjective is the pivotal axis underpinning both of these movements – a growing focus on the idea that the liturgies of the church must cater to the full human experience, with all its myriad affections.

The belief that sacred style is not governed by absolute factors of musical properties which can be analysed, but rather by subjective human factors such as intent, reception, and context, also closely aligns with the incarnational theology which would be embraced by some Anglo-Catholics in the 1870s. Incarnational theology was codified in the volume *Lux Mundi*, edited by Charles Gore, the first principal of Pusey House, Oxford. The same focus on the whole human experience in the liturgy is found in Francis Paget's essay on *Sacraments*:

'There are avenues by which the energy of Christ's perfect and glorified manhood can penetrate, inform, affect, transfigure our whole being, bodily and spiritual. The body is not left inert ... and uncheered ... it also rises at its Saviour's touch.'

This study of Tractarian musical theology has begun to offer some tentative explanations for the reasons behind the diverse musical traditions associated with the movement. Oakeley's articles give an enriching perspective on unity and diversity in the musical practices of the Anglo-Catholic wing of the Church of England in the mid-nineteenth century.

¹⁵⁴ See also chapter 3.

CHAPTER III

Sir Joseph Barnby: father of the English choral tradition?

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Summary

What defines the English choral tradition as we understand it today? Excellence? Paths of education and vocational training? A broad, diverse repertory spanning the western classical tradition? If such terms come to mind, it could be argued that Barnby's choral practice at St Andrew's, Wells Street, was the first incarnation of the English choral tradition as we recognise it.

St Andrew's choir developed an elaborate repertory which signifies the confluence of five canons that had until then been distinct, with little overlap: Cathedral, Tractarian, Continental Catholic, Choral Society, and new composition. The repertory comprised plainsong, Anglican chant, early music,¹ some of the English cathedral canon, continental classical and romantic music, as well

¹ See Bernarr Rainbow, *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church 1839-72* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1970), especially Appendix 3, which outlines in detail the repertory used in many Tractarian churches, as published in Robert Druitt's magazine: *The Parish Choir*. Barnby retained a core of this traditional canon.

as a large number of new commissions. Such diversity was a stark contrast to the choral traditions in both Cathedrals and Tractarian churches, which had very narrow canons of repertory.

Excellent choir training was combined with sustained and lasting care for choristers, extending into a mentoring programme for young organists which can be seen as a precursor for modern organ scholarships. This resulted in an unusual number of St Andrew's choristers becoming professional musicians. Barnby's choir training methods 'brought choral music to the highest pitch of perfection'² and turned Wells Street, and later, St Anne's, Soho, into the crowning glory of English church music for a generation, far surpassing any contemporaneous English Cathedral choir in quality, repertory, and influence.

The instigator of this approach to choral singing, which would be copied all over the country, was the York-born musician Sir Joseph Barnby (1836-1896). Primarily known as a conductor, choir trainer, and educator in his time, he has been rather ill-served by composer-centric histories and changing musical tastes. Only since the dawn of the recording era have conductors become a regular feature in our musical canons and histories.³ Prior to that, the only musicians to attain lasting fame have been composers, with only few exceptions. Due to these historical priorities, Barnby's work in education and choir training has been largely forgotten, and he is primarily remembered as a Victorian composer whose compositions utterly fell from grace in the early twentieth century.

One of the continuous themes throughout Barnby's working life is the support of female musicians. He was no radical but did significantly more for his sister musicians than was common at the time. His premieres of liturgical works by Alice Mary Smith and Ethel Smyth's non-liturgical mass are especially important. However, his main contributions in this area were as a pedagogue.

² Jehu Junior, 'Men of the Day no. DCI Joseph Barnby', *Vanity Fair*, (1 November 1894).

³ Marcia Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Urbana IL: University of Illinois Press. 2000, 1st ed. 1993), 24.



Figure 1: Sir Joseph Barnby⁴

⁴John Ward Knowles, 'Sir Joseph Barnby', Art UK, accessed 3 February 2022, <https://www.artuk.org/discover/artworks/sir-joseph-barnby-18361896-8702> © York Museums Trust

Introduction

Tractarian music in the 1840s and 50s was largely defined by a plainsong and early music revival; in this the Helmore brothers held supreme authority. Rainbow's seminal book on the choral revival breaks a lance for Frederick Helmore, taking him out of his brother's shadow. Thomas Helmore has fared very well in our history books because of his royal appointment and his published writings and editions. The red and black volumes with square and diamond notes became an instantly recognisable party symbol of the stricter, more conservative Anglo-Catholic churches. In the 1860s, a less severe branch of Anglo-Catholic church music emerged in London, begun by Barnby, supplemented by Sullivan, and developed by Stainer.

This chapter focuses on one of the most prominent figures in the late nineteenth-century London music scene: Sir Joseph Barnby. He was a notable conductor and church composer, knighted for his services to music. Yet, very little has been written about him by musicologists, and even less of that is positive. Whilst Barnby's name is still known to many church musicians through his chants, and to musicologists through association with Stainer and Sullivan, his life and music have been largely forgotten. Sullivan has four older books dedicated to his biography,⁵ and Stainer has been the subject of two monographs⁶ in the last fifty years; there was only one attempt at a full biography for Barnby, which was cut short by the death of the author, W.H. Sonley Johnstone.⁷ At present, it seems that all traces of this manuscript have been lost. Suffering from the fact he was not primarily a composer, ignored by the next generation, and over-shadowed by writings on his contemporaries in later twentieth-century scholarship, Barnby is a largely forgotten musician: this chapter seeks to begin to address this issue and the reasons behind it.

⁵ Reginald Allen, *The Life and Work of Sir Arthur Sullivan, Composer for Victorian England* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library; Boston: David R. Godine, 1975), Phillip H. Dillard, *Sir Arthur Sullivan: A Resource Book* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1996), Benjamin Findon, *Sir Arthur Sullivan, his life and music* (London: Nisbet & Co. 1904), Arthur Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan: A Victorian Musician* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1996, 1st ed. 1984), Arthur Lawrence, *Sir Arthur Sullivan: Life-Story, Letters, and Reminiscences* (London: James Bowden. 1899).

⁶ Peter Charlton, *John Stainer and the Musical Life of Victorian Britain* (Newton Abbott: David & Charles: 1984) Jeremy Dibble, *John Stainer: A Life in Music* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press. 2007)

⁷ John Francis Ling, *The Debate in England on the Progress and Regress of Music*, (PhD thesis, London: Royal Holloway College. 2014), 372.

The literature available on Barnby in recent scholarship is limited to a large chapter in Palmer's *Conductors in Britain*, which discusses Barnby and Sullivan as conductors in the 1880s-90s.⁸ In Gatens' *Cathedral Music*, Stainer and Barnby share a short chapter, as exemplars of 'the High Victorian Idiom'.⁹ This poignantly begins to demonstrate how the lack of interest in Barnby has removed him from existence as an individual musician and composer – in the last century people have only written about him as a secondary character in the narrative of church music in the late-nineteenth century.

This was not always the situation: Barnby was considered one of the most important musicians in the United Kingdom and the English-speaking world in the late-nineteenth century. Besides his unpublished, lost biography, two late-nineteenth-century books of biographies devote a chapter to Barnby. Louis Engel's *From Handel to Hallé*¹⁰ devotes seven pages to Sir Joseph, while Helen C. Black's *Pen, Pencil, Baton, and Mask*¹¹ opens with six pages about Barnby, and uses a seventh for a full-page portrait. The female authorship of this volume makes it particularly interesting. This also suggests that the intended readership was primarily female, considering Victorian practice¹² and the dedication to Lady Barnby. Furthermore, Barnby was the topic of many short magazine features, both in his life and after his death. The obituary printed in the *Musical Times* of March 1, 1896,¹³ spanning more than two full, densely-printed pages, is worth special mention. Considering the relationship between this journal and the Novello publishing house, it is not surprising that this article focuses on Barnby as a composer. In short, Barnby attracted plenty of attention during his life and into the Edwardian era. How was he lost in the sands of time?

⁸ Fiona M. Palmer, 'Conducting the Royal Choral Society and the Leeds Festival (1880s-1890s): Joseph Barnby and Arthur Sullivan' *Conductors in Britain, 1870-1914: Wielding the Baton at the height of Empire* (The Boydell Press, Woodbridge: 2017), 93-143.

⁹William J. Gatens, *Victorian Cathedral Music in Theory and Practice*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 170-200. The inclusion of Barnby in a book on cathedral music is in itself interesting.

¹⁰ Louis Engel, *From Handel to Hallé: Biographical Sketches* (London: Swan Sonnenschein. 1890).

¹¹ Helen C. Black *Pen, Pencil, Baton and Mask; biographical sketches* (London: Spottiswoode & Co, 1896) accessed 3 February 2022 <https://archive.org/details/penpencilbatonma00blaciala>

¹² Linda Peterson, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Women's Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2015), i.

¹³ Joseph Bennett, 'Joseph Barnby' *The Musical Times* (March 1, 1896), 153-155.

Known as a composer

Nowadays, Barnby is only known for a few bars of music in hymnals and psalters, although he was a famous and popular composer during his lifetime and beyond. To understand why his music is no longer performed, the path of historic appreciation and rediscovery in the last century and a half must be considered: what were the qualities that respective generations sought to find in older music, and to what degree can this be seen in the reappraisal of some of Barnby's contemporaries?

There is ample evidence that Barnby was highly considered as a composer in his lifetime. Few people claimed he was a ground-breaking composer, but his music was widely performed and appreciated. Novello, his publisher, held that 'what he has done as composer is by no means the least valuable jewel in his crown.'¹⁴ *The Musical Standard* of 1892, somewhat more impartially, also gives Barnby's church music highest praise:

We do not hesitate to say that, so far as we know English Church Music of the XIXth century, Mr. BARNBY'S name stands in the front rank as a composer.¹⁵

Engel gives a fairly typical list of the most notable compositions which demonstrates the common Western prioritisation of larger and longer pieces. Engel argues that is it enough to name

'The Lord is King,' which created so favourable an impression at a Leeds Festival, or the oratorio 'Rebekah,' equally appreciated at the Hereford festival; and among songs to 'When the tide comes in,' besides numerous anthems, motets, hymn tunes, etc., to show that his facile and sympathetic pen commands profound knowledge, and can therefore stand the test of every examination.¹⁶

Helen C. Black follows the same pattern, demonstrating the size of the repertoire Barnby composed, and demonstrating the quality by naming the two biggest pieces: *Rebekah* and *The Lord is King* (Psalm 97). For the third piece mentioned, Black substitutes Barnby's most popular part-song with his largest anthem.

¹⁴ Engel, *From Handel to Hallé*, 110.

¹⁵ *Musical standard* (August 20, 1892; 43, 1464), 145.

¹⁶ Engel, *From Handel to Hallé*, 111.

As a composer Sir Joseph Barnby has contributed largely to the world of music. Among many works are his oratorio 'Rebekah,' his motett 'King all Glorious,' the cantata 'Psalm xcvi.' composed for the Leeds Festival, together with hundreds of anthems, part-songs, services, trios and chants. Indeed, hard work, 'the genius of industry,' may be said to be the keynote of his existence.¹⁷

This form of appreciation for Barnby as composer was widespread at the time. Respect is summoned by the volume he composed. The phrase 'the genius of industry' already hints at an underlying opinion, that he was not considered an outright 'genius' as a composer. A slightly more critical version of this opinion is voiced by the *Athenaeum*, a non-specialist society publication. A few years after Barnby's death the journal argued that

as a composer, he never accomplished any "epoch-making" work, but his many contributions to the music of the Church have justly obtained wide acceptance. [...] That he was a great composer cannot be said; but whatever he wrote was distinguished by melody and general refinement [...] ¹⁸

The absence of many large pieces and his industriousness collide when examining Barnby as a commissioned composer. The two major works mentioned above were commissioned by the countries most famous choral festivals: *Rebekah* was the 1870 commission of the Hereford Festival, and *The Lord is King* was the 1883 commission of the Leeds Festival. Even some of his more famous small-scale pieces were written on commission. For instance, *O Perfect Love* was written 'at the request of the Prince of Wales, [... as] the anthem for the wedding of the Duke and Duchess of Fife.'¹⁹ It was a thorough success, and 'Barnby's anthem was also sung at the Duke of York's wedding.'²⁰ Engel claims another two major pieces were written, which may have been lost:

He composed an ode for solo, chorus, and orchestra on the occasion of the first visit of the Shah, with Tietjens as the soloist, and he conducted the state performance at the Albert Hall ... [and] the state performance in the same hall on the occasion of the visit of the Czar to England.

He composed an Ode of Welcome, for voices alone, on the first public reception of the Prince of Wales after his return from India ; conducted at the state opening of the Fisheries Exhibition, and of the Victoria Hall by her Majesty, the opening of the

¹⁷ Black, *Pen, Pencil, Baton and Mask*, 5.

¹⁸ *The Athenaeum* (February 1, 1896; 3562), 157.

¹⁹ Engel, *From Handel to Hallé*, 110.

²⁰ 'The Composer of "Sweet and Low" The Late Sir Joseph Barnby'. *Review of Reviews* (Vol. XIII, 1896. London: Marshall and Son), 154.

Colonial Exhibition, also by the Queen, and the second state reception of the Shah a few months ago.²¹

Although it is impossible to know exactly what these pieces would have looked like, without their potential rediscovery by a future musicologist, it is unlikely these were minor pieces: for comparison, Sullivan's *Ode on Laying the Foundation Stone of the Imperial Institute* extends to sixteen tightly-printed pages in the vocal score alone. Similarly grand ambitions can also be seen in the orchestra for the occasion: five military bands were combined for this 'opulent event'.²² It would be very unusual for such large-scale royal commissions not to be documented in detail in the contemporaneous press: either these secondary sources were lost in time, along with the scores, or the biographer was mistaken. Engel is the only source which suggests these odes exist. The excellent archival research undertaken by Palmer supports Engel only so far as to say that Barnby certainly drew up the programme for these events.²³

It is unlikely we will ever know whether these odes ever existed, but if they do, they fit squarely within the previously established pattern of Barnby's larger pieces, which he only undertook on commission. The most likely explanation is that due to his diverse efforts in music, as organist, teacher, conductor, and advisor to Novello, he could not commit time to the composition of large-scale works on a regular basis. This is supported by the *Review of Reviews* which writes bluntly that 'in his early days Sir Joseph found time for composing'.²⁴ Novello also makes this point in Barnby's obituary:

The complete list of Barnby's writings, though it would not be specially remarkable as that of a musician who restricted himself to composition, is a very striking monument of industry in the case of a man constantly engaged with other branches of the profession.²⁵

Another potential reason behind this pattern of composition on commission only is that various sources claim that Barnby did not seem to consider himself to be much of a composer. An

²¹ Engel, *From Handel to Hallé*, 110.

²² Palmer, *Conductors in Britain*, 109.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ 'The Composer of "Sweet and Low"', *Review of Reviews*, 154.

²⁵ Bennett, 'Joseph Barnby', 153.

American source writes that ‘he spoke almost disparagingly of his anthems and cantatas’,²⁶ while another makes the same point more extensively: he did not think much of his own larger-scale pieces and would rather conduct those of his colleagues.

He was very modest about his achievements, and did not appear to be at all conceited or to realize at all how surpassingly fine his music was. He confessed to an affection for his beautiful lullaby, “Sweet and Low” and thought that perhaps two or three of his other compositions would “pass muster”, but that was as far as he would go in self-praise. On the other hand, he was an enthusiastic admirer of his brother composers, and especially of Sullivan.²⁷

Musicologists sometimes speak of the ethics of performance,²⁸ in which the composer's intentions are considered paramount guidance which is to inform the performer. If Barnby did not rate his own larger pieces, and rather saw himself as a composer of liturgical small-scale music, perhaps it should be considered rather fitting that he is now remembered only in those canons of hymnody and chant, which were dear to him. Although the *Bow Bells* might have been a bit optimistic when they wrote that ‘... it is as the composer of ... some of the most delightful Church music in existence, that he will be remembered’,²⁹ it may be said that Barnby is remembered for the music that meant the most to him: for the small-scale music written for the daily life of the church.

There are many other elements that have not yet been considered at length, such as Barnby’s involvement in the writing of many hymnals, psalters, and other liturgical material for the the church. Barnby’s passion for such small-scale liturgical works has a direct influence on canon formation. Formation of the musical canons is a complex phenomenon, and an in-depth discussion would be far beyond the scope of this chapter, although elements of it can be found in chapter 5. However, some basic observations will help aid in the development of a better understanding of Barnby as a composer. Firstly, our church music canons are hierarchical, and our appreciation of the composers

²⁶ Charles S. Elliot, ‘Great English Composers of Sacred Music III: Joseph Barnby’ *New York Observer*, April 6, 1905 (Vol 83, 1905), 429.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Daniel Barenboim, *Everything Is Connected: The Power Of Music* (London: Orion, 2010), n.p.

²⁹ ‘Sir Joseph Barnby’ *Bow Bells* 7 February 1896, 164.



Figure 2: Joseph Barnby, age 20³⁰

³⁰ *Strand Magazine*, (London: Newness. 1892, Vol. 4), 480.

directly follows this pattern.³¹ Generally, 'respect' for large-scale orchestral masses is greater than that for *missae brevae*. Equally, large anthems are more highly valued than small introits. At the bottom of the hierarchical stack of canons are 'liturgical bits' such as *Preces & Responses*, psalm chants, and hymn tunes, which are often considered as mere *Gebrauchsmusik*: as utility-musics rather than works of art.

Barnby, as a composer, remains in only two canons of *Gebrauchsmusik*: that of English hymn tunes, and that of Anglican chant. Barnby survives in most English hymnals with a number of hymns, most notably the tunes *Laudes Domini*, *Merril*, *Sandringham*, and on the eastern side of the Atlantic, *Paradise*. The American author and organist Charles Elliot writes:

Conspicuous among contemporary English church musicians is Sir Joseph Barnby, whose beautiful anthems and hymn tunes have secured grateful recognition in all Protestant denominations, and are in constant use in their church services. ... No man that ever lived, excepted Rev. Dr. Dykes and Dr. Lowell Mason, wrote such a large number of beautiful hymn-tunes that have won permanent popularity as Sir Joseph Barnby.³²

Barnby also survives as a composer of Anglican Chant. Although he does not feature in Sydney Nicholson's landmark publication *The Parish Psalter*, his chants are widely available in psalters old and new: for instance, he appears twenty-one times in the 1890 *Cathedral Psalter* (with some repetition), and five of his chants were included in the 2002 *Common Worship Psalter*.

Even if his larger-scale music would be revived and made more accessible it is unlikely that Barnby will ever again be considered as a 'serious' composer of larger-form music, because of this association with small-scale forms and liturgical *Gebrauchsmusik*, and its hierarchical connotations of inferiority. After all, he is currently only known as a composer of pieces, which are sadly widely considered to be a lesser form of art, if they are even considered art at all.

³¹ Maria Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Urbana IL: University of Illinois Press. 2000, 1st ed. 1993), 130.

³² Elliot, 'Joseph Barnby' *New York Observer*, 429.

Forgotten as a conductor

The 'traditional' Western canon of classical music is a list of (male) composers,³³ with the odd virtuoso performer wedged in. Novello was very aware of this, writing in Barnby's obituary:

... the work Barnby did as a composer ... will remain, as a permanent memorial when time shall have effaced all recollection of triumphs at St. Andrew's, Wells Street, and elsewhere.³⁴

Only since the advent of recording have we started to include performers and conductors more permanently in the list of musicians we remember with admiration.³⁵ It could be argued that the development of video-recording has enabled us to develop a new appreciation for conductors: a new field has opened as students can analyse their movements over and over again, listening to the results, and comparing them to other conductors.³⁶

In a study of nineteenth-century musicians, it is much more difficult to establish a clear sense of their skills as performers and conductors. We only have second and third-hand sources describing them, rarely in any concrete detail. However, occasionally, these descriptions, combined with a legacy that can be clearly evidenced, can be enough to say: Barnby was a musician of unusual skill. Barnby's contemporaneous fame is best understood in this light: as an unusually talented conductor, who happened to also do some composing, but is misunderstood when considered as a composer alone. As the *Review of Reviews* posits: 'It is as a conductor of choral music that Sir Joseph Barnby's name will best be remembered, for he has done more, perhaps, than any of our musicians to popularize good choral music in England.'³⁷

Barnby was widely considered as the best conductor in England at the time. The *Musical Standard* of 1895 describes Stanford's conducting as 'only mediocre', Parry's as 'nervous', Cowen's

³³ Citron *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 41.

³⁴ Bennett, 'Joseph Barnby', 153.

³⁵ Joseph Kerman, 'A few canonic variations' *Write all these down*, (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1994), 41.

³⁶ See, for example Cayenna Ponchione-Bailey and Eric F. Clarke, 'Technologies for investigating large ensemble performance', in *Together in Music: Coordination, Expression, Participation*, ed. Freya Bailes, Helena Daffern, and Renee Timmers (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2022), 124, and Liz Garnett, *Choral Conducting and the Construction of Meaning* (Abingdon: Routledge. 2016), 26.

³⁷ 'The Composer of "Sweet and Low"', *Review of Reviews*, 154.

interpretations as 'distinctly ordinary and wanting in force'. Mackenzie's conducting was consistent, but the result is 'not one that stirs you very much', while Sullivan's conducting was considered inconsistent, and only 'sometimes full of vigour'.³⁸ Palmer surmises:

'The only exception is Barnby, described as the "dark horse" – "a wonderful conductor of choral works' who, if given the opportunity as a 'general *chef d'orchestre*, ... would show that he is our one British conductor of the first rank.'"³⁹

Perhaps a conductor who also composes, like Barnby, would 'age' so badly because of the western academic preoccupation with the analysis of dots on paper.⁴⁰ However, the evidence below suggests that Barnby should be considered as the most important choral conductor in the history of the English church. Barnby's approach to choral formation shaped English church music practices into something that is recognisable as the English choral tradition as it became normative in cathedrals, colleges, and churches all across England since the end of the nineteenth century.

However, Barnby's influence extends further. His influence in education was profound. His work in Soho and the Royal Albert Hall would redefine the musical life of England's choral societies secular and ecclesial. Furthermore, he was an important enabler of women composers and performers.

Transforming Church Music

Barnby rose to prominence as a church musician when he was Director of Music at St Andrew's, Wells Street, a position he held from 1862-1871, working for the prominent clergyman Benjamin Webb. This church, just around the corner from Margaret Street Chapel, was not particularly famous when Barnby took it on, but he made it so. Philip Armes had set up a series of regular services in the cathedral tradition in the late 1850s.⁴¹ However, sources widely agree that it was Barnby who transformed this traditional arrangement into something which pre-empted the modern cathedral

³⁸ 'The dearth of British Conductors and Some of its Causes', *Musical Standard*, 3/68 (20 April 1895), 310-11.

³⁹ Palmer, *Conductors in Britain*, 35, citing the above.

⁴⁰ Only a musical 'work' can become canonical, see chapter 1.

⁴¹ Rainbow *The Choral Revival*, 173.

tradition by decades, through his excellence as choir trainer and conductor, and his innovative and ambitious repertoire.

The *New York Observer* summarised in his obituary: 'under his direction, the music there became about the most brilliant in the metropolis'.⁴² Similarly, Engel writes that 'at that church music was cultivated to such perfection that it established quite a reputation.'⁴³ *The Lute* gives a few more details about the methodology used:

The young musician carried on with notable success his mission as reformer of church music [at St Andrew's]. Refusing to be bound within the narrow limits marked out by preceptors and others in authority, he boldly brought into the services of the church works by Gounod and other modern composers.⁴⁴

Helen C. Black writes a more comprehensive section on the changes implemented by Sir Joseph, putting them into stark contrast with the dire situation at St Paul's Cathedral before the changes which Stainer implemented from 1872 onwards, and directly and indirectly addressing the two central elements of Barnby's approach to choral improvement: a newer, wider repertoire, and a disciplined approach to choir training.

[At St Andrew's, Barnby] worked a complete reformation. Hitherto the music in churches had been of the antiquarian type, ... its performance was often discreditable. ... Sir Joseph remembers on his first visit to St. Paul's Cathedral only two choirmen were present, both altos, and one of these was an old man who evidently thought himself one too many, as he sat down and took no part in the service. But another state of things was speedily brought about. Gathering around him good men, among whom was Edward Lloyd, who remained with him for four years, the new organist and director introduced Gounod's sacred music for the first time with orchestral instruments.⁴⁵

In summary, at Wells Street, Barnby continued the cathedral-style service pattern consisting of 'three heavy services on Sundays and two on week-days',⁴⁶ with a choir of men and boys, which included both professionals and auditioned amateurs, but transformed the repertoire dramatically, and trained the choir to the highest standards.

⁴² Elliot, 'Joseph Barnby' *New York Observer*, 429.

⁴³ Engel, *From Handel to Hallé*, 105-6.

⁴⁴ *The Lute* (No.97 January 1,1891), 137.

⁴⁵ Black, *Pen, Pencil, Baton and Mask*, 3.

⁴⁶ Black, *Pen, Pencil, Baton and Mask*, 4.

The choir quickly became the best in London and retained a high reputation until at least the early twentieth century. This enduring reputation for excellence can be evidenced by the fact they were the first choir to ever be recorded, singing Sullivan's setting of Baring-Gould's *Onward Christian Soldiers* in 1902,⁴⁷ conducted by Frederick Docker: one of Barnby's choristers, who eventually succeeded him as choirmaster. It was not only in the unusual quality of singing, however, that Barnby made a name for himself, but also in what the choir sang. As the sources above indicate, he introduced considerable amounts of new music and music that would have previously been considered inappropriate for liturgical use in the Church of England.

The repertory that Barnby introduced into the services included Viennese Masses, sections from Oratorios, and new commissions, at times with orchestral accompaniment. Such music would have been previously unthinkable in the Church of England. The Viennese style was heavily associated with the missional efforts of the Roman Catholics in London, especially among the lower classes.⁴⁸ This might explain why Barnby's next church, St Anne's, Soho, would later be described as the most notable of the 'Tractarian missions to the Irish'.⁴⁹

However, Barnby overcame this barrier through his fame as a conductor of similar music on the secular stage,⁵⁰ helped in no small part by the unparalleled quality of the performances. Barnby's high standards were widely recognised: Engel reviews the premiere of a badly written piece by a contemporaneous composer with the following words:

Had the conducting been left to Mr. Barnby, he would have taken care to have the proper rehearsals, a proper performance, and would thereby have deprived the ... choir of a blame which it was not fair under the circumstances to attach to them.⁵¹

⁴⁷ 'First Choir to Record', *Archive of Recorded Church Music*, accessed 3 February 2022, <https://www.recordedchurchmusic.org/first-choir-to-record>

⁴⁸ Such music was also performed in the Catholic ambassadorial chapels; see Percy Young, *Elgar, Newman, and The Dream of Gerontius: In the Tradition of English Catholicism* (Aldershot: Ashgate. 1995), especially chapter 1: 'Embassy Chapels'.

⁴⁹ Thomas P. Power, *A flight of Parsons: The Divinity Diaspora of Trinity College Dublin* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock. 2018), 153.

⁵⁰ See 'St Anne's continuum of liturgical, sacred, and secular', later in this chapter.

⁵¹ Engel, *From Handel to Hallé*, 106.

Barnby's expansion of the repertoire was not only historical: he also introduced some of the most advanced contemporary music: the liturgical use of Gounod's *St. Caecilia Mass* with harp *obligato* has become a staple of historians, featuring in most histories and obituaries.⁵² While this should be considered a highlight, it was not an exception. Engels records that when Gounod fled to England in 1870, 'he paid an early visit to St. Andrew's, knowing that there he would hear performed to perfection his '*Messe des Orpheonistes*', '*Vendredi Saint*', '*Les sept dernieres paroles*', etc.⁵³ The *Guardian* also makes mention of an anthem *Lo, the Children of the Hebrews*, written by Gounod for Barnby at St Andrew's.⁵⁴ Similarly, John Goss had dedicated *O Saviour of the World* to Barnby a little earlier, in 1869.⁵⁵ A few years before that, in 1864, Barnby gave the first performances of at least two anthems by the young female composer Alice Mary Smith, marking the first liturgical performance of music by a woman composer in the English church.⁵⁶ Even today, only the finest – and richest – choral foundations can produce something similar to such an impressive list of commissions and premieres in the space of a decade.

Barnby's argument for the combination of these varied canons was rooted in both romantic and meritocratic arguments. In his lecture on 'Cultivating Universality of Taste', he quoted Goethe, arguing that 'The worth of art appear most eminent in music ... it raises and ennobles what ever it expresses.'⁵⁷ In Barnby's reading, this was a plea 'for everything that was good from Bach to Offenbach'.⁵⁸ Barnby argued for the introduction of continental-style beer gardens where one might enjoy a pint whilst classical music is played, and operatic arias are sung, as the 'working man thus

⁵² Including Gatens, the *Review of Reviews*, &c.

⁵³ Engel, *From Handel to Hallé*, 107.

⁵⁴ *The Guardian*, (April 21, 1897), 7, accessed 3 February 2022, <https://newspaperarchive.com/guardian-apr-21-1897-p-7/>

⁵⁵ Judith Blezzard, 'Goss, Sir John (1800–1880)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2004), accessed 3 February 2022, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-11112>

⁵⁶ For more information, see chapter 4.

⁵⁷ *The Musical Herald* (January 2, 1893), 20.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

became an intelligent critic'.⁵⁹ This was considered very desirable by Barnby, who argued that 'There was no surer mark of a cultivated mind than the capacity to see excellence in every variety of form'.⁶⁰

The combination of various separate musical canons as it occurred at Wells Street was entirely novel. The church choir had an impressively large repertory of music by living composers, alongside the continental classical composers, the established English cathedral repertoire of composers such as Tallis⁶¹ and Attwood, and the repertory of plainsong and early music from the Tractarian camp.⁶² In the nineteenth century, this was ambitious beyond any known bounds. The success of the combination of excellent performance, the occasional introduction of a liturgical orchestra, and the large and novel repertoire is related by *The Lute* and the biographical account of Louis Engel.

The music which had for generations afforded satisfaction and gratification ... was beginning to pall upon the taste; and a demand arose both in the church and the concert-room for new compositions, and, above all, for a less perfunctory mode of performance.⁶³

The selection of music performed at that period was of an antiquated character and it may readily be conceived what an effect was produced by the bright services of St. Andrew's, where the finest music was rendered with artistic taste and devotional feeling.⁶⁴

In summary, the limited data available seems to suggest that Barnby's time at Wells Street was a period of radical transformation, in which he developed a choral foundation which stood out from the rest of London by the quality of performance, the occasional inclusion of an orchestra, and the novelty and size of the repertory. Barnby's intensive choral training, and the expansive repertoire he attempted, preface the development of similar trends in the English Cathedrals significantly.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ It is interesting that Tallis was widely considered as the father of the English choral tradition, in its historical guise, limited almost exclusively to endowed choral foundations. This composer-centric lineage was promulgated by Byrd and Tallis in their publications. For further information, see Sue Cole, 'Who is the Father? Changing Perceptions of Tallis and Byrd in Late Nineteenth-Century England', *Music & Letters*, 89 (2008), 212–26, and Sue Cole, *Thomas Tallis and his Music in Victorian England* (Woodbridge & Rochester: New York, 2008).

⁶² Although Barnby was no particular fan of the 'antiquarians', some of the music was in the repertoire, as the church choirs were originally founded with typically Tractarian repertoire. His editions of the Tallis Litany and Merbecke Creed are imported in this context.

⁶³ *The Lute*, (No.97 January 1,1891), 137.

⁶⁴ Engel, *From Handel to Hallé*, 108.



Figure 3: The Choir of St Andrew's, Wells Street, in 1895, showing Frederick Docker, back right.⁶⁵

Choristers

One of the most significant ways in which the effect of Barnby's choir training can be assessed is through a short study of those who were choristers under him. The only known photograph of the choir of St Andrew's dates from 1895, when Frederick Docker, Barnby's pupil, was still carrying on the tradition which he had inherited. The photograph shows eight young choristers, the Director of Music, and a younger assistant teacher. It is highly probable that Barnby too would have trained around eight boys at any time, as was also common practice at many cathedrals. While it is impossible to know exactly how many boys Barnby trained in total, it is reasonable to speculate that, in nine years, he would have taught two or three new cohorts of trebles, i.e. between sixteen and

⁶⁵ 'First Choir to Record', *Archive of Recorded Church Music*, accessed 3 February 2022, <https://www.recordedchurchmusic.org/first-choir-to-record>

twenty-four boys. Of that approximate score of choristers, many went on to significant positions in the English musical world. Even 150 years later, it was possible to trace the histories of four of them in this thesis. Three are outlined in more detail below,⁶⁶ and one is mentioned briefly during the section on St Paul's Cathedral.

Frederick Arthur William Docker, born 1852, has already been mentioned before as Barnby's successor. He was a chorister at St Andrew's, and, from the age of twelve, became articled pupil to Barnby. He studied at the Royal Academy of Music with Holmes, Steggall, and Barnby's old friend, Arthur Sullivan. Early in his career, probably during his studies, he was assistant to Barnby at St Andrew's. In 1871, when he was only eighteen or nineteen, he succeeded Barnby. From 1882-1892, he conducted the Handel Society, became professor of organ at the Guildhall School of Music in 1895, and was also active as professor and examiner at the Royal Academy of Music and as examiner at Trinity College of Music. He became choirmaster of St Pancras' Church in 1905 and conducted the Kyrie Society. As composer, he wrote a *Te Deum*, the anthem *O ye that love the world*, and a number of partsongs.⁶⁷ He conducted the first-ever choral recording in 1902,⁶⁸ and was known as a formidable counter-tenor.⁶⁹

Oliver Arthur King, born 1855, was a chorister under Barnby and later his articled pupil. He went on to study at Leipzig with Reinecke, before becoming assistant organist to Barnby at St Anne's, Soho. In 1879, he became organist to Princess Louise, with whom he travelled to Canada to give recitals there. He became Director of Music of Marylebone Parish Church in 1884, and eventually became professor of piano at the Royal Academy in 1893. He was widely known as the composer of a *Morning and Evening Service in D* as well as some fifty anthems, and various chamber musical works.

⁶⁶ These short biographies rely heavily on Robert Evans, Maggie Humphreys *Dictionary of Composers of the Church*, (London: Mansell. 1997).

⁶⁷ Evans and Humphreys, *Dictionary of Composers of the Church*, 94.

⁶⁸ 'First Choir to Record' *Archive of Recorded Church Music*, accessed 3 February 2022, <https://www.recordedchurchmusic.org/first-choir-to-record>

⁶⁹ John Henderson, Trevor Jarvis, *They fly forgotten as a dream... 'Some Lesser-Known Church Musicians from the Victorian and Edwardian Eras* (Salisbury: RSCM. 2020), 199-206.

Edward George Croager, born 1861, was a chorister at St Andrew's under Barnby and Docker. He became pupil-assistant at Wells Street before studying at the Royal Academy of Music. Following a period from 1877-1883 as sub-organist of St Andrew's, under Docker, he held posts as Director of Music around London, successively at the Quebec Chapel, later named the Church of the Annunciation (1884-1887), St Mark's, North Audley Street (1888-1890), St James's, West Hampstead (1891-1897), St Paul's, South Hampstead (1898-1919), and Christ Church, Brondesbury (from 1919). He was music master of Clapham Common College and of St Paul's School, Kensington. He conducted a local choral society and was organist to the Handel Society and the Kyrie Choir. He composed various pieces of church music and a patriotic cantata, *Our Watchword* (1888).⁷⁰

There are clear patterns in the lives of these Wells Street choristers. King and Docker were supported by Barnby well beyond their chorister years. He kept them in his tutelage and employ until they were established as serious players in the London music world. In his turn, Docker mentored Croager for many years and appointed him as organist for his choral societies. This pattern of behaviour may be seen as an indication that Barnby instilled a strong sense of loyalty and team spirit into his choristers. Furthermore, it should be noted that he took both King and Docker on as articulated pupils at the age of around twelve: the age at which Barnby had started fending for himself as the child-organist of St Paul's, Holgate, York. Did he only look after them for so long to enable to realise their full potential, or did he do so in part to ensure they would not fall into the Dickensian nightmare of child poverty in Victorian London? What was the social background of nineteenth-century choristers? Were they at risk of poverty, or does their social status and background anticipate that of the twenty-first-century choristers, who are primarily upper middle class? Whichever may be the case, these patterns demonstrate a clear sense of commitment to his choristers which enabled them to make significant names for themselves. Writing in 2022, we can demonstrate the musical successes of a quarter of the twenty-or-so choristers Barnby must have taught at St Andrew's. This is

⁷⁰ Evans and Humphreys, *Dictionary of Composers of the Church*, 78.

one of the most concrete testaments that a historian can construct to support written sources which credit Barnby with some of the best chorister-training techniques of the nineteenth century.

The men of St Andrew's choir also did well in the history books. Timothy Day relates that 'in 1868, John Large came from St Andrew's, Wells Street, London'⁷¹ to Magdalen College, Oxford, as lay clerk. It is unknown whether John had been a treble or lay clerk under Barnby, however, such an appointment is certainly significant. It is even more interesting to see how Timothy Day uses this appointment in his narrative: he mentions the appointment from St Andrew's in a long list of appointments from various cathedrals to signify a turning point, from when the quality of the lay clerks was getting better at Magdalen. 'Increasingly Magdalen was able to attract the best singers.'⁷² This too could be seen as a testament to the transformation Barnby had wrought at Wells Street, because John Large followed in the footsteps of another St Andrew's lay clerk, Dr. William Barrett,⁷³ who had been there from 1861.⁷⁴ This conservative composer and music critic was principal alto of Wells Street under Armes, but left when Barnby arrived. While the obscure John Large, who sang under Barnby, gets such a favourable review from Timothy Day, it is telling that the better-known Dr Barrett does not feature in Day's narrative of improvement at Magdalen College.

The most famous example of Barnby's back row of young 'good men',⁷⁵ however, is Edward Lloyd. Louis Engels records in considerable detail how the young Barnby went up to Cambridge to recruit the even younger Edward Lloyd upon his graduation from Trinity College, into the choir at Wells Street.⁷⁶ He studied and worked with Barnby, which afforded him the chance to study a large repertoire of sacred music and oratorio, of which he took full advantage. This began an illustrious singing career: John Potter mentions Lloyd in his authoritative book on the tenor voice, citing

⁷¹ Timothy Day, *I saw Eternity the other night: King's College, Cambridge, and an English Singing Style* (London: Penguin, 2018), 65.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Evans and Humphreys, *Dictionary of Composers of the Church*, 22

⁷⁴ It is unclear when he left this post, although Evans and Humphreys record a different job in 1863.

⁷⁵ Cf Black, *Pen, Pencil, Baton and Mask*.

⁷⁶ Engel, *From Handel to Hallé*, 106.

Bispham: 'No other tenor upon the concert stage was his equal; all acknowledged his superiority.'⁷⁷

Barnby treated the young tenor much like the young men who had choristers under him. He used his influence and connections to help the young tenor establish himself in London and continued to work with Lloyd for decades. Some of Lloyd's success may be credited to Barnby, not just as a conductor and networker, but also as a choir trainer and educator. *The Review of Reviews* remarks that 'with Edward Lloyd as tenor, and the fine choir Sir Joseph had trained, it is not surprising to learn that the services at St. Andrew's attracted music-lovers from all parts of London.'⁷⁸

Influence through Wells Street

In Barnby's nine years at St Andrew's, he created the precursor of the modern cathedral choir: the elaborate repertory combined ancient music, new music, and even a large number of commissions; excellent choir training and care for choristers extended into a mentoring programme for young organists akin to modern organ scholarships, which resulted in an unusual number of St Andrew's Choristers becoming professional musicians. Barnby's innovations prefaced and inspired the development of similar trends in the English Cathedrals, especially Stainer's transformative work at St Paul's from 1872.⁷⁹

Such claims are supported by both main biographical sources. Black writes that he 'beg[a]n the development of modern cathedral music, for which the world owes him a deep debt of gratitude.'⁸⁰ Engel writes that his ground-breaking work as a church musician and his work as musical advisor to Novello has forever changed cathedral music in England.

No one in the present day can imagine the shocking state of our cathedral choirs a quarter of a century ago. I call to mind the first service I heard at St. Paul's Cathedral. The choir was represented solely by the boys and two altos. No tenor, no basses. One of these two altos evidently considered himself unnecessary, so he remained seated through the entire service, his head enveloped in his surplice, without uttering a sound! Added to this the selection of music performed at that period was

⁷⁷ Cited in John Potter, *Tenor, History of a Voice*, (Newhaven: Yale University Press, 2009), 124.

⁷⁸ 'The Composer of "Sweet and Low"', *Review of Reviews*, 154.

⁷⁹ See page 127.

⁸⁰ Black, *Pen, Pencil, Baton and Mask*, 3.

of an antiquated character and it may readily be conceived what an effect was produced by the bright services of St. Andrew's, where the finest music was rendered with artistic taste and devotional feeling. By the opportunity he had of introducing the works of new composers (Sullivan, Stainer, Garrett, Tours, etc.) to Messrs. Novello, the ball of modern church music was set rolling.⁸¹

Popular journals, such as *The Lute*, make similar claims:

The historian of the future, when tracing the various forces that have been for the last quarter of a century operating upon the musical life of this country, will not fail to note the influence brought to bear upon it by Mr. Joseph Barnby.⁸²

Based on this evidence, it can be argued that Barnby should be considered as one of the key originators of the English choral tradition as we have come to know it in the cathedrals of the last 150 years or so, well before people like Stainer would effect similar changes in the cathedral world.

One element that cannot be examined fully is to what degree Barnby's spirit lingered at St Andrew's. His former articled pupil, Frederick Docker, conducted the first choral recordings ever made in the UK in 1902. It is very likely that their recordings of the service of Morning Prayer in 1908 were widely held up as the 'bar' against which other services would henceforth be measured. The publisher certainly worked hard to imbue the records with canonical authority, publishing them in a 'lavish, leather-bound folder.'⁸³ Did these recordings change choral practice and timbre across the UK? These recordings were accessible to everyone with a gramophone: did they become normative as the King's recordings would become in later generations? Does the 1908 recording capture the choral sound that inspired renewal and change across English cathedrals in the previous generation?

St Anne's continuum of liturgical, sacred, and secular

After a transformative time at Wells Street, from 1863 to 1871, the young Frederick Docker took over the baton, and Barnby became Director of Music at St Anne's, Soho. At St Anne's, he again worked hard to improve the choir, and took the music in an even more dramatic direction, introducing 'a

⁸¹ Engel, *From Handel to Hallé*, 108-109.

⁸² *The Lute* (No.97 January 1,1891), 137.

⁸³ Archive of Recorded Church Music, "'Morning Prayer service": St Andrew's Wells Street, London 1908 (Frederick Docker)', accessed 3 February 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xZIHc1oJ9TU>

great innovation in the services in the form of oratorio with orchestral accompaniment.’⁸⁴ This work built on his practice at St Andrew’s and his work in the secular concert halls. Engel even suggests that the famous orchestral Lent services with a Bach Passion were a direct result of the commercial success of his oratorio series at St James’ Hall. ‘The extraordinary success attending the first few performances of Bach's 'St. Matthew Passion,' with Stockhausen as the Christus, suggested the feasibility of giving this work in church as an integral portion of a Lenten service.’⁸⁵ These orchestral and choral services revolved around the performance of oratorios and passions, and through them, the ‘highly trained choir and orchestra at St Anne’s influenced St Paul’s Cathedral and Westminster Abbey to introduce music during Passiontide.’⁸⁶

Barnby had been working with oratorio and orchestral musics throughout his time at St Andrew’s. Barnby’s uniform approach to the sacred and the secular can be seen concretely in his concert series at St James’ Hall, where he introduced a vast quantity of sacred music into a secular context, especially after 1869. This series had been started at the instigation of Novello, for whom he had been working as musical advisor since 1865.⁸⁷ In 1867, *Mr. Joseph Barnby's Choir* was formed, again, ‘at the instigation of Messrs. Novello’.⁸⁸ The significant challenges of gathering and retaining a choral society on this scale should not be underestimated.

When Mr. Barnby conceived the idea to get together a numerous chorus of amateurs, he communicated the idea to several friends, and among others to Sir Julius Benedict, who strongly advised him against it, having himself several times tried and failed. But then Benedict, undoubtedly a clever man and an excellent musician, was a very bad conductor, and lacked the essential quality of organizing and guiding an amateur chorus, a firm will—the very thing that Mr. Barnby possessed in a high degree. Hence it came that where Benedict failed Barnby succeeded. So evident was this at the first concert, that both Benedict and Sims Reeves rushed up to Mr. Barnby to congratulate him on what his skill and his perseverance had achieved.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ ‘The Composer of “Sweet and Low”’, *Review of Reviews*, 154.

⁸⁵ Engel, *From Handel to Hallé*, 109.

⁸⁶ Power, *Flight of Parsons*, 153.

⁸⁷ Black, *Pen, Pencil, Baton and Mask*, 3.

⁸⁸ Frederick George Edwards ‘Joseph Barnby’, *Dictionary of National Biography*, (1901 supplement, Volume 1. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1901), 130-131.

⁸⁹ Engel, *From Handel to Hallé*, 107-8.

Mr Barnby's Choir was the first "mega" choral society of the Victorian era.⁹⁰ While we have no exact idea of the numbers initially involved, the choir seems to have numbered around 500 by 1871.⁹¹ The choir quickly became a huge success, and grew in number, fame, and quality. Engel credits this to excellent choral trials and choral training, as well as a good bit of Yorkshire spirit.

No professional singer is found in that chorus, and what the singers can do they owe to their conductor. The reputation, wide-spread and well-deserved, of that chorus, has now been so well established that no voice is admitted without a thorough-going severe trial ; and thus only is it explained that they send up a volume of tone pure, full, and warm, with which no other chorus can compete. It must however be understood that I always wish to except the Leeds choir so far as the ladies are concerned, because Yorkshire, whence Mr. Barnby comes, has, by a freak of Nature always produced those marvellous voices in the North for which long habit has made us look to the South of Europe.⁹²

The Musical Times reviewed the third concert given by the choir, in 1868. All choral works were unaccompanied, featuring part-songs and madrigals by contemporary composers, including 'Miss Agnes Zimmermann's "Good Morrow", ... Mrs. Mousey Bartholomew's "Golden Age", ... and Miss Macirone's "Sir Knight, Sir Knight", [which] were received with utmost favour'.⁹³⁹⁴ The choral singing was reviewed in more detail than was common at the time, suggesting the following words of praise do not ring hollow.

The rapid improvement of so large a body of vocalists speaks forcibly in favour of the method of training pursued by Mr. Barnby ; for all who have had the conduct of a choir know how difficult it is to combine power with purity of tone, and to increase in numbers without diminishing in delicacy and precision.⁹⁵

After two years, Mr Sims Beeves, a famous tenor soloist who worked with Barnby for decades, suggested that the choir should be turned into an oratorio society, and so *Mr. Joseph Barnby's Choir* began to focus on sacred music in 1869,⁹⁶ presenting large sacred works both old and

⁹⁰ Excluding one-off 'massed choir' events.

⁹¹ Black, *Pen, Pencil, Baton and Mask*, 4.

⁹² Engel, *From Handel to Hallé*, 107-8.

⁹³ *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* (1 May 1865, Vol. 13), 378.

⁹⁴ The end of this chapter examines Barnby's work in premiering compositions by women.

⁹⁵ *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* (1 May 1865, Vol. 13), 378.

⁹⁶ It was at this time that he introduced *Diapason Normal* or French modern pitch, which would become the standard pitch during the early twentieth-century, and was introduced into many English church, collegiate, and cathedral organs, most notably by Harrison & Harrison.

new 'under the designation "Oratorio Concerts"'.⁹⁷ Black and Engel give congruent accounts of the success of these events:

Just about that time he received an offer from Messrs. Novello to act as their musical adviser [sic]... In a year or two, at the suggestion of the Novellos, and with their assistance, he organised the famous Barnby choir, and began a series of concerts every year at St. James's Hall. Sims Beeves, who had sung at some of them, pressed the idea of turning it into an oratorio choir, and so began that wonderful series of oratorio concerts that became known all over the country. In one evening alone Beethoven's ninth *Choral Symphony* and the great ' *Mass in D* ' were given, and in the same series Sir Joseph Barnby resuscitated the ' *Great Passion* ' of Bach, together with innumerable other works.⁹⁸

[...] Mr. Barnby began the introduction of new or comparatively unknown works, among which such as Bach's ' *Two Passions*, ' *Christmas Oratorio*, ' and several cantatas, and Handel's ' *Jephtha*, ' *Belshazzar's Feast*, ' *Theodora*, ' etc. Beethoven's ' *Ninth Symphony* ' and ' *Mass in D* ' were both performed on the same evening, an unprecedented achievement.⁹⁹

Engel's timeline, however, is not quite accurate, as he claims *Mr Joseph Barnby's Choir* was enabled by an event that had yet to take place, the performance of the *Matthew Passion* at Westminster Abbey.

The great success attained [...] [by introducing the *St Matthew Passion* at Westminster Abbey] gave Mr. Barnby the idea to start a large choir to do bigger things, and to establish himself as what he must be recognised, viz. one of the best [...] conductors.¹⁰⁰

In a way, this liturgical performance of the *Matthew Passion* at Westminster Abbey on Maundy Thursday 1871 would be the *telos* or culmination of *Mr. Joseph Barnby's Choir*. Considering the romantic penchant for trying to identify watershed moments in a world of continuity and gradual change, this event has often been regarded as one of the most significant and 'memorable in the history of church music in this country'.¹⁰¹

One year earlier, in 1870, Barnby had proposed to perform the *Matthew Passion* liturgically at Westminster Abbey. Despite the Abbey's 'conservative [stances], the scheme laid before Dean

⁹⁷ Frederick George Edwards 'Barnby, Joseph' *Edwards' Dictionary of National Biography*, 1901 supplement, Volume 1 (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1901) , 130-131.

⁹⁸ Black, *Pen, Pencil, Baton and Mask*, 3.

⁹⁹ Engel, *From Handel to Hallé*, 109.

¹⁰⁰ Engel, *From Handel to Hallé*, 106.

¹⁰¹ Edwards, 'Joseph Barnby' *Dictionary of National Biography*, 130-131.

Stanley met with no opposition; nay, even with some encouragement.¹⁰² Barnby's expertise as a choral and orchestral conductor in this is acknowledged by the fact that when the Abbey allowed the service to be sung under Sir Joseph's direction,¹⁰³ rather than involving their own musicians, James Turle and Charles Sherwood Jekyll.

[O]n Tuesday in Holy Week, ... the 'Great Passion' of Bach ... [was performed as] a meditative service. Those who were present can never forget the impressive and thrilling nature of that performance. Sir Joseph got together a surpliced orchestra and chorus of five hundred people, who assembled in the semi-darkness of the transepts. As soon as the great organ pealed out, the procession moved along, carrying their instruments, and appeared to the crowded congregation who were assembled in the nave, in the broad glare of gaslight under the organ screen. Jenny Lind, who was present, remarked to Sir Joseph that she had never been more affected in all her life.¹⁰⁴

Black suggests that the success of this performance was carried back to Soho, where Barnby 'started the series of Passion services [...] with full orchestra every Friday during Lent [...], the fame of which spread all over the land.¹⁰⁵ Engel, focusing primarily on the secular career of Barnby, suggests that the success of these services translated into a tangible benefit in his weekday conducting career.

Westminster Abbey was the scene of the first introduction of the Lenten Passion services which have now become so general. With this powerful help, Mr. Barnby was now enabled to give a series of concerts, at which he produced grand works by Handel, Bach and others, which had not been heard before in England, at least in this century.¹⁰⁶

The opposite can also be said to be true. The success of the dramatic liturgy at the 'Sunday morning opera'¹⁰⁷ on Wells Street and at the grand orchestral services in Soho should be considered directly in relationship to Barnby's secular efforts during the rest of the week. Barnby applied the same method of quantity, quality, and novelty to his secular conducting work with great success. The

¹⁰² Engel, *From Handel to Hallé*, 109.

¹⁰³ 'The Composer of "Sweet and Low"', *Review of Reviews*, 154

¹⁰⁴ Black, *Pen, Pencil, Baton and Mask*, 4

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Engel, *From Handel to Hallé*, 109.

¹⁰⁷ David Mason Greene *David Mason Greene's biographical encyclopedia of composers Vol. I*, ed. Albert M. Petrak (Cleveland, OH: Doubleday, 1985), 723.

phrasing of this observation presumes that liturgical music came first and the secular came later.

However, this is not necessarily the case: the two factors play off each other in various ways.

For instance, it could be argued that the introduction of contemporary, dramatic sacred music on Sundays was a direct result of the Sunday Observance Act, forbidding public entertainment on Sundays. If people are not allowed to go to the opera on Sundays but want to, why not use that as a mission tool, to get them to church? In other words, it could also be said his extra-ecclesiastical efforts informed his liturgical thinking. Broadly, it can be stated that Barnby does not obviously approach the conducting of sacred and secular music any differently, using the same models for growth in both strands of his work.

Barnby's efforts were expanded upon when the Royal Albert Hall opened. A new choir of a thousand voices – twice the size of *Mr. Joseph Barnby's Choir* – started rehearsals in late 1871, and Gounod was appointed as its director. After a very successful eighteen months, Gounod returned to France after the Franco-Prussian War, and in 1872, Barnby took over the Royal Albert Hall Choral Society and enlarged it further by incorporating the singers of *Mr. Joseph Barnby's Choir* into its ranks.¹⁰⁸

In 1870 the Franco-Prussian war sent Gounod to these shores, just about the time the Albert Hall was completed. The opportunity was hailed to raise a great choir, of which Gounod was conductor for eighteen months. When he returned to Paris, and it became necessary to seek for a successor, Sir Joseph Barnby was unanimously elected to the conductorship of the Albert Hall Choral Society.¹⁰⁹

He succeeded Gounod to the conductorship of the Royal Albert Hall Choral Society, with whom he overcame the most complicated difficulties in choral singing with contemporaneous as well as dead masters. It is then evident that besides being an excellent organist and organiser, Mr. Barnby is a most reliable conductor.¹¹⁰

Barnby continued his trademark focus on thorough choral trials and choir training, as the evidence from this period demonstrates.

One of the reasons why the Royal Choral Society is so efficient, is, that no trouble is spared to get the best musical material to supply the vacancies which annually arise

¹⁰⁸ 'Our History' Royal Choral Society, accessed 3 February 2022, <https://www.royalchoralsociety.co.uk/history.htm>

¹⁰⁹ Black, *Pen, Pencil, Baton and Mask*, 4.

¹¹⁰ Engel, *From Handel to Hallé*, 110.

... the losses from these and other causes average about sixty annually. To supply their places ten times that number are examined each year.¹¹¹

He once said that the great thing in conducting is to make the performers understand that the marks of expression are but the outward and visible signs of an inward and musical grace. When a conductor marks a crescendo, he means not merely an increase in the volume of sound, but an increase in intensity of feeling. I try to make the choir and the orchestra feel what they are singing and playing, for that is the secret of faithful interpretation. The greatest difficulty with English singers is to make them articulate the words, express the emotions, and indicate by facial expression that they realize the feeling embodied in the music they sing.”¹¹²

On one occasion a choir began the chorus, “Thanks be to God,” in a somewhat sluggish fashion. Ladies and gentlemen,” cried Sir Joseph, rapping his desk, you have been without water for three years. Now you have got to show your gratitude ! “¹¹³

One of the ways in which the continuum between liturgical, sacred, and secular becomes especially clear is in the use of an orchestra in each of these different contexts: whether this was common, as in the concert hall, or unusual, as in church.¹¹⁴ Barnby had plenty of connections in this world, due to his extensive experience as an orchestral conductor. Edwards writes that besides the orchestral work at St James’ Hall and the Royal Choral Society’s accompanying forces,

he also conducted the daily concerts given by Messrs. Novello in the Royal Albert Hall, 1874–5, the London Musical Society, 1878–86 (which produced Dvorak's 'Stabat Mater' on 10 March 1883), the Royal Academy of Music weekly rehearsals and concerts, 1886–8, and the Cardiff musical festivals of 1892 and 1895.

Black’s commentary on Barnby’s approach to orchestral conducting is telling, showing a continuity of approach between the choral and the orchestral, founded in a sympathetic and empathetic manner towards his singers and players. The initial comments regarding the soullessness of the organ, when considered in comparison to the orchestra, stand in direct contrast with the Franck’s famous expression: *mon orgue – c’est mon orchestre*.¹¹⁵

His whole soul is in the orchestra. Unlike the organ, where each stop is of wood or metal, he regards each stop as an immortal soul in orchestra, and with his great

¹¹¹ Ibid., 111.

¹¹² ‘The Composer of “Sweet and Low”’, *Review of Reviews*, 154.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ To examine the details and implications of Barnby’s use of the orchestra is beyond the scope of this thesis. For a more comprehensive view of Barnby as orchestral conductor, see Palmer, *Conductors in Britain 1870-1914*.

¹¹⁵ ‘My organ – it is my orchestra.’ Many variants of the phrase exist, as it has been passed down primarily through the oral tradition. Peter Jost, *César Franck: Werk und Rezeption* (Stuttgart: Steiner. 2004), 175.

choir, composed chiefly of persons of strong individuality, he welds them into one harmonious whole with the utmost subtlety of mind and sympathy. 'It is not', he explains, 'like a general who orders his men in a certain direction. You make them think with you identify themselves with you.'¹¹⁶

This section has demonstrated a real – even causal – continuity from Barnby's work in the concert hall to that in the church; from the societal to the liturgical. That continuity is not only seen in terms of his sense of 'sacred style' or his approach to performance, but also in the approaches taken to choir training. The latter can also be seen as one gesture that also includes his approach to orchestral conducting and training. Barnby's favourite quotation was 'Whatever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might',¹¹⁷ and this approach can certainly be seen in his musically omnivorous conducting career. While there are exceptions to the following rule, however, there does seem to be a guiding principle behind his work, which is a deep and sincere love for sacred music in its breadth: from the ancient to the contemporary, and from the deeply holy to (what some have since regarded as) the barely sanctifiable.

Many sources remark that Barnby's eminence as a conductor was not just achieved by skill, but also by the same sympathy that made him so successful as a choir trainer and music teacher.

It is not unkind to the memory of Sir Joseph Barnby to say that there were many musicians quite as deserving of eminence as he, and it is nothing more than the bare truth that he won and held his high position quite as much by the loveableness and charm of his personality as by sheer force of ability. Perhaps it would be most accurate of all to say that ability and amicability went hand in hand, joining to lift him to one of the loftiest places that may be won by an English musician.¹¹⁸

Sir Joseph Barnby was Sir Joseph Barnby – that, and not the posts he occupied, gave him his eminence. Nearly every one who knew him at once became his enthusiastic friend – his backer, if you will, his admirer; and this fact enabled him to achieve things ... that could have been achieved by no one else.¹¹⁹

... his choirs sang for him as they sang for no other trainer. At Eton he got musical results which no one before him ever got ... his choir at the Albert Hall sang better with him than under the bâton of any other conductor. He at once lifted the Guildhall School into the first rank of music schools. And he did all this not because he was ... better ... than any of his contemporaries but entirely because those upon

¹¹⁶ Black, *Pen, Pencil, Baton and Mask*, 4

¹¹⁷ 'The Composer of "Sweet and Low"', *Review of Reviews*, 154.

¹¹⁸ *The Monthly Musical Record* (March 1896; 26, 303), 56.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

whose labour a great part of the results depended worked harder and better for him than for any of his contemporaries.¹²⁰

Through his sympathy, skill, and work ethic, Barnby rose to become one of the most famous English conductors, and, without a doubt, one of the most important English choir trainers. Musgrave even goes as far as to claim that Barnby was 'commonly regarded as the greatest of English choir trainers' and names him above the likes of Richter and Buelow.¹²¹

Influence through St Paul's

When considering Barnby in the role of the originator of the modern English choral tradition, it is important to ask: did his innovations last, and did they influence others? The most important imitator of the success of Barnby's success at St Andrew's, Wells Street, was John Stainer at St Paul's Cathedral. As is well-established,¹²² Stainer's revival of the choral life of St Paul's Cathedral inspired similar changes all over the country. History books have, however, not commonly shown Wells Street as the model for St Paul's.¹²³ Storey's research unearthed various archival sources that show just how significant Barnby's influence was on the choral reforms at St Paul's. His practices were considered exemplary, he actively consulted on repertory choices, and when Stainer eventually decided to reform the choir completely, many of the new cathedral lay clerks came from the ranks of Wells Street, including the nineteen-year-old Mr Raynham, who had been a chorister under Barnby.¹²⁴ The choral innovations implemented at the cathedral of the nation's capital were exported to other choirs: cathedral, collegiate, and parochial. As such, they were all influenced by Barnby's example and advice to a considerable degree.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Michael Musgrave *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1995), 49.

¹²² See, for example, William Gatens, 'Cathedral Music' *Victorian Britain: An Encyclopedia* (Abingdon: Routledge. 2011, 1st edition 1988), 126.

¹²³ The influence of St Andrew's, Wells Street is well documented in Rainbow, *The Choral Revival*.

¹²⁴ Mr Raynham, age 19, had come from Wells Street. Timothy Charles Storey *The music of St Paul's cathedral 1872-1972: The origins and development of the modern cathedral choir* (MMus thesis, 2 vols. Durham University. 1998), vol 1. 36, accessed 3 February 2022, http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/4088/1/4088_1607-vol1.pdf and http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/4088/2/4088_1607-vol2.pdf?UkUDh:CyT

During the process of formalisation and organisation of music in the liturgy in 1872, Wells Street was a concrete example of the proposed new practices at St Paul's. Storey writes:

[At] Stainer's proposal [the St Paul's Cathedral] Chapter decided that 'all the services for a given month should be printed, as at St Andrew's, Wells Street, and distributed among members of the choir and throughout the Church. It was decided to take counsel with Mr Webber as to the form and expense of such a paper.' This was to prove by no means the only respect in which St Andrew's, Wells Street provided a model for the cathedral's music. The production of these lists, though in a weekly rather than monthly format, began in January 1873.¹²⁵

It is interesting to note that the music lists at St Paul's were eventually produced in a weekly format, suggesting hesitancy on part of the Succentor, whether that be related to his confidence, his confidence in the choir, or his ambitions.

When Stainer begins to form a new choir at St Paul's Cathedral in 1872, building a new choir school, increasing the number of choir boys from eight to forty, and hiring a new complement of singers on the back row, the influence of Barnby is clear. A substantial number of the singers from Wells Street successfully auditioned for the new supernumerary posts at St Paul's, where they made up most of the new back row. Barnby had only just left Wells Street in the hands of his prodigy, Frederick Docker, and was building up his own new church choir in Soho. It may be that the singers from Wells Street went to audition at St Paul's under their own steam, but considering the patterns emerging here, it is entirely likely that Barnby encouraged them, helping his friend, Stainer, in his momentous undertaking. Regardless of Barnby's involvement, the ranks of the supernumeraries at St Paul's were turned into something of a Wells Street re-union. Storey comments: '[T]he fact that [St Andrew's, Wells Street] supplied more of the new choir than any other establishment illustrates the high quality of its music under the direction of Joseph Barnby.'¹²⁶

This exciting expansion of the choir came with a complete overhaul of the choir library. Also in this endeavour, Stainer turns to Barnby for help. Storey relates

Because the size of the St Paul's choir had been almost doubled, it was a major undertaking suddenly to equip it with enough copies of music ... Frost describes how new books of single parts (not, it will be noted, octavo vocal scores) were bound

¹²⁵ Storey, *The music of St Paul's Cathedral*, vol. 1, 16.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 36.

together in 1873, when the choir was enlarged: the contents were selected by Stainer and Barnby[.]¹²⁷

Considering the type of scores used, it seems that Barnby was not consulting here in his capacity as musical advisor to the Novello publishing house, but offering advice from his own experience as Director of Music. His credentials for setting up a new choir library were considerable – he was the choir trainer who had turned Wells Street into the best choir in town in less than a decade and was beginning to undertake a similar, but even more ambitious project at St Anne's, Soho.

These documents make it very clear that St Paul's choral revival was heavily modelled on Barnby's success at Wells Street as choir trainer, conductor, and administrator. Finally, Barnby was a regular feature in the music lists at St Paul's, especially after 1873. In this year, the existing pattern of liturgical arrangements at Holy Communion was abolished, and replaced by a fully choral service which strictly followed the instructions of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer.

At a stroke most of the choir's existing repertory, such as it was, had been rendered useless: *Barnby in E*, *Calkin in B flat*, *Garrett in D*, *Ouseley in A and in E*, *Smart in F and Wesley in E* [...] did duty for the next three years, with the addition of *Monk in C* and *Stainer in E flat* in 1874. Whether such a limited selection was the result of the choir's incapacity or the Succentor's lack of imagination one can only guess: more colourful settings were already available, and, needless to say, in use at such fashionable churches as St Andrew's, Wells Street.¹²⁸

Additionally, Barnby's anthems were in regular use.¹²⁹ In other words, Barnby's music was heard on a very regular basis for years. In 1875 alone, the *Te Deum* from *Barnby in E* was performed fifteen times, and the *Jubilate* sixteen times.¹³⁰ The *Communion Service* was sung nine times,¹³¹ and the *Evening Service* fourteen times.¹³² Additionally, the choir sang five of his anthems, with some repetition, which is a reduction from 1873, when eleven of his anthems were sung, again, with some of them receiving multiple outings.¹³³ Barnby remained a firm favourite with the choir throughout

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 24-5.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 154.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 156.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 157.

¹³³ According to Storey *The music of St Paul's cathedral*, vol. 1, 159, 160, 181, 182, 209, 217, the full list of Barnby anthems sung between 1873 and 1885 is:

As we have borne the image

the Victorian and Edwardian eras: in the records of orchestral services, the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis of Barnby in E were performed relatively frequently at major occasions up to the First World War, including at the *Festivals of the Sons of the Clergy* in 1881, 1889, and 1904, as well as at the Patronal Festival of 1911.¹³⁴ Barnby's music remained a staple until the 1910s, when the musical ambitions at St Paul's had to be severely curtailed due to the war, and the repertoire became very limited.¹³⁵

Barnby's influence on the musical arrangements at St Paul's is evident. The music he had composed was sung by people he had trained in a choir he had helped to organise. The example he had set at St Andrew's was imitated at St Paul's on many levels, including in administrative matters such as the creation of music lists. When St Paul's, in turn, swiftly became the model for cathedral reform across the country,¹³⁶ Barnby's church-musical practices became normative across England.

*Drop down, ye heavens
 God so loved the world
 I bow my knee
 It is a good thing to give thanks
 It is high time to awake
 I will give thanks
 King all glorious
 Let the words of my mouth
 Let your light so shine
 Make me a clean heart, O God
 Not unto us
 O Father blest, thy name we sing
 O how amiable are thy dwellings
 O Lord, how manifold are thy works
 O praise the Lord, all ye his angels
 O risen Lord, O Christ ascended
 Sing and rejoice, O daughter of Sion
 Sing to the Lord
 Sweet is thy mercy, O Lord
 The grace of God that bringeth salvation
 Holy night (Men's voices)*

Additionally, the *Lord of all power and might* was introduced in 1898, and *O Father blest, thy Name we sing* was introduced in 1916 for men's voices. The same anthem *O Father blest, thy Name we sing* was sung by the Boys' Voices from 1916-1919.

¹³⁴ Storey, *The music of St Paul's Cathedral*, vol. 1, 146, 147.

¹³⁵ Storey, *The music of St Paul's Cathedral*, vol. 2, 172, 222.

In a similar way, Calkin's Communion Service in B flat was expunged from the repertoire after 1916. Both Barnby and Calkin fared better than Ouseley whose services in E and A were not sung after 1875 and 1881 respectively. Simpler settings such as Smart in F and Garrett in D lasted until the middle of the 1920s, while Wesley in E did not leave the repertoire until the late fifties.

¹³⁶ William Gatens, 'Cathedral Music', 126.

Enabling Female Musicians

Barnby's biographers do not devote a word to his work with female musicians – composers and performers alike. However, his work with female composers and musicians can be demonstrated from his early days at St Andrew's and can be traced back further. Based on limited, but significant, data, it may seem that this subchapter relies upon speculations and hypotheses. However, it is frankly surprising that records of instances of such cooperation with and advocacy of female musicians exist at all, considering how much has been lost to us through patriarchal histories.

This section will begin by examining some broader tendencies in which Barnby advocated for gender equality in music, and then examine more closely the relationships between Barnby and two female composers: Alice Mary Smith and Ethel Smyth. These connections between Barnby as conductor and female composers have only recently come to light, and this subchapter builds on that exploratory scholarship. Evidence was found in the dissertation on Dame Ethel Smyth's *Mass in D* by Linda Farquharson (written for her Doctor of Musical Arts degree in 1996),¹³⁷ and in the performance editions by Christopher Ellis¹³⁸ of three of the five anthems written by Alice Mary Smith (a part of his Doctor of Arts degree in 2014), who demonstrates the connection with Barnby, citing widely from *The life and music of Alice Mary Smith*, a recent book (2010) by Ian Graham-Jones.¹³⁹ Furthermore, this chapter builds upon a Knowledge Exchange Project on the Church Music of Alice Mary Smith, undertaken in 2019 by a team of students under the supervision of the current author.¹⁴⁰

Barnby was moderately active in the promotion of the position of women in musical society. He was not an activist in the twenty-first-century sense but helped to generate movements towards

¹³⁷ Linda J. Farquharson 'Dame Ethel Smyth: "Mass in D"' (DMA thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1996), accessed 3 February 2022, <http://hdl.handle.net/2142/20183>

¹³⁸ Christopher E. Ellis, *The Choral Anthems of Alice Mary Smith: Performance Editions of Three Anthems by a Woman Composer in Victorian England* (DA dissertation, Ball State University Muncie IN. 2014), accessed 03/02/2022,

http://cardinalsolar.bsu.edu/bitstream/handle/123456789/198092/EllisC_2014-2_BODY.pdf?sequence=1

¹³⁹ Ian Graham-Jones *The life and music of Alice Mary Smith (1839-1884), a woman composer of the Victorian era : a critical assessment of her achievement; with a foreword by Roger Parker*. (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press. 2010).

¹⁴⁰ This project was generously funded by the AHRC through their Yorkshire-based Doctoral Training Partnership: the White Rose College of Arts and Humanities.

positive reform within the established structures. This can be seen in a wide number of his activities: as a musician, he promoted the works of Alice Mary Smith, and premiered Ethel Smyth's *Mass in D*; as a conductor, he openly advocated for equal opportunities for women in orchestras and (to some degree) choirs: in his educational career, he moved from an all-boys' school to a school of music where the majority of students was female.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, he created opportunities for change on a broader level by premiering lots of unfamiliar compositions, and giving breakthrough opportunities to many young soloists, which enabled faster changes to the *status quo* both in general musical terms, and specifically with regard to the place of women in musical society.

Orchestra

Barnby was active as an orchestral conductor in both the church and the concert hall. Much could be written about the use of a substantial orchestra in the church. However, for the purposes of this thesis it is important to note that there was a substantial overlap between the work Barnby did on the stage, and that which happened in the chancel. He regularly utilised the same music and musicians, as previously demonstrated. Therefore, it can be assumed that there is also considerable overlap between Barnby's conducting technique, management style, and societal convictions when leading the music in a church and a concert hall.

It is well-documented that, as a conductor, Barnby actively moved to create equal opportunities for women in the orchestral world. What is more, he enthused others about this development. A summary of his speech entitled *The Position of Music in England*, given for the Incorporated Society of Musicians in 1894, was reported all across the anglosphere.¹⁴² As he touched upon the subject of the introduction of ladies into orchestras, he was immediately interrupted by 'applause and "Hear, hear"'. This not only speaks to Barnby's sympathetic character but also speaks

¹⁴¹ John Evans Woolacott, 'Interviews with eminent musicians: no. 6 – Sir Joseph Barnby' *Strand Magazine* (July 1895).

¹⁴² 'The position of music in England' *The Brisbane Courier* (17 February 1894) accessed 3 February 2022, https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3574559/5_33574

of the fertile ground in which his labour could take root. The content of his advocacy for women in orchestras was a classical argument for equal opportunities for people of equal merit, delivered in a characteristically jovial manner. It was reported that Barnby,

For his part, ... would rather have in his orchestra a lady violinist who was full of quicksilver than a man who, it might be, was playing in the orchestra of a pantomime. (Applause and laughter.)¹⁴³

The persuasive power of imaginative imagery, good humour and good cheer must not be underestimated in any context, never mind that of a speech at an ISM meeting. However, the role of women in orchestras was not only a matter of humour to Barnby. He also spoke of it very seriously, according to an obituary in the *Review of Reviews*, where it is claimed that,

As regards orchestral music, Sir Joseph has said: "Our choirs lead the world, but with our orchestras we have a great deal to do before we attain the standard of the Continent. But the outlook is decidedly hopeful, and now that girls have taken to the violin and even the 'cello and double-bass, they will go on to form orchestras and thus spread an interest in music."¹⁴⁴

In this alleged quotation, which may be a paraphrase rather than a direct reproduction of words spoken by Barnby,¹⁴⁵ the *Review of Reviews* mentions a hopeful future for the English orchestra and the increase of women playing in orchestras in one breath. Although no causal relationship between the two is formally established, it is implied so strongly that the prospective positivity creates a sure subtext of support for the introduction of women in orchestras. While this alleged quotation, read alone, could suggest that Barnby favoured a form of musical segregation, this suggestion disappears when this is read in conjunction with the summary of his ISM speech, discussed above. In conclusion, this evidence demonstrates that Barnby was a vocal supporter of women in orchestras. However, it would take until 1913 for the first women to be included in a major orchestra, when Henry Wood hired six female violinists to play in the Queen's Hall Orchestra in London.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ 'Sir J. Barnby on the position of music in England' *The Manchester Guardian* (4 January, 1894) 6

¹⁴⁴ 'The Composer of "Sweet and Low"', *Review of Reviews*, 154

¹⁴⁵ This is, after all, an obituary, produced after the death of the person. These direct words are not found elsewhere, to the knowledge of the current author.

¹⁴⁶ Cynthia Collins,, 'Contribution of Women Musicians to Symphony Orchestras' CMuse (9 March 2015), accessed on 17 September 2022, <https://www.cmuse.org/contribution-of-women-musicians-to-symphony-orchestras/>

Choir

Barnby's stance on vocal and choral opportunities for women is less clear-cut. Although it is evident that he created a lot of opportunities for women to sing, secularly, in London, through the Barnby Choir and later at the Royal Albert Hall, his stance on women in church choirs is unclear. He was certainly unfamiliar with women in high-quality church choirs: he grew up singing at York Minster in a professional choir of men and boys, briefly lived with his brother at Westminster Abbey, surrounded by a professional choir of men and boys, and after some very short appointments in minor London churches, took on St Andrew's, Wells Street, where he developed the choir of men and boys to a professional standard, taking on the precentorship at Eton alongside this position a little later, where he did much to advance their choir of men and boys.

Scholarly writings about Barnby's choir at St Anne's, Soho have not clarified the gender of the upper voices. Considering the extremely demanding routine and repertoire, and the commonly held belief that St Anne's was not an Anglo-Catholic church, as Gatens and others report,¹⁴⁷ it could easily be assumed that he worked with a choir of professional men and women, as is so common in London churches now. This assumption could be cemented further by Rainbow's assertion that 'people would crane their necks to identify individual soloists'¹⁴⁸ during the anthems, feeding tidily into the stereotype that all divas are female sopranos. However, it seems clearly men and boy soloists can be just as easily pedestalled, as this section will demonstrate the choir was in fact one of boys and men.

Such an assumption is proven wrong by a report in the *Musical Times* of 1873, which describes a liturgical performance of the *St John Passion* at St Anne's, which explicitly states that 'There were about fifty choristers, thirty men and twenty boys, chiefly belonging to the voluntary choir of the church'.¹⁴⁹ Martin Clarke gives the total number of choristers at the church at sixty-

¹⁴⁷ Gatens, *Cathedral Music*, 191.

¹⁴⁸ Peter Dickinson, *Bernarr Rainbow on Music: Memoirs and Selected Writings* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 376.

¹⁴⁹ *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* (Vol. 16, No. 362, 1 April 1873), 42.

four.¹⁵⁰ Further evidence of the presence of a choir of men and boys is given in John Henry Cardwell's 'Two Centuries of Soho', in which he says that the local organ building firm of 'Messrs. Bevington' had nothing to do with the organ in St Anne's, but that 'amongst their employees, [...] number two of Mr. Barnby's earliest choir-boys, sons of the late Mr. W Livins, of Queen Street'.¹⁵¹ This local historian from 1898 does not only confirm that Barnby had a choir of men and boys at St Anne's, but his writing could even be read as: Barnby established a boys' choir at St Anne's, and the Livins boys were amongst his first recruits. In summary, it seems that Barnby never worked with female singers in the context of church choirs.

This was not an unusual pattern amongst catholic churchpeople in the nineteenth century. A large part of the 'Choral Revival' was the disbanding of mixed adult choirs or choirs of charity boys and girls in favour of a wholesale replacement by surpliced choirs of men and boys who sang from the chancel. Therefore, an absence of women in choir is not surprising in firmly catholic foundations in which Barnby used to work. However, Gatens reports that St Anne's was a 'non-Tractarian parish'.¹⁵² How then, could there be a theological problem, unless it was one of Barnby's own making? The answer to this lies in questioning the verity of Gatens' statement.

The Rector of St Anne's was Nugent Wade, an Irishman who was involved in the creation of the Tractarian foundations of St Columba's College, Dublin, Radley College, and others. In 1850, he became a member of the Cambridge Camden Society.¹⁵³ Furthermore, he was an active committee member for the Canterbury Association, a group of idealists who wanted to establish a slum-free settlement in Canterbury, New Zealand, based on a strongly catholic Anglican church presence. Thomas Power even goes as far as to call St Anne's, Soho, under Nugent Wade, a 'Tractarian Mission

¹⁵⁰ Martin Clarke, ed., *Music and Theology in nineteenth-century Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate. 2021), 10.

¹⁵¹ John Henry Cardwell, *Two Centuries of Soho* (London: Truslove and Hanson. 1898), 223.

¹⁵² Gatens, *Cathedral Music*, 191.

¹⁵³ Michael Blain, *The Canterbury Association (1848-1852): A Study of Its Members' Connections* (2007) 85, 86, accessed 3 February 2022, http://anglicanhistory.org/nz/blain_canterbury2007.pdf

to the Irish'.¹⁵⁴ These assertions of theological inclination are translated into practice by the *Musical Times* report:

Before the service commenced a procession of the singers and players passed up the church, under music from the organ; all were ensurpliced; and the players - such as played the smaller instruments - carried them in the procession; black oboes glittering with silver keys in the folds of white linen; violins and their bows; a silver flute; and a flute of wood, studded with those contrivances in silver mechanism, which, in recent patterns, have made it at once the sweetest and the most beautiful looking instrument of the modern orchestra.¹⁵⁵

With this image in mind, alongside Wade's long list of Anglo-Catholic decorations, it is easy to dismiss the common narrative of St Anne's as "the plain low church which Barnby made high church" as a historical fabrication, perpetuated without question by people such as Gatens.¹⁵⁶ This explains why Barnby never worked with a choir of women in his church career. Although it is hard to imagine anyone would object to women in the choir on theological grounds these days, such objections were social and theological realities for the Anglo-Catholics of the late-nineteenth century, among whom Barnby may certainly be numbered.

In secular choirs, Barnby worked with a top line of women only, as a rule, and treated them co-equally with the men in his choirs: expecting the same demeanour and quality of performance from them. A journalist reviewing his speech on the position of music in England reports that Barnby 'deeply sympathised with them in being musicians. Of all the arts music was, to his mind, not only the most charming but the most elevating, and it tended most to the cultivation of the very best feelings.'¹⁵⁷ The notion of elevation in this context is not only useful in the context of Victorian ideas of 'improvement', but it can also be read with the subject of gender equality, and the elevation of female ambitions to the same level as men, giving them the same opportunities to cultivate their best feelings. This unusually equal approach is also described in his treatment of the choral societies he conducted:

¹⁵⁴ Power, *Flight of Parsons*, 153.

¹⁵⁵ *The Musical Times*, 1 April 1873, 42.

¹⁵⁶ Gatens, *Cathedral Music* 191.

¹⁵⁷ 'Sir J. Barnby on the position of music in England', *The Manchester Guardian* (4 January, 1894), 6.

Sir Joseph 's speech is described as being as clear cut as his beat, and no singer ever missed a word he said. His beat was a model of plainness and quiet effectiveness. He knew what he wanted and would have nothing else, but his affection for his choral forces was so great that he could depend on perfect loyalty from them. He was severe with all carelessness, and did not spare even the ladies when their attention was divided.¹⁵⁸

Alice Mary Smith

Barnby's introduction of anthems by a female composer, Alice Mary Smith,¹⁵⁹ was amongst the first things he did at Wells Street. Ellis writes: the only 'two known performances of Smith's anthems took place [at Wells Street] ... in 1864',¹⁶⁰ where Barnby had started as Director of Music in 1863. Ellis argues that the prestige of the choir at Wells Street under Barnby is a demonstration of high contemporaneous appreciation for the music of Smith,¹⁶¹ writing: 'Barnby's reputation indicates that he programmed the best literature and performed it well in order to garner the recognition he received.'¹⁶² Based on the complexity of the works and the rarity of finding an excellent choir in 1860s London, he argues at least two of these pieces were written for this specific choir and venue.¹⁶³ The manuscripts in the Royal Academy of Music support this hypothesis.¹⁶⁴ Based on these data, it is likely that these pieces were commissions by Barnby, providing a contemporaneous female composer with an unusually prominent platform.¹⁶⁵

It is uncertain how Joseph Barnby came to know Alice Mary Smith. When he was appointed at St Andrew's Wells Street in 1863 both Smith (b.1839) and Barnby (b.1838) were in their mid-twenties and earning their musical spurs in London. While it is unclear when they became acquainted,¹⁶⁶ it could, speculatively, have been following the very well-received premiere of Smith's first symphony

¹⁵⁸ 'The Composer of "Sweet and Low"', *Review of Reviews*, 154.

¹⁵⁹ Smith is discussed at length in Chapter 4. Her complete sacred choral music can be found in Appendix 3.

¹⁶⁰ Ellis, *The Choral Anthems of Alice Mary Smith*, 78, 98. The Royal Academy of Music only possesses one complete score of *By the Waters of Babylon*. This piece was performed at St. Andrew's Church of Wells Street in 1864.

¹⁶¹ Ellis, *The Choral Anthems of Alice Mary Smith*, 79.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 120-121.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 89.

¹⁶⁴ See chapter 4.

¹⁶⁵ Compare the premiere of the Smyth Mass, below, for which she had to pay herself.

¹⁶⁶ Apart from one very brief review of a song, the young female composer Alice Mary Smith is unsurprisingly totally ignored by journals of the 1860s.



Figure 4: Alice Mary Smith¹⁶⁷

in 1863 with the Musical Society of London:¹⁶⁸ a society promoting the work of young and unknown composers. Although this is a very reasonable assumption, it remains speculative, as there is no evidence to support or deny if Barnby was a member at this stage. An alternative hypothesis is that

¹⁶⁷ From the archives at the West Sussex Record Office, Chichester.

¹⁶⁸ Ellis and Fuller ignore this issue completely and offer no word towards this. Ellis, see below. Sophie Fuller *Women composers during the British Musical Renaissance 1880-1918* (PhD thesis, King's College, London, 1998), accessed 4 February 2022, <https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/ws/files/2927686/263601.pdf>

Smith was amongst the congregants at St Andrew's. Her church music demonstrates not only a familiarity with the Bible but also with the Book of Common Prayer, the liturgy of the Church of England.¹⁶⁹ One of her manuscripts for *By the waters of Babylon* gives her name, a crossed-out address, then her married name, and finally another address.¹⁷⁰ Smith married in 1867. If the crossed-out address was her home before marriage (presumably parental), and assuming that she lived there for a few years, this was most likely her address when at least two of her anthems were performed at St Andrew's in 1864.¹⁷¹ This address was 57 Guildford St [sic, now Guilford Street], Russell Square, less than a mile from St Andrew's, Wells Street. It is therefore quite likely that her music was performed at this church because she and/or her parents and family went to church there. However, some churches were closer to her home than St Andrew's, including St George's, Holborn and St George's, Bloomsbury. This begs the question: Why the connection with St Andrew's? The most likely reason for this is that it aligned more with their preferences. These could be preferences of social class, liturgy, or music. It is most likely that the Smiths were Anglo-Catholics, and travelled the extra five minutes every Sunday to go to a more catholic service. It is possible, but unlikely, that Smith only went there because of the quality of the music. The *Review of Reviews* writes that, because of 'the fine choir Sir Joseph had trained, it is not surprising to learn that the services at St. Andrew's attracted music-lovers from all parts of London.'¹⁷² It would even be possible that the Smiths, who were lace merchants,¹⁷³ were familiar with the ritualist churches of London through their business.

Christopher Ellis unknowingly demonstrates that Barnby was not a hard-line activist for women's compositions, writing: 'Comparing Smith's unpublished anthems with those Novello chose to publish revealed that Smith's anthems were more interesting, better crafted, and more substantial

¹⁶⁹ *Whoso hath this world's goods* is labelled 'Offertory'; the text is taken from the Book of Common Prayer offertory sentences.

¹⁷⁰ Royal Academy of Music Archives, RAM MS 1615.

¹⁷¹ Ellis, *The Choral Anthems of Alice Mary Smith*, 78, 98.

¹⁷² 'The Composer of "Sweet and Low"', *Review of Reviews*, 154.

¹⁷³ Derek B. Scott *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour* (Maidenhead: Open University Press. 1989), 62.

than what was being published for the mass market.¹⁷⁴ Ellis seems unaware of the fact that only a year later, in 1865, Barnby was appointed musical advisor to Novello,¹⁷⁵ and did not have her anthems published there. It is unknown if he or she ever attempted such a publication. However, given the forces required and the musical complexity of these anthems, it may be said that the 'mass market' was not ready for them and that the publication of these anthems would have been financially unrewarding for the publisher and/or composer.¹⁷⁶ This omission from publication may simply be for economical reasons. This seems increasingly likely in the light of Smith's later cantatas, which were all published by Novello. Such large publications would have required the assent of Barnby. These publications may have come about through Barnby's advocacy. Although Smith's prominence at this time of her life should not be underestimated, the patriarchal permeation of society and business in this period would have been prohibitive. It is interesting to note that her largest work, the secular cantata *Ode to the Passions*, was commissioned by the Hereford Festival in 1882 when Langdon Colbourne was the Director of Music at the Cathedral. Although little is known about him, between St Michael's College, Tenbury, Beverley Minster, Wigan Parish Church, and Truro Cathedral, Colbourne's career consistently veered towards the catholic wing of the Church of England. This too may have helped Mary in securing this significant commission, if indeed, she was an Anglo-Catholic, as previously posited.

In summary, it seems that Joseph Barnby acted as an advocate for the music of Alice Mary Smith in her early career, by performing her music at St Andrew's, Wells Street, but also in the last years of her career, by enabling the publication of her cantatas at Novello, where he was musical advisor.

Alice Mary Smith's lyrical style of composition, often more reminiscent of the salon than of the church, and her elegant use of contrapuntal structures within liberally structured larger works, is somewhat reminiscent of sections of Barnby's work from the 1870s and '80s.

¹⁷⁴ Ellis, *The Choral Anthems of Alice Mary Smith*, 120-121.

¹⁷⁵ Black, *Pen, Pencil, Baton and Mask*, 3.

¹⁷⁶ See chapter 4 regarding the unusual financial systems used for the publication of her cantatas.

"Her music is marked by elegance and grace ... power and energy. Her forms were always clear and her ideas free from eccentricity; her sympathies were evidently with the Classic rather than with the Romantic school."¹⁷⁷

Although Smith's tonal language is much more closely related to Germanic composers such as Haydn, Schubert, and Mendelssohn than that of Barnby,¹⁷⁸ her chamber-musical style could be seen as an influence on Barnby as a composer. If this hypothesis is valid, it would certainly begin to explain his move from the more scholarly approach in his *Service in E* (ca. 1855) to the free structures and lyrical writing of his later anthems. Is it unthinkable that a composer who was regularly considered a bit effeminate¹⁷⁹ in his composition had taken inspiration from a woman, from whom he commissioned several works in his early career?¹⁸⁰

The sacred music of Alice Mary Smith comprises eight pieces, including a Morning Service. This constitutes the largest known collection of church music¹⁸¹ written by a female composer before the twentieth century. A more complete study of her works may be found in chapter 4 of this thesis.

Ethel Smyth

Barnby was also the conductor of the premiere of another woman's foray into church music composition: Dame Ethel Smyth's *Mass in D*. In this Latin setting of the ordinary of the Mass, the Gloria has been displaced to the position found in the Book of Common Prayer. This combination of a choral and orchestral Mass adapted to use in the authorised liturgies of the Church of England is a liturgical pattern that could only have been found in the most advanced of Anglo-Catholic churches.

Smyth started writing the Mass as a direct result of the revival of her Anglo-Catholic faith,¹⁸² brought about by the reading of *De Imitatione Christi* by Thomas à Kempis in 1889. The Mass' premiere at the Royal Albert Hall was a long affair. There are two conflicting accounts of how this

¹⁷⁷ *The Athenaeum* (13 December 1884).

¹⁷⁸ See chapter 4.

¹⁷⁹ Raymond Huntington Woodman 'Church Music', *New York Evangelist* (20 February 1896), 22.

¹⁸⁰ See chapters 4 and 5.

¹⁸¹ Whether it was all written for church use remains a question, see Chapter 3.

¹⁸² Louise Collins, *Impetuous Heart: Story of Ethel Smyth* (London: Kimber & Co. 1984), 59. See also Ronald Crichton, ed., *The memoirs of Ethel Smyth* (London: Penguin, 1987), 164.

occurred. In one essay, Smyth writes that Barnby 'provisionally accepted the Mass for production at the Albert Hall',¹⁸³ and that this opened the path towards performance. Another account by Smyth holds that Barnby refused, but a letter of recommendation from Levi Strauss 'caused Barnby to reconsider'.¹⁸⁴ In this letter, he wrote that her Mass was 'the strongest and most original work that had come out of England since Purcell's time',¹⁸⁵ which was enough to dispel Barnby's worries that 'novelties by unknown composers spell financial disaster'.¹⁸⁶ Barnby remained sceptical of the piece until the last rehearsal when he discovered 'what he called 'an iron rod' running through music that hitherto had struck him as disjointed, over-exuberant, and unnatural'.¹⁸⁷ Such a last-minute change of heart may be genuine or could be the representation of Barnby surrendering to pressure from above to put on the piece.

In all of these facets, we see consistent support of female musicians that stops short far of our contemporary expectations of equity or equality but surpasses (by a margin) the norms of the time. In Barnby, we see someone who was not a radical but did work for positive change within his sphere of influence.

Considerations towards the biography of a childhood of poverty

The facts of Barnby's childhood are fairly consistent throughout his various shorter and longer biographies. The narratives they construct around these stories are interesting. This section examines the ways in which some biographers began their portraits of Barnby by sketching his childhood as the breeding ground within which naturalistic determinism grows, to suit their agendas.

¹⁸³ Crichton, ed., *The memoirs of Ethel Smyth*, 184.

¹⁸⁴ Elizabeth Jane Kertesz, *Issues in the critical reception of Ethel Smyth's Mass and first four operas in England and Germany* (Phd Thesis, University of Melbourne. 2000), 78.

¹⁸⁵ Ethel Smyth, *Letter to Lady Ponsonby*, 26 July 1893, quoted in Ethel Smyth, *As Time Went On...* (London: Longmans, 1936), 310.

¹⁸⁶ Kertesz, *The critical reception of Ethel Smyth's Mass*, 96.

¹⁸⁷ Kertesz, *The critical reception of Ethel Smyth's Mass*, 78.

Both the *Review of Reviews* and Engels's biography are fairly standard constructions of the musician as a genius, a popular conception within late-Victorian society. The *Review of Reviews* claims to be writing in Sir Joseph's own words, collected from various interviews.¹⁸⁸ Considering the source, and lack of evidence for this, this statement should be weighed carefully. Their biographical obituary tells of a very confident young boy: a prodigy; the archetypal romantic, pedestalsed, (recently deceased) artist. Considering Barnby was widely considered a very jovial and humble man, it is difficult to see how the following words would be his:

"I was born at York in 1838, and I sprang at once into my career. I was only seven when I donned a surplice in the cathedral, and seven of my brothers had been choristers there before me. On the day of the funeral of the Duke of Wellington I sang "I know that my Redeemer liveth," and though the place was crowded, I felt no tremor, no nervousness of any kind. At the age of ten I began to teach, and at twelve I was an organist."¹⁸⁹

If one were to ignore the somewhat tabloid-like style of the above, the general narrative of it, constructing young Barnby as the impassible artist, is echoed in Engel's biography. He sketches Barnby as the pinnacle of a provincial, patriarchal, musical legacy by placing him in the line of his fathers and his brothers, ignoring all women, and creating a very conservative narrative in which the artist had been born a prodigy, and went through the right institutions: first the local cathedral, and then towards an education in what he presumably considered the cultural capital of the Empire, London.

Born in York, in the year 1838, Joseph Barnby, the youngest of seven sons, showed like all his brothers great aptitude for music; but while the others are all acceptable musicians, he showed his powers of execution at the age of seven, when he entered the choir of York Minster, and at the age of ten he had already given such proof of his musical cleverness that he was appointed to teach the other boys. When I say that at twelve he was appointed organist, it will easily be understood that York could not long hold him.¹⁹⁰

Joseph Bennett's narrative is not obviously all that different, but creates a fundamentally different picture. He constructs a narrative of a good and easy start to life – of English middle-class

¹⁸⁸ 'The Composer of "Sweet and Low"', *Review of Reviews*, 154 claims that 'Sir Joseph was interviewed time and again ... [and that these are] His own words, from the *Strand Musical Magazine* and elsewhere, [which] tell the story of his musical life.'

¹⁸⁹ 'The Composer of "Sweet and Low"', *Review of Reviews*, 154.

¹⁹⁰ Engel, *From Handel to Hallé*, 105.

prosperity. Second, his narrative begins by placing Barnby into the Cathedral tradition of the Camidges, effectively absorbing his successes into their legacy. This places him in an old, national tradition, which was presumably Bennett's goal.¹⁹¹ While it is true that he must have learned much in his York Minster time, it is dubious to place a composer's life in the shadow of his days as a boy. While Barnby continued to work in church music in some way or another for most of his life, the Bennett narrative places him squarely in a tradition – in a more conservative musical scene – to which he never returned in his later life,¹⁹² whilst ignoring the fact that Barnby spent a lot of his life writing and promoting a much more contemporary and diverse approach to music.¹⁹³

Bennett's narrative places Barnby firmly within a conservative national tradition, fitting into his early attempts at the construction of what would become known as the English Musical Renaissance (EMR) hypothesis. Within this context, the image of Barnby as a self-made, middle-class, church musician is essential, considering the later EMR antagonism against the upper and lower classes. The fact that Barnby might well have been a poor boy from York who then became a knight, married to a pretty wife who adored high-society life,¹⁹⁴ is likely to have ruined any chances of him making it into the EMR canon.

Providence was wholly kind. Born into a musical family, with inherited musical tastes, he was like the seed that fell upon the good ground. All things were suitable to his development: the place readily found for his boyish gifts in the choir of a great and solemn Minster, where, day by day, "service high and anthem clear" brought him under the direct influence of art in its most exalted application; and, besides this, long steady, quiet training, at a susceptible age, in the finest and most fruitful school which England can boast. ... a first healthy, orderly impulse towards the career in which he was to gain distinction. ... Barnby, as a church musician, kept to the path wherein his early steps were guided.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹¹ The creation of a National Style and an English tradition were at the heart of the English Musical Renaissance hypothesis, see chapter 5.

¹⁹² Barnby's youthful *Service in E* can still be arguably placed within the Cathedral tradition. For a more detailed commentary on this work, see chapter 5.

¹⁹³ i.e. the Bach revival, the promotion of new works by Gounod, the introduction of Wagner's *Parsifal* and the premiering of various works by women composers.

¹⁹⁴ Engel, *From Handel to Hallé*, 111. 'Mr. Barnby, practical and clever, in private life has had the good luck to secure a companion both very attractive and amiable and highly educated, and herself very clever.' Elliot 'Joseph Barnby' *New York Observer*, 429. 'He never seemed to care for titles – not even that of knighthood – but his wife did, and rejoiced greatly in his elevation to that dignity, and in her title as Lady Barnby ... [and] held receptions ... weekly with great éclat.'

¹⁹⁵ Bennett, 'Joseph Barnby', 153.

Barnby's female biographer, Helen C. Black, describes a rather different picture: one with weaknesses, vulnerability, and extra-musical interests, thus giving what may well be a more realistic picture. She includes the roles of the women in the family and thereby creates a more nuanced picture of the young boy's life. Bringing to life his sisters, she makes the reader indirectly aware of the poverty in which Joseph would have grown up; and, discussing Joseph's talent, Black acknowledges not only the influence of the father but also of the mother, on the musical formation of young Joseph.

Sir Joseph Barnby was born at York, and is the youngest of fifteen children a circumstance which naturally caused his father to be a poor man. 'But remarkable in his way and a perfect dear,' says his gifted son. From both sides he inherited musical talents, and it is on record that the Sheriff of York's sister well remembered the infant Joseph standing on her knee and at the early age of two years singing, in true if lisping accents, the anthem 'Lord of all power and might,' though Sir Joseph laughingly declares that, with six elder brothers choristers at the Minster, he was so steeped in music that the achievement was not half so wonderful. During his holidays every spare moment was spent in reading. 'I was an omnivorous reader,' he remarks, 'and was so wrapped up in my books that I used to forget meals. Architecture ran music close, and has ever been a passion with me.'¹⁹⁶

Coming from a family of seventeen creates a picture of Barnby as a member of the working class.¹⁹⁷ Joseph and his brothers were all choristers at the Minster, which would certainly have given them a free education, and potentially free food and boarding. It is unclear if parents were given financial compensation for the singing of their boys at York Minster, but this was the case at many Cathedrals around the country in the mid-nineteenth century. Whether this was the case or not, the family's poverty will have been relieved somewhat by the fact all boys were Minster choristers. In other words, the story of a well-off middle-class musical family which Joseph Bennett presents, might be rather misleading.

¹⁹⁶ Black, *Pen, Pencil, Baton and Mask*, 1-2.

¹⁹⁷ Siân Pooley, 'Parenthood, child-rearing and fertility in England, 1850–1914' *The History of the Family* (March 2013) 83–106, 83, accessed 5 February 2022, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3865739/>



Figure 5: A home of seventeen: Joseph Barnby's birthplace, now 20 Ogleforth, York.¹⁹⁸

The housing situation of the Barnby family further informs this argument. Until his permanent relocation to London, Barnby lived at the property which is now 20 Ogleforth, York: part of the 'Minster Yard with Bedern' ward. While the areas immediately surrounding the Minster were occupied by the clergy, living in substantial accommodation, Ogleforth marked the transition to a very different demographic. Small houses were mixed with industry (Figure 6) along a road which extended into Bedern: a slum in central York, which was 'sad spectacle of poverty and

¹⁹⁸ 'Barnby was born in this house' *Explore York Images*, accessed 17 September 2022, <https://images.exploreyork.org.uk/Respages/Search.aspx?stype=2&sword=Barnby&filefilter=> © City of York Council / Explore York Libraries and Archives Mutual Ltd.

wretchedness'¹⁹⁹ in which large families of Irish immigrants were 'packed into single rooms'.²⁰⁰ The dire situation here meant that prostitution was 'widespread ... in 1843, 33 prostitutes were recorded in Bedern alone.'²⁰¹ It was in this context, between the wealth of York Minster and the absolute poverty of the Bedern slum, that Barnby was raised. The Barnby family house is a small, terraced house on the corner of Chapter House Street and Ogleforth, which still exists today (Figure 5, Figure 6).²⁰²

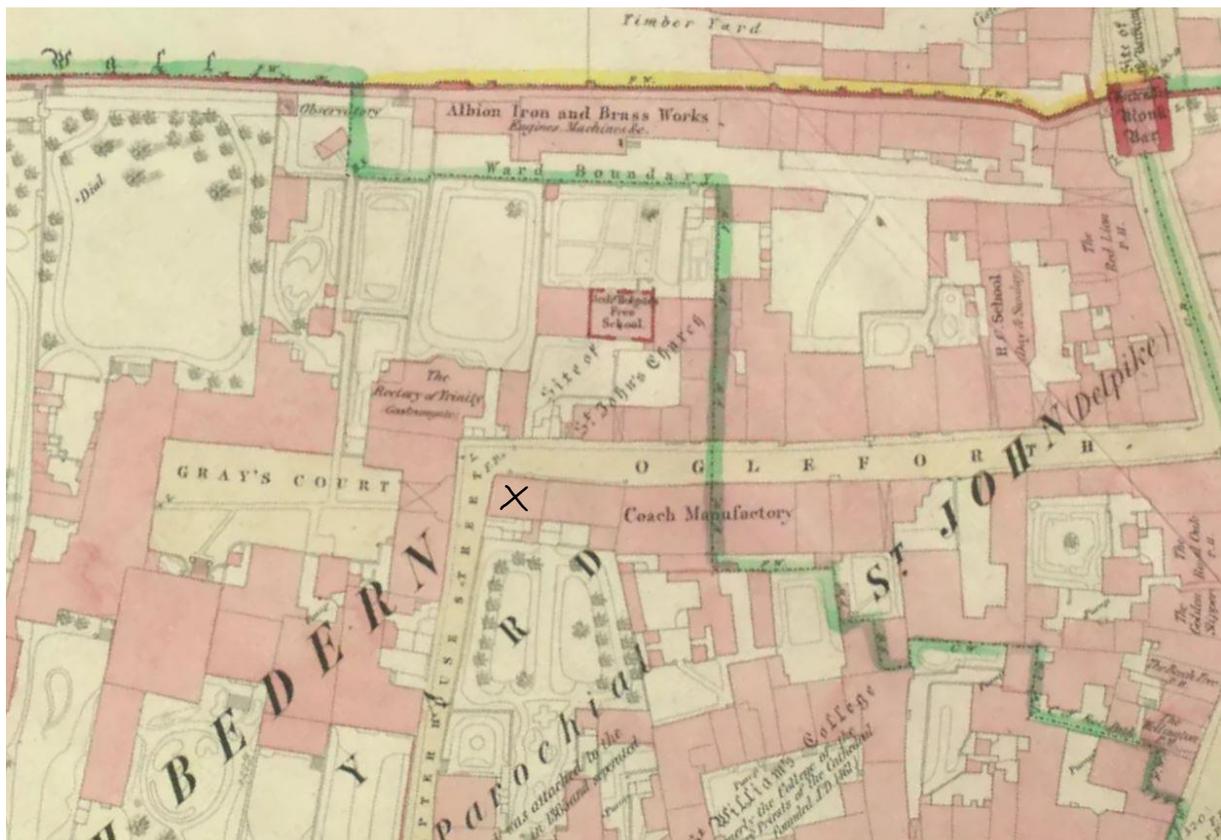


Figure 6: An 1852 map showing the small footprint of Barnby's natal home (marked).²⁰³

¹⁹⁹ James Joseph Sheahan & T. Whellan, *History and Topography of the City of York and the North Riding of Yorkshire* (Beverley: Green. 1857), 486.

²⁰⁰ Graham Frater, 'Bedern Chapel', *York Civic Trust*, accessed 15 September 22, <https://yorkcivictrust.co.uk/heritage/civic-trust-plaques/bedern-chapel/>

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² Until recently, it was occupied by John Hanks, formerly treasurer of Pusey House, who considered it to be a comfortable size house for a single occupant.

²⁰³ 'Map of York 1852', *Interactive Maps*, accessed 15 September 22, <https://yorkmaps.net/1852/#17/53.9622/-1.0821>

If Barnby's family was indeed poor, as the evidence suggests, then this presents the question: what other parts of his youth and education are disguised consequences of poverty? When young Joseph was teaching York Minster choristers as a ten-year-old, and working as choirmaster and organist at St Paul's, Holgate, York, as a twelve-year-old, can this be traced back to financial necessity? If this pattern exists: when did it end? When he left York, Joseph lived with his brother in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey: was this because of financial issues? He went on to study at the Royal Academy of Music, and never studied in Leipzig – he never studied abroad at all. Was Joseph's fully English education – very unusual at that time²⁰⁴ – also just a product of financial limitations? Although these questions may not be answered, it is valuable to consider them as we reassess the facts we know about Barnby, and the narratives that have been spun around them.

This places Barnby's childhood musical appointments into a new perspective. If he was sent to the Minster to make money for the family, at an age when the upper-class children would still be in education, Barnby had to work to support his family: not in the mills and factories like so many Yorkshire children, but the demanding musical environment of York Minster.

Taking these various biographical works together and weighing them carefully, they beg for the deconstruction of the sketches of Barnby as a miracle-boy, as the inheritor and progressor of the cathedral tradition, and as a middle-class lad to whom 'providence was wholly kind'. Instead, they present the deeply uncomfortable image of a child in a large, poor family, working to support his family, even at what we would consider to be primary school age.

The history of Barnby's formal education and early career is less contentious. When he was fifteen, his voice broke,²⁰⁵ and after another year of teaching in York,²⁰⁶ his family decided to send him to the Royal Academy in London. He studied with Cipriani Potter and Charles Lucas,²⁰⁷ and he was the top student in his class in his first term.²⁰⁸ Towards the end of his time at the Royal Academy,

²⁰⁴ See the end of this chapter.

²⁰⁵ 'The Composer of "Sweet and Low"', *Review of Reviews*, 154.

²⁰⁶ *Black, Pen, Pencil, Baton and Mask*, 2.

²⁰⁷ *The Lute* (No. 97, January 1, 1891), 137.

²⁰⁸ *Black, Pen, Pencil, Baton and Mask*, 2.

in 1856, he competed for the first Mendelssohn Scholarship and drew against the slightly younger Arthur Sullivan. The two candidates competed again, and Sullivan won.²⁰⁹ Barnby took the loss well: it led him to pursue his studies under Charles Lucas and Cipriani Potter with ever-increasing ardour',²¹⁰ and he remained good friends with Sullivan for his entire life. Helen Black quotes an unrecorded conversation with Barnby, which, true or not, shows Barnby as a gracious loser, and a good friend: "Sullivan got it ... and very justly. I do not know any composer whose works have given me more pleasure. I look on him as the greatest that England has ever produced, and she may well be proud of him."²¹¹ This appreciation for his competitor and friend is echoed in various other biographies and articles.

After leaving the Academy, Barnby briefly returned to his native city, York. The only biography which mentions any details in this matter is that of Black. She claims he went back to take over his brother's musical practice. This was presumably the brother who was a singer at Westminster Abbey and the Chapels Royal, with whom Barnby later lived for a few years.

About this time the young musician was summoned to York to relieve his brother, who was doing a large musical practice in his native town, but a few weeks' experience were sufficient to show him that his thirst for knowledge could never be satisfied in that city, or obtained in the volume that he desired. Curbing his ambition, however, for a time, he made a home for his father and sister, which had a steadying effect, and when the beloved and honoured father passed away suddenly and, a year later, his sister married, he felt free to soar.²¹²

Considering the context of the previous section, this could be read as an effort to combat the family's poverty. In that narrative, Joseph was 'summoned' to take over his brother's teaching to provide for his father and sister, until they respectively died and married. This would explain why this section of his life was (almost) completely omitted in most biographical works: poverty is confrontational, and the idea that a nationally acclaimed musician had to struggle as a provincial

²⁰⁹ Engel, *From Handel to Hallé*, 105.

²¹⁰ *The Lute* (No. 97, January 1, 1891), 137.

²¹¹ Black, *Pen, Pencil, Baton and Mask*, 2.

²¹² *Ibid.*

teacher for a few years to provide for his family would presumably have been too uncomfortable for the biographer's middle and upper-class audience.

To demonstrate the poverty within which Sir Joseph was working as a sixteen-year-old musician, but without using those explicit words, Black cites the exact salaries of his first two appointments: thirty shillings per year at St. Michael's, Queenhithe, where he stayed for three months, and then, at St. James the Less, forty shillings. To provide some context, London artisans were paid about thirty-six shillings a week (i.e. 156 per month) and labourers about twenty per week (i.e. 87 per month).²¹³ In other words, Barnby had no choice but to live in his brother's accommodations; he was poor, he was from a poor family, and his church job only just kept him alive.

It was partially this familiarity with poverty that enabled Barnby to be so successful as a pedagogue. In fact, his appointment to the Guildhall School of Music came at significant personal expense, as 'it entailed the serious loss of half his income'.²¹⁴ Black writes that this was 'characteristic of the unselfish nature of the man, ... who felt that the power of doing good in such a position would be gigantic, to let no such mundane considerations stand in the way.'²¹⁵ Black remembers that Barnby retained his Yorkshire common sense, writing that '[i]f there be one thing more remarkable than another outside the musical gifts of ... Barnby, it is his absolute hatred of humbug, his gentle, genuine nature, and his simplicity of character.'²¹⁶ *The Monthly Musical Record* also makes mention of his jovial behaviour, writing that, when he showed their writer over the Guildhall campus, '[t]here was not a trace of pose about him, ... he went about with his hands stuck carelessly into his trouser pockets, cracking jokes, and talking in an off hand manner on any topic that changed to come up.'²¹⁷ Elliott recounts that even the knighthood did not change this.

²¹³ Arthur Lyon Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom in the 19th Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1900).

²¹⁴ Black, *Pen, Pencil, Baton and Mask*, 5.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.

²¹⁷ *The Monthly Musical Record* (March 1896; 26, 303), 56-7.

He never seemed to care for titles – not even that of knighthood – but his wife did, and rejoiced greatly in his elevation to that dignity, and in her title as Lady Barnby. They lived in Pimlico, in the southwest of London, and Lady Barnby held receptions there weekly with great éclat. I attended one of these receptions and after chatting awhile with Lady Barnby and her assisting young ladies and with the guests, I sought for Sir Joseph, and found him downstairs in his den, reading and smoking, and entirely oblivious to the brilliant goings-on upstairs.²¹⁸

If Barnby's main contribution was to the formation of England's young musicians – both in choirs and in schools, it does raise the question: why? Why was he so effective at this, and why did he work so hard for it? There are two important elements to consider. The first is the poverty he experienced in his youth, and the second is the fact that he never went to conservatoire or university abroad, as was normative in the nineteenth century. Barnby was one of the first great English musicians of that generation not to go and study in Germany. He had first-hand experience of the English tertiary education system and its flaws and took a severe pay-cut to help to remedy this situation when he moved from Eton to the Guildhall. 'How much longer, he asked, was it going to be considered necessary that the young English student, after being in our own schools of music for a few years, should be sent abroad to "complete his musical education"?'²¹⁹ Barnby moved from Eton to Guildhall 'although it entailed the serious loss of half his income. It is characteristic of the unselfish nature of the man, ... who felt that the power of doing good in such a position would be gigantic, to let no such mundane considerations stand in the way.'²²⁰ It seems that this move was not only inspired by the desire to reform the English education system but also out of genuine sympathy for all people, regardless of class. The following quote from a paper read by the Director of Music of the Anglican Church in Dresden in 1895 suggests that his move from Eton to Guildhall was also inspired by a frustration with the upper classes, and an affinity with the 'lower strata of society'.

The late Sir Joseph Barnby recently expressed his astonishment that the upper classes of society have by no means the natural ability for music, that is found in the lower strata of life. He had tested every boy that had entered Eton for the last 20 years, and he found that scarcely one quarter of them had the faintest notion of

²¹⁸ Elliot, 'Joseph Barnby' *New York Observer*, 429.

²¹⁹ 'Sir J. Barnby on the position of music in England' *The Manchester Guardian* (4 January, 1894), 6.

²²⁰ Black, *Pen, Pencil, Baton and Mask*, 5.

music whatever, whereas his experience in the lower strata of society was, that the proportion of boys who had some notion of it was nearly three quarters[.]²²¹

Compare the frustration seen above with the sense of sympathy captured below, when Barnby speaks about the life-changing effect music could have for the poor who attended the Guildhall.

“Most of the girls,” continued Sir Joseph, thoughtfully, “tell me all their troubles, and very sad are the tales of sorrow and struggles I have occasionally to hear. There are times indeed when one’s task is hard, when it is painful to be compelled to say what honesty compels one to say. Picture to yourself a poor widow coming to me with an anxious, careworn face, and telling me that she has made great sacrifices in order to pay her daughter’s fees at the school, in the hope that the girl may, by teaching or performing, aid in keeping the wolf from the door. Imagine her asking me whether the time has now arrived when her daughter can go out into the world and earn money by her music; and then imagine my feelings when, after hearing the daughter play, I am compelled to tell the heartbroken mother that her daughter has no talent, and never can be a musician.”²²²

Perhaps the changes Barnby worked to effect across England should be read as a response to his own life – from poverty, studying in England, working among the poor in Fitzrovia and Soho, and teaching the privileged at Eton. Perhaps it was in reflection on this, that he sought to improve these diverse aspects of Victorian musical society for others. Is this what he meant, when he stated that he lived by the words of Ecclesiastes IX.x: ‘Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might’?

Conclusions

Considering Joseph Barnby – maligned composer of a few chants – as ‘father of the English choral tradition’ may seem overly generous a summary to some, especially those who hold to a more conservative, composer-centric canon. Fundamentally, it rather depends on the way you define English choral tradition. It may also well be rejected by the more progressive, who might argue – with great validity – that such a label, which pedestals one man over others in the language of the patriarchy, is unhelpful in a field where the decolonisatory process is only just beginning. In a

²²¹ ‘English Church Music on the Continent’ *The Organist and Choirmaster* (Vol. 3, 1895) 189

²²² John Evans Woolacott, ‘Interviews with eminent musicians: no. 6 – Sir Joseph Barnby’ *Strand Magazine* (July 1895).

historiographical consideration, perhaps the question is best approached from the opposite perspective: 'why do we not consider him as such?'

Barnby's claim to the title is marred by a number of factors that do not align well with the priorities of western historians. First, he lived the life of a musician in abundance, working as a composer, conductor, choir trainer, consultant, and educator. Only one shade of this prismatic musicianship is captured in histories that only consider composers. Even when we consider all Barnby's contributions to church music, many other parts of his life can not fully be discussed, despite their relevance. However, a biographical monograph would be required to begin to cover all of his contributions to English music, including his work towards greater equity in music, his development of secular choral praxis, orchestral conducting, and education. Second, Barnby was a parish musician. After his time as a chorister at York Minster, he never had a formal connection with a cathedral. The innovations and improvements he brought to cathedral music were born in the parish church, where change could happen more swiftly, unencumbered by the conservative bureaucracy associated with most cathedral chapters and lay vicars with lifetime appointments. Considering the institutional elitism which carves a hard-and-fast line between cathedral and parish, even if the parish choir is better, musicians in non-cathedral churches have found considerably less admiration in twentieth-century history books and journals. Third, the material connection with Barnby's legacy has largely disappeared. His churches are no longer. St Anne's Soho was destroyed, and St Andrew's, Wells Street was rebuilt, with significant alterations to organ and choral provisions, in suburban Kingsbury. As such, the material connection with those Central London churches has disappeared. Fourth, his compositional style was considered unfavourably by writers after the post-Edwardian changes to the English Musical Renaissance hypothesis. Initially, this simply led to omission. In the second half of the twentieth century, his music was so unfashionable that Barnby becomes a subject of outright derision for authors like Kenneth Long, who does not shy away from

personal attacks on Barnby.²²³ Between issues of canonisation, institutionality, heritage, and the tastes of later generations, Barnby's story did not fare well in the history books.

How then, can he be considered as 'father of the English choral tradition'? In my estimation, any such definition should not just include the English church choirs, even where they balance excellence and education with a broad and diverse repertoire. The tradition of singing in schools, colleges, and universities should also be considered, as well as the secular and sacred Choral Society tradition. The preceding chapter has outlined Barnby's contribution to all these diverse parts of England's choral life. His work at Wells Street became the archetype for cathedrals and parish churches around the country. Starting with Stainer at St Paul's, choirs across the country were formed or reformed on the model developed by Barnby, showcasing imitations of the diverse repertoire, the approach to choir training, and the commitment to excellence. Besides his educational work with choristers, his work at the Guildhall helped to shape the musical life of thousands of young women and men. His work with St Anne's, the *Barnby Choir*, and the *Royal Choral Society* helped to reform the amateur singing world, introducing the massive choirs that would define public events until Edwardian times and beyond.

In Barnby, the English choral tradition has an unlikely father figure, but it is in his work that we first see the combination of diversity and excellence which we have come to recognise as this tradition. His approach to choral music became a model that was imitated all over the country. In his progeny, we see an English choral tradition which is not defined by composers, or by a narrow canon of approved works, but a living tradition, defined by its practitioners: by diverse communities of people coming together in churches, schools, and community centres to sing, to learn, to socialise, and to live, embracing something of the musical abundance that also marked the life of Sir Joseph.

²²³ Kenneth Long, *The Music of the English Church* (London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1971), 362-364.

CHAPTER IV

The ‘lasting presence’ of Alice Mary Smith

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Summary

Alice Mary Smith’s compositional output includes one of the largest collections of sacred choral music by a pre-twentieth-century female composer. The performance of her offertory anthem *Whoso hath this world’s goods* at St Andrew’s, Wells Street, on 4 February, 1864, constitutes the first recorded performance of liturgical choral music by a female composer in the Church of England.¹

¹ In 2019, when the editions of Smith’s music were undertaken, it appeared to be the first liturgical music by a woman composer. Since then, Rachel Webber discovered an earlier hymn by a woman composer. University of York, *Postgraduate Music student uncovers the earliest-known Church-of-England hymn by a woman composer*, accessed 3 March 2022, <https://www.york.ac.uk/music/news-and-events/news/2020/rachelwebberuncoversstheearliestknownchurch-of-englandhymnbyawomancomposer/>

It was soon followed by the performance of her larger anthem *By the Water of Babylon*, on 21 February. It is likely that all the anthems were written with the choir of St Andrew's in mind.²

Her achievements as symphonist and liturgical composer are recorded in our history books,³ but her music never entered the canons of music in the concert hall or the church. This phenomenon is explored in a consideration of musical canonisation process, focusing especially on issues of performance and publication. Through analytical and archival research, this chapter will demonstrate that her sacred music was likely written in a considerably shorter timeframe than previously hypothesised, which enriches our understanding of Smith's achievements as a composer. In-depth analyses of her works follow, preceded by some generalisations about style, structure, and compositional process. Smith's music largely follows Victorian melodic and harmonic conventions, and shows a clear stylistic development between the early canticles and the later cantata, moving from the plainer English cathedral style to a, richer, more dramatic language. Smith's music is marked by an active engagement with historical approaches to music theory such as the affective properties of keys and the construction of meaning in music through rhetorical figures. This leads to unusual tonal structures in which the text of each individual section is in perfect sympathy with the affect of its key and tonality. The dramatic juxtaposition of these different key areas is used to generate structural momentum, allowing her to develop larger-scale structures like the cantata *Exile*.

Introduction

'The lasting presence of her mind [is] in the compositions she has left'.⁴ These words from Sir George MacFarren, consoling Alice Mary Smith's widower, remain true to this day – more so for her than for

² Christopher E. Ellis, *The Choral Anthems of Alice Mary Smith: Performance Editions of Three Anthems by a Woman Composer in Victorian England* (DA dissertation, Ball State University, Muncie IN, 2014) 88-89, accessed 3 March 2022, http://cardinalsolar.bsu.edu/bitstream/handle/123456789/198092/EllisC_2014-2_BODY.pdf?sequence=1

³ such as George Grove, 'White, Meadows, Alice Mary Meadows White' *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. George Grove, vol. 4 (London: Macmillan and Co.. 1889), 451.

⁴ Document held by the West Sussex Record Office in Chichester, uncatalogued, MacFarren to Frederick Meadows-White after the death of Alice Mary Smith.

most composers. Until ten years ago, she was only a footnote in the history books: the first English woman to compose a symphony. Many of her musical manuscripts were rediscovered ten years ago, but few other sources remain: little is known about her person. This chapter seeks to investigate her character through her compositions, alongside other remaining sources.

Alice Mary Smith's manuscripts resurfaced in the early 2000s, and were deposited at the Royal Academy of Music Library in 2010, after more than a century in private ownership. Since the rediscovery of these manuscripts, Ian Graham-Jones and Christopher Ellis have undertaken research projects on the music. Graham-Jones published some of her major works⁵ and a short biography⁶ which traces her life and catalogues the majority of her musical output. Ellis transcribed three of her anthems for his unpublished DMus thesis,⁷ which also includes some biographical and analytical work. In 2019, the current author made a complete edition and recording of Smith's sacred choral music freely available, which contained new editions of the three anthems published by Ellis, and first editions of another three anthems, three canticles and a fragment of a fourth, and a cantata.⁸

Both Graham-Jones and Ellis observe that Alice Mary Smith has been forgotten to some extent, and that, to a greater degree, her music has been forgotten. Graham-Jones writes 'Smith[']s works] have fallen into the black pit of obscurity'.⁹ Neither Graham Jones nor Ellis moves beyond the observation to the more fundamental questions that are raised by these observations about forgetting and obscurity. How did this forgetting happen, and more crucially still: why?

⁵ Alice Mary Smith, *Symphonies*, ed. Ian Graham-Jones (Middleton WI: A-R Editions. 2003), Alice Mary Smith, *Two Overtures The Masque of Pandora (1878) and Jason, or The Argonauts and the Sirens (1879)*, ed. Ian Graham-Jones (Middleton WI: A-R Editions. 2007), Alice Mary Smith, *Ode to the Passions*, ed. Ian Graham-Jones (Middleton WI: A-R Editions. 2019), Alice Mary Smith, *Short Orchestral Works: Andante for Clarinet and Orchestra; Intermezzi from The Masque of Pandora*, ed. Ian Graham-Jones (Middleton WI: A-R Editions. 2020).

⁶ Ian Graham-Jones, *The life and music of Alice Mary Smith (1839-1884), a woman composer of the Victorian era : a critical assessment of her achievement; with a foreword by Roger Parker*. (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2010.)

⁷ Ellis, *The Choral Anthems of Alice Mary Smith*.

⁸ This project was generously funded by the AHRC through a Knowledge Exchange Project grant from the White Rose College of the Arts & Humanities.

⁹ Ian Graham-Jones, 'Women in Music', *The Maud Powell Signature* Vol. II, No. 3, Autumn 2008, 62, accessed 3 March 2022

http://www.maudpowell.org/signature/Portals/0/pdfs/signature/Signature_Autumn_2008.pdf

This chapter firstly seeks to answer those historical and historiographical questions, considering issues of performance and publication. The second part of the chapter will attempt to find something of Smith's voice in her music, using score-driven analysis of her sacred vocal music. Supplemented by the limited archival sources available, this analysis offers new insights into the mind of the young Alice Mary Smith, and assesses the significance of her sacred *oeuvre*.

The unheard canon of history

Alice Mary Smith: first British woman composer to write a symphony. This is how she has been known for the last century: as no more than a little footnote in the history books. She was never forgotten as a name, as this milestone in history was written down in significant publications like *Grove's Dictionary*.¹⁰ However, her compositions were forgotten; her musical voice was silent.

This is a crucial distinction to make. For the last century, she has fundamentally been regarded as a historical novelty rather than as a composer. Heidegger claims that the artist only exists because of the existence of artworks, just as the artworks only exist because of the existence of the artist. He argues that this circle of identity points down to a shared origin in art (*Kunst*), which is rooted in poetry, which in turn reveals something of a deeper truth.

Das Werk entspringt nach der gewöhnlichen Vorstellung aus der und durch die Tätigkeit des Künstlers. Wodurch aber und woher ist der Künstler das, was er ist? Durch das Werk; denn, daß ein Werk den Meister lobt, heißt: das Werk erst läßt den Künstler als einen Meister der Kunst hervorgehen. Der Künstler ist der Ursprung des Werkes. Das Werk ist der Ursprung des Künstlers. Keines ist ohne das andere. Gleichwohl trägt auch keines der beiden allein das andere. Künstler und Werk sind je in sich und in ihrem Wechselbezug durch ein Drittes, welches das erste ist, durch jenes nämlich, von woher Künstler und Kunstwerk ihren Namen haben, durch die Kunst.¹¹

¹⁰ George Grove, 'White, Meadows, Alice Mary Meadows White' in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. George Grove, vol. 4 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1889), 451.

¹¹ Martin Heidegger, *Der Ursprung des Kunstwerkes* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1967, 1st ed. 1935-6), 7.

The origin of something is the source of its nature. The question of the origin of the artwork asks about the source of its nature. According to the usual view, the work arises out of and through the activity of the artist. But through and from what is the artist that which he is? Through the work; for the German proverb "the work praises the master" means that the work first lets the artist emerge as a master of art. The artist is the origin of the work. The work is the origin of the artist. Neither is without the other. Nonetheless neither is the sole support of the other. Artist and work are each, in

Applying Heidegger's train of thought to musical art, *mutatis mutandis*, it could be said that a composer exists only by merit of the existence of compositions, which are rooted in music, and show the true identity of the composer. In other words, to consider Smith as a composer, her compositions must be performed, analysed, and discussed. By extension, it can be argued that musicologists must move beyond a historical and biographical appreciation of Smith in order to begin considering her as a 'real' composer, rather than a mere historical anomaly. Her identity as a composer lies in her compositions. By performing, analysing, and discussing her compositions, musicians and musicologists may give the composer her voice back, and move her character out of the dry-store of history into the living timelessness of music.

Having argued that it is important to consider a composer and her compositions as a unity that goes beyond synergy, it is important to understand why the composer Alice Mary Smith found a place in musical history books, but only as a name, without her compositions. Justifying the place of the first British woman composer to write symphonies in our history books requires no explanation, especially considering the importance ascribed to the symphonic genre in historiography. The question that remains is: why were her compositions forgotten? What can her music tell us about her person? This chapter will consider the music in terms of performance, publication, and composition. Together, they paint a picture that shows something of the challenges Victorian women composers faced in their careers.

Performance

How concerts were programmed changed dramatically in the nineteenth century, in part due to the change in the type of audience and how art was consumed. The notion of presenting music that was

themselves and in their reciprocal relation, on account of a third thing, which is prior to both; on account, that is, of that from which both artist and artwork take their names, on account of art.

Translation: Julian Young and Kenneth Haynes, *Martin Heidegger: Off the Beaten Track* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2002), 1.

not contemporary in concerts was virtually unknown in the early eighteenth century. Celia Applegate notes that the notion of an 'autonomous musical work ... worthy of preservation and repeated performance, emerged in the late eighteenth century and became stable in the nineteenth'.¹² Once pieces have become these autonomous objects, through repetition, they can be codified and collected in musical canons and musical histories. They can begin to create a 'Museum of Musical Works',¹³ where musical works become more than craftsmanship. Music was transformed ontologically to be something that could be preserved and pedestalsed. Our musical canon was established through repetition.

In the time of Alice Mary Smith, this canon was quite firmly established, which meant that pieces by major composers had become repertoire. Some works were frequently repeated at concerts, enabling an understanding of the work beyond the sonic experience of the music, turning the works into objects *an sich*. A good example of this canon formation in practice can be found in the 1881 introduction to 'Mr. Ganz's Orchestral Concerts.' 'The Programme of each Concert will include a SYMPHONY by Beethoven, Haydn, Schubert, Schumann, Spohr Mendelssohn, &c, or a new work by a modern composer; a CONCERTO for the Pianoforte or Violin; besides OVERTURES and Vocal Music.'¹⁴ The nineteenth-century Novello editions of Smith's music feature a similar list of canonised composers on their cover: Spohr, Mendelssohn, Beethoven, Haydn appear in both lists. Novello adds Weber, Bach, Mozart, and Händel, showing a more historical (or commercial¹⁵) approach, while Ganz mentions the more recently departed Schubert and Schumann instead.

The formation of an increasingly rigid musical canon was (and remains) a major problem for women composers, as Marcia Citron sets out in her seminal work *Gender and the Musical Canon*.¹⁶

¹² Celia Applegate *The Necessity of Music: Variations on a German Theme* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2017), 188.

¹³ For more details on these ideas, see: Lydia Goehr *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works, An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1992).

¹⁴ Document held by the West Sussex Record Office in Chichester, uncatalogued, *Mr. Ganz's Orchestral Concerts* pamphlet, 1881.

¹⁵ For further details on the connection between repeating older music and commercial developments, see Marcia Citron *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Urbana IL: University of Illinois Press. 2000, 1st ed. 1993), 36.

¹⁶ Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 41.

'For a complex set of reasons women have generally been omitted or excluded'¹⁷ from the canons of Western art music. This act of omission was partially accomplished through treating such music as *novelties*: music that was performed only once, from manuscript. Performance without repetition or publication (and often, without rehearsal) treated this music as a curiosity, rather than as a serious work of art. This ensured no women would enter the canon, as 'publication and ... repeat performance [are required to] keep the work alive for potential canonic membership.'¹⁸ Paula Gillett argues that the Victorian concert hall was 'a marketplace sometimes open to the novelty of a woman's composition, [but where] the persistent designation "amateur" and "woman's work" in the context of the persevering assumption of female intellectual inferiority seems likely to have limited the seriousness with which her work was taken and reduced the likelihood of publication.'¹⁹ In other words, music by women composers would rarely be performed, and if they did manage to get into a major concert series, it had a very direct effect on the likelihood of commercial success of their publications, as their music was almost never given repeat performances, once labelled as a novelty.

The challenges created by this tendency towards one-off performances is exemplified by Smith's life. The letters of Wilhelm Ganz, Vincent Novello, and Ebenezer Prout to Alice Mary Smith highlight the problems very acutely. Wilhelm Ganz writes to Smith 'to remind you that I would like to have a new Overture of your Composition, at my forthcoming series of Orchestral Concerts.'²⁰ No mention is made of a fee or any form of recompense. Graham-Jones asserts that this was because of the success of the overtures in the previous season and that Smith declined because she was 'busy with the composition of ... "*Ode to The Passions*".' When she proposes to perform two excerpts from

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., 190.

¹⁹ Paula Gillett, *Musical Women in England, 1870-1914: Encroaching on All Man's Privileges* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press. 2000), 18.

²⁰ Document held by the West Sussex Record Office in Chichester, uncatalogued, Wilhelm Ganz to Alice Mary Smith (Mrs. Meadows White).

the *Masque of Pandora* instead, Ganz agrees to perform these, 'provided the former have not been heard yet at a public Concert'.²¹

Dear Mrs. Meadows White!

According to promise I write this letter to remind you that I should like to have a new Overture of your Composition, at my forthcoming series of Orchestral Concerts. ... I think the 2 intermezzi from your "Masque of Pandora" will do better than a new Overture provided the former not been heard yet at a public Concert here. Believe me. Sincerely yours. Wilhelm Ganz²²

This exchange highlights some of the problems Smith faced: firstly, it confirms that even when successful in previous years, her music would not be repeated: instead she was expected to compose more, if she wanted to be included in this prestigious series, with no mention of any financial compensation. Secondly, the story highlights the enormous pressure which this puts on the composer, as she had to work tirelessly to compose vast quantities of new material. Thirdly, it demonstrates how acutely real the sense of the novelty was to the composer: the *Masque of Pandora* music she sent to Ganz was not just judged on merit: the conductor expressly and explicitly mentions that it has to be a novelty.

In the reviews following the concert, such works were usually given little more than a cursory note acknowledging their existence. This is aptly demonstrated in the review of the 1878 Crystal Palace concert that included the *Masque of Pandora* overture. Note how the term *novelty* was used to discredit it as a serious piece of art, considering it as a circus-like curiosity instead.

The orchestral pieces at this concert, all of which were admirably given, were the "Jupiter" Symphony, the overture to "Elise" (Cherubini), and that to "The Masque of Pandora," by Alice Mary Smith (Mrs. Meadows-White). The last-named clever composition was put, in accordance with a custom that too frequently prevails with respect to novelties at these concerts, at the end of the programme.²³

It is not just in programming and review that these works were often ignored. Ebenezer Prout's letters to Smith reveal that he did not take her orchestral works very seriously in terms of

²¹ Document held by the West Sussex Record Office in Chichester, uncatalogued, Alice Mary Smith to Wilhelm Ganz.

²² Document held by the West Sussex Record Office in Chichester, uncatalogued, Wilhelm Ganz to Alice Mary Smith (Mrs. Meadows White).

²³ "Novelty" Crystal Palace' *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol. 19, No. 430 (Dec. 1, 1878), 663-664.

rehearsal. The scenario is reminiscent of Ethel Smyth's frustration with the lack of rehearsal time allocated for *The Wreckers*, and her disappointment in the fact that 'Beecham crammed all the rehearsals into ten days and nights'.²⁴ Prout unashamedly writes to Smith that he would like her to send the score and parts in manuscript, without any mistakes, because he has no time to correct them. The letter does not refer to the work in question by name, but this information can be derived from the letterhead and the date of the letter. The Hackney Choral Association gave the first performance of Smith's substantial²⁵ secular cantata *Ode to the North-East Wind* with a 'band and chorus of 200 performers' on the 23rd of November.

With only one short rehearsal possibility, we shall be able to give you only a very rough performance. ... We have so much to rehearse on the morning that I cannot possibly spare more than about half an hour for your work; and if we cannot get it right in that time it will have to take its chance in the evening.²⁶

While it may be true that attitudes towards acceptable margins of inaccuracy have shifted over the last two centuries, the candour of this statement remains bewildering, as is the timescale. The *Ode to the North-East Wind* was performed on the 23rd of November, by over 200 people, with no more than half an hour of rehearsal time on the day, the parts having arrived on the 19th, conducted by someone who began looking at the music on the 6th and the 7th of the same month.²⁷ This single source should not be portrayed as hard evidence that these *novelties* were always considered to be of such little consequence that conductors openly admitted to sight-reading them on the day of the concert, or that this was common practice. However, it was not uncommon for composers outside of the musical establishment to receive similar treatment. For example, the young, provincial Edward Elgar travelled from Worcester to London in 1884 to hear his music being rehearsed by the Proms

²⁴ Kathleen A. Abromeit, 'Ethel Smyth, "The Wreckers," and Sir Thomas Beecham' *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 73, No. 2 (1989), 203.

²⁵ The vocal score contains about 50 pages of music in the Novello Octavo edition.

²⁶ Document held by the West Sussex Record Office in Chichester, uncatalogued, Ebenezer Prout to Alice Mary Smith.

²⁷ It should be noted that the chorus may have had more rehearsal opportunities. It may well be that the production process was similar to that of Elgar's *Gerontius*, where the chorus began learning the music from vocal scores while the instrumental parts were being finished. See: Jonathan Wainwright, "Gerontius" with M.S. notes by Elgar': R. J. Buckley's Vocal Score of The Dream of Gerontius in the Borthwick Institute for Archives at the University of York', *Elgar Society Journal*, 22/2 (2020), 36-57, 42. See also Jerrold Northrop Moore, *Edward Elgar: A Creative Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1984), 322-5.

orchestra, only to be supplanted by Sir Arthur Sullivan arriving to rehearse one of his operas.²⁸ Elgar returned to Worcester not having heard a note of his music. He frequently suffered because he was a shopkeeper's son and a Catholic.²⁹ Class, religion, and gender can all be considered as potential reasons for the Victorian musical establishment not to take a composer seriously.

Although Smith's *North East Wind* would later be published by Novello, Prout's letter does highlight the fact that *novelties* were usually performed from manuscript. Evidence of this can also be found in other communications between Prout and Smith. He wrote a veritable superfluity of letters to her offering criticism and comment on even the smallest of details of her scores. Smith asked for feedback from Prout on her work, and on 29th November 1880, he replies 'I am going to write to you very candidly, and tell you exactly what I think the weak points of it'.³⁰ Thus, a week after sight-reading the *North East Wind* in concert, Prout begins to write to the composer with some four pages worth of criticism and commentary on her orchestration, voicing general concerns, such as the 'serious shortcoming [of] the want of sufficient contrast of colours',³¹ as well as specific moments in the piece, such as the beginning of the fourth movement, where the woodwind is 'absolutely inaudible – at least at my desk'.³² The boldness of such criticism is even more staggering considering the piece was performed to a paying audience after only half an hour of rehearsal on the day – a rehearsal which was shorter than the piece itself.

Prout was not unique in offering Smith critical feedback. Smith's archived letters show that she received criticism before performances, afterwards, and again when she tried to publish material. A substantial analysis of the reception of her work in the press would be outside of the scope of this chapter, but some of this work can be found in Graham-Jones' *Life and Work of Alice Mary Smith*. However, criticism (and the absence thereof) is very relevant in the context of her

²⁸ Northrop Moore, *Edward Elgar: A Creative Life*, 110.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 129-130.

³⁰ Document held by the West Sussex Record Office in Chichester, uncatalogued, Ebenezer Prout to Alice Mary Smith, 29 November 1880.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

relation to her publisher. The letters from Novello to Smith show that they did not proofread the material in much detail before publishing. In the letter from Novello, accepting the *Song of the Little Baltung* for publishing notes, they write that they intend to return the manuscript to the composer 'to make it perfect for the engraver', noting cursorily that Berthold Tours, the general editor of Novello and well-known Anglo-Dutch composer, 'has suggested that the ending is somewhat abrupt', suggesting that Smith might want to 'mak[e] a little more of it'.³³ As a postscript, the author adds 'We have not yet had the corrected copy of the "Passions", highlighting again, that the onus of editing, proofreading, and correcting was left entirely to Smith, with only limited support from the publishing house. While we must be careful to not consider contemporary standards in proofreading and peer-review as normative for the nineteenth century, such a lack of constructive criticism is unusual,³⁴ and is indicative of Novello's overall approach to publishing music by Smith.

Repeating the works of women composers opens paths towards canonisation: an insistence on novelties firmly closes off such avenues. Through novelties, impresarios could profit from the work of women composers whilst preserving the male hegemony of music histories. To what degree such considerations are relevant to Smith's sacred choral compositions is unclear. There is no evidence to suggest these works were ever repeated. Similarly, there is no evidence that repetition was requested or refused. However, it can be surmised from the previous paragraphs that the repetition of music by women composers was highly unusual. Her music was often considered as a novelty: unrepeated, and therefore uncanonical.

³³ Document held by the West Sussex Record Office in Chichester, uncatalogued, Messrs Novello to Alice Mary Smith, 15 March 1883.

³⁴ Elgar got a lot of critical feedback from Novello's August Jaeger. Most famously, Jaeger criticised the Soul's appearance before God in *Gerontius* (vocal score pp. 158–9) as 'the weakest page in the work! Do re-write it! [he asked Elgar on 16 June 1900] Surely, you want something more dramatic here!? It seems mere weak whining to me & not at all impressive...'. Elgar replied: 'You must read the poem: I cannot rewrite this: the Soul is shrivelled up & voiceless – & I only want on this page a musing murmur & I've got it...'. Jaeger persisted until Elgar eventually rewrote the section with the 'biggety-big' theme appearing 'for one moment' with 'every instrument extert[ing] its fullest force'. Northrop Moore, *Edward Elgar: A Creative Life*, 317, and Wainwright, 'Gerontius', 48.

Publication

Various authors have asserted that Smith's larger pieces were never published. Derek Scott states:

[Smith's] output included such large-scale works as symphonies, cantatas, and a clarinet concerto. Yet, in spite of her honours and achievements, no publisher was interested in anything other than her songs and piano music. Thus, whereas Bennett's and Macfarren's orchestral works were rushed into print and available for performances far and wide, Smith stagnated with her manuscript copies in London.³⁵

This statement is similar to Paula Gillett's, who notes that 'songs and piano music [were] the sole genres seen as suitable for female talents'³⁶ and claims that 'Alice Mary Smith found publishers willing to print only'³⁷ music from these genres. These assertions are largely true. If women composers 'ventured ... beyond the composition of songs to genres seen as more complex and demanding [it] implicitly challenged ideas of male intellectual superiority and female incapacity.'³⁸ With regard to Smith, specifically, it is not entirely true. While she was unable to find a publisher willing to publish her orchestral music,³⁹ she did publish some large-scale works with the biggest publisher in the country at the time: Novello.⁴⁰ They published her four cantatas: *Ode to the North-East wind* (1878, published 1880), *Ode to the Passions* (1882), *Song of the Little Baltung* (1883), and the *Red King* (1884). However, my research has shown that the manner in which these editions were financed is unconventional.

The family archives contain correspondence between Smith, her husband, and Novello about these publications. Effectively, an arrangement was reached whereby Smith paid for the privilege of being printed by Novello and would receive royalties for each copy sold. This did give her the benefits of their name, networks and marketing. This model was first employed for the *Ode to the North East*

³⁵ Derek B. Scott 'The Rise of the Woman Ballad Composer' in *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour*, ed. Derek B. Scott, (2nd edition, Abingdon: Routledge. 2017. 1st edition, Maidenhead: Open University Press. 1989), 63.

³⁶ Gillett, *Musical Women in England*, 18.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ See also Michael Hurd, *Vincent Novello and Company* (London: Harper Collins. 1981) and Victoria L. Cooper, *The House of Novello: Practice and Policy of a Victorian Music Publisher, 1829–1866* (Aldershot: Routledge. 2003)

Wind. She paid Novello the sum of five pounds and received half a penny in royalties for the sale of each copy that was sold, or a quarter of a penny for copies sold to America.⁴¹ Through this mechanism, the entire risk of the publication was in the composer's hands. The publishers were paid to print the music and then proceeded to take 95,8% of the revenue of any sales.⁴² The composer would break even if 2400 copies were sold, and begin to make a small profit after that. It is a striking difference with Novello's common practice of simply taking a small percentage of the sales revenue, after printing.⁴³

This unconventional arrangement was then repeated for the other cantatas: the letters accepting the manuscripts for publication contain references to this arrangement. For example, Novello wrote that the firm would undertake the publication of the *Ode to the Passions* 'on the same terms as your Ode to the North East Wind'.⁴⁴ The letters from Novello indicate that the set-up cost charged to the composer remained uncertain until the very last stages of the process. Regarding the printing of *The Masque of Pandora*, they wrote: 'we shall forward you an estimate for the cost of printing, etc'.⁴⁵ This effectively doubled the financial risk to Smith every time she submitted a piece for publication with Novello: both cost and profit were unknown factors. Perhaps it is because of this substantial barrier that *The Masque of Pandora* was never published, and was almost entirely lost over time. The eight choral sections exist only partially in some sketches, and orchestral versions remain of the overture and two intermezzi.

It is unclear to what degree Smith was in charge of these financial dealings. Graham-Jones claims that the performances of the *Ode to the Passions* at both St James' Hall, London and in Bradford were underwritten by Smith's husband,⁴⁶ but gives no evidence for this. Smith's archives

⁴¹ Document held by the West Sussex Record Office in Chichester, uncatalogued, Novello Accounts.

⁴² The cantatas were sold for one shilling, i.e. twelve pence, according to the accounts.

⁴³ For more details on common practice at Novello in this period, see Victoria L. Cooper, *The House of Novello Practice and Policy of a Victorian Music Publisher, 1829-1866* (Taylor & Francis: Abingdon. 2017)

⁴⁴ Document held by the West Sussex Record Office in Chichester, uncatalogued, Messrs Novello to Alice Mary Smith, July 19, 1881.

⁴⁵ Document held by the West Sussex Record Office in Chichester, uncatalogued, Messrs Novello to Alice Mary Smith, May 31, 1881.

⁴⁶ Graham-Jones *Ode to the Passions*, xii.

contain the accounts from the London performance, which show that the concert (which included many other works) lost £93-15-4.⁴⁷ This translates to around £7,500 today. However, the account is not signed by either Smith or her husband. Even if Graham-Jones is correct, and part of the cost was footed by Meadows-White or Smith, that does not mean that it was necessarily paid for by her husband. Considering the introduction of the 1870 and 1882 Married Women's Property Acts, such a conclusion is rushed, especially when considering that Smith had sold the copyright to her top hit *Maying* in the same year, 1883, for £663⁴⁸ or around £53,000 today. As such, it is eminently possible that she actually paid for these concerts with her own money, probably through her husband's accounts. Her account with Novello, for instance, was also in her husband's name. Whether issues of financial independence were necessarily an issue for Smith and her husband remains a question, as all evidence indicates that he was very supportive of her career.⁴⁹

Having addressed the challenges women faced to have their music published, and examined Smith's way of circumventing the reluctance of publishers to publish large-scale works by women composers, the question remains: why did she go through all this effort? The answer, in my estimation, is three-fold. Firstly, it was the side-benefits of publication. Publication by Novello included the marketing and networking that was the key to her *Ode to the Passions* being introduced at the Hereford Festival, taken up in Bradford, and considered in Hackney. It is even possible that the St James' Hall performance of the *Passions* was done through the publishing house's network, as the tenor that evening was Edward Lloyd, protégé of Joseph Barnby, who was a musical advisor to Novello. In short, it can be said that publishing the music made repeat performances more likely. Secondly, the set-up costs she had to pay were relatively small in comparison to the profits her *Lieder* were generating. While the Novello accounts indicate that she did not make much money on the *Cantatas*, it seems she could, and wanted to, take the financial risk. Thirdly, the ambitiousness of Smith should not be underestimated. The notion of status as a composer when it comes to having

⁴⁷ Document held by the West Sussex Record Office in Chichester, uncatalogued, Novello Accounts.

⁴⁸ Scott, 'The Rise of the Woman Ballad Composer', 63.

⁴⁹ Graham-Jones, *Short Orchestral Works*, i.

their choral and orchestral works being published by Novello may well have been a major consideration. These works were certainly the ones that were frequently noted by various reviewers and obituaries. For example, the *Atheneum* writes of the *Ode to the Passions* that

We are not, perhaps, implying very much in stating that the composer of this work occupies the most prominent place among living female composers; but we may go further, and declare that in earnestness of purpose and laudable ambition she deserves to be named among the foremost of English musicians.⁵⁰

The *Boston Evening Traveller* of 12 March 1885 takes a similar tone: she ‘was the first, perhaps the only woman composer of eminence of classical, concerted music.’⁵¹ The *Times* of 8 December 1884 notes that ‘she was among the few female composers who attempted the higher forms of choral and orchestra music, her most ambitious effort being a setting of Collins’s [sic] “*Ode to the Passions*”, successfully produced at the Hereford Festival of 1882.’⁵² Walter McFarren, the brother of Smith’s teacher, writes in the 1886 article ‘Women’s Work in Music’ that Smith left ‘evidence of her ambition to essay music composition in some of its more elevated forms’ and that she ‘produced and published more compositions than we can enumerate, but some of her works are too good and too important to leave uncited.’⁵³

Scholarship still focuses on Smith’s published output of larger compositions. Recent editions of her music have primarily been those of the overtures, symphonies, and other large orchestral works.⁵⁴ In that sense, Smith seems to have had some – if only a little – success in her ambitious attempts to introduce her large-scale works into the canon through publication and performance. These efforts in the concert hall seem to have been made possible to some degree by her financial success in the drawing rooms of England and America.

⁵⁰ *The Atheneum*, 16 September, 1882, cited in Graham-Jones, *The life and music of Alice Mary Smith*, 131.

⁵¹ *Boston Evening Traveller*, 12 March, 1885.

⁵² *The Times*, 8 December, 1884.

⁵³ Cited in Graham-Jones, *Symphonies*, ix.

⁵⁴ See footnote 5, page 157.

Composition

The following section will offer in-depth analyses of selections of Smith's sacred choral music, with the aim of finding out more about her compositional processes, aesthetic priorities, and character, than can be found in the remaining written sources alone.

Despite Smith's relatively short life, it is clear from her output that her priorities shifted and changed over time. She was very engaged with liturgical music as a young composer. Later in life, she did not write any liturgical music, instead focusing on larger-scale works. This means that a study of her sacred choral works can only inform us about the priorities of a young Alice Mary Smith, before marriage, through music written in her mid-twenties. Christopher Ellis writes the following on the dating of her sacred choral works:

During Smith's early years as a composer, she wrote the anthem *Whoso Hath This World's Goods*, which ... bears the inscription, "Written for St. Andrews, Wells Street, Feb. 4th, 1864." A second anthem, *By the Waters of Babylon*, was performed on February 21, 1864. ... *The Soul's Longings*, ... and *Come Unto Him* ... have Smith's address of "4 Sussex Place" on the cover, which would place their composition prior to Smith's marriage and corresponding move to a new address in 1867. ... *Out of the Deep*, does not bear a date or an address to help determine when it was composed, but Graham-Jones stated that it was likely the earliest of the five, based on the handwriting in the manuscript.⁵⁵

Neither Ellis nor Graham Jones considers *O praise the Lord*, the various canticles, or the cantata *Exile*.

There is a dramatic difference in both musical style and handwriting between the canticles and the other pieces. The canticles appear to have been written in an academic context, using a far more traditional form and language than the later works, as well as immaculate penwomanship.

Around 1861, around the age of 18, Smith changed teachers, from Sterndale Bennett to MacFarren.⁵⁶

Considering the significant change in style between the canticles and the anthems, it is likely that the former were written while she was still studying with Sterndale Bennett. If this is the case, the canticles were written by Smith before the age of 18.

⁵⁵ Ellis, *The Choral Anthems of Alice Mary Smith*, 32-33.

⁵⁶ Graham-Jones, *Two Overtures*, vii.

O praise the Lord appears to be an early work, written early in her time with Macfarren. Although the manuscript is no longer in the scholastic handwriting of the Canticles, it still contains some of the more homophonic and stylistically simple material that can be seen in the Canticles. The structure of the work, however, reflects the versified nature of anthems such as *By the waters of Babylon* and *Out of the deep*, although it does not have quite the same maturity in balance, structure, and harmonic language. This work might date from around 1861-1863. It is unlikely that it was ever performed, considering the state of the manuscript: RAM MS1774.

I acknowledge Graham-Jones' statement that the handwriting for *Out of the Deep* looks to be earlier, but I would not date it before 1863. Stylistically, I would place it alongside or as a marginal antecedent to *By the waters of Babylon*, suggesting composition in 1863 or 1864. The anthem *Out of the Deep* is preserved in two manuscripts. RAM MS1617a is an early version, which is unfinished. It was significantly revised in RAM MS1617b, with the opening transposed from D to F. Also, this manuscript remains partially unfinished, containing various corrections in pencil in what appears to be another hand. It is unlikely that it was ever performed.

The dating of the other anthems suggested by Graham-Jones and affirmed by Ellis is relatively clear-cut. Evidence of performance exists for *Whoso hath this worlds' goods* and *By the waters of Babylon*. Their dating of *Come unto him* and *The Souls' Longings* is less precise. Graham-Jones and Ellis suggest dates between 1864 and 1867. These works are mostly finished and could be performed from the manuscripts. Their binding together under the cover of 'Two Anthems' may suggest intent of performance or publication.

The Cantata *Exile* contains structural elements that are reminiscent of the earlier anthems but are executed on a much larger scale, and with an advanced tonal language that is closer to the soundworld of *Come unto him*, although it is more daring and more mature. While length and duration do not merit glorification *per se*, the scale of the composition does show a clear sense of ambition. Tonally, it is much more complex than the later cantatas, which were published, and are more accessible. The work certainly post-dates the anthems but was likely written in the years before

her marriage. Both in scale and style, the closest relative is the operetta *Gisela of Rudesheim*, which premiered in 1865. If this is true, then *Exile* was written around the same time, it suggests that all of the anthems and the Cantata were written more swiftly, in a far shorter period than previously estimated. This, in turn suggests that Smith was enormously productive in 1864 and 1865, continuing the pattern of ambitious quantities of high-quality compositions that followed the premiere of her first symphony in 1863.

After this intense burst of writing an impressive collection of sacred choral music, however, Smith's priorities changed, and after a short period of not writing very much at all, she focused on her orchestral output and, later, the secular cantatas.

As a result, an analysis of Smith's sacred choral work can only give us an insight into her mind and character between the ages of about 16 and 26. Within this, the timeline follows the genres: from her youthful canticles, via the anthems of around 1864, to the cantata, which is very similar to *Gisela* of 1865.

Analytical Methodology

'The lasting presence of her mind [is] in the compositions she has left'.⁵⁷ MacFarren's words are beautiful, and will surely have provided great consolation to her grieving widower. However, they do provide the musicologist today with a significant challenge. How do we extract that essence of her character from her compositions? What methodologies could possibly capture the spirit of her mind in any meaningful way, 160 years later?

Tonal structures in Smith's music should be considered in gendered terms, as was the norm in the nineteenth century. Within the conservative field of church musicology, such constructs might be perceived as a product of post-1990s feminist scholarship in 'New Musicology'. McClary has argued that 'it is only ... [because] of "feminist awareness" that traditional classifications based on

⁵⁷ Document held by the West Sussex Record Office in Chichester, uncatalogued, MacFarren to Frederick Meadows-White after the death of Alice Mary Smith.

ostensibly masculine and feminine traits have been deemed embarrassing and thus suppressed.⁵⁸ Most importantly, the tonic and the dominant were commonly associated with the masculine and feminine in the nineteenth century. They are most famously used by A. B. Marx in his scholarship on sonata form,⁵⁹ but they can be found in many earlier sources, such as the writings of eighteenth-century music theorist Georg Andreas Sorge.⁶⁰

Her obituary in the *Athanaeum* mentions that Smith's 'forms were always clear and her ideas free from eccentricity; her sympathies were evidently with the Classical rather than with the Romantic school.'⁶¹ As a musicologist, the default reading of this would be: 'her sympathies were evidently with the Classical [school of composers like Haydn, Mozart, and early Beethoven] rather than with the Romantic school [of composers like Schubert, Liszt, Berlioz, Mendelssohn, Gounod, Wagner].'⁶² This is an entirely valid reading and one that has considerable merit. However, when it comes to her church music, it falls very short. There are no clear forms of the late eighteenth-century type. The tonal structure of her works often comes across as really quite eccentric. Every single piece contains surprising elements that do not fall within the common boundaries of Victorian convention. There is an alternative reading – one that perhaps is closer to the lived reality of a well-educated young woman who began studying Latin at age six, Greek at age eight, and Hebrew at age ten,⁶³ namely that, her 'sympathies were evidently with the Classical [schools of thought of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Seneca] rather than with the Romantic school[s of thought of Goethe, Wordsworth, Blake, or Scott].' It is not the most obvious reading from a musicologist's perspective, but it is appropriate for Smith: a broadly- educated, well-read, composer. Moreover, it is a reading that answers many questions about her compositional processes, and offers suggestions as to which

⁵⁸ Susan McClary, 'Towards a Feminist Criticism of Music' *Alternative Musicologies* Volume 10, Number 2, (Canadian University Music Review, 1990), 12, accessed 3 March 2022, <https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1014882ar>

⁵⁹ See also: James Hepokoski 'Masculine. Feminine. Are Current Readings of Sonata Form in Terms of a 'Masculine' and 'Feminine' Dichotomy Exaggerated? James Hepokoski Argues for a More Subtle Approach to the Politics of Musical Form' *The Musical Times* Vol. 135, No. 1818 (Aug., 1994), 494-499.

⁶⁰ McClary 'Towards a Feminist Criticism of Music', 12.

⁶¹ *The Athanaeum* 13 December, 1884.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Graham-Jones *Two Overtures*, vii.

methodologies can be employed to understand her music more fully, and decode the ‘lasting presence of her mind’.

The adoption of such an approach can be considered as a direct result of extensive analysis of Smith’s sacred choral music. Smith’s structural and melodic devices can seem random or uncontrolled within the context of Victorian convention, and yet, there is a very clear method to her approach. This is made especially clear in various unfinished manuscripts, where modulations between sections are often only sketched in,⁶⁴ and left unfinished or almost entirely unwritten, suggesting that the modulation is not the driver, but that the tonal areas of the two sections were predetermined in an early plan or outline. If these two sections are then in remote key areas which make absolutely no sense within the conventions of structural tonality, it does raise the questions: if it is not the modulatory section driving the decisions on a tonal level, and it does not follow musical conventions, then what does it do? Why does it suddenly move to such a remote key?

Such non-structural tonal movements can be explained by considering her music from the Classical perspective. The Classical understanding of music is heavily rooted in the notion of the *proprietas modi*. Each mode is considered to have distinct affective properties, which are often considered as an extension of the moods and affects associated with the planets. As such, diverse modes are considered as an extension of the diverse harmony of the spheres, the *musica mundana* considered in chapter one. The *proprietas modi* were developed further in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and were often studied alongside *Figurenlehre* under the umbrella of *Affektenlehre*: the doctrine of affections. Fundamentally, *Affektenlehre* attempts to codify the affective value of music. It is an archetypally Renaissance project, which puts into practice the maxim ‘measure what is measurable, and make measurable what is not so.’⁶⁵ While *Affektenlehre* is primarily a Renaissance invention, which heavily influenced Baroque compositional practices, it is

⁶⁴ Most notably in the Cantata *Exile*, bars 30, 190, and 275.

⁶⁵ This is often ascribed to Galileo Galilei. However, attribution is contested: see Andreas Kleinert ‘Der messende Luchs’ *NTM Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Wissenschaften, Technik und Medizin*, (Vol. 17, No. 2. 1 May 2009), 199-206.

firmly rooted in Classical philosophical thought and scholarship. 'The basis of the *Affektenlehre* is the Greek doctrine of *ethos* as elaborated by Plato in *The Republic*.'⁶⁶It takes the principles of classical rhetoric and oratory and applies these to the field of music: how does music affect the soul – how can the composer accurately convey the affective content of poetry through music.

Following the rise of the major/minor tonal system and the introduction of tonality as a structural device, the properties of the modes were revised as the properties of the keys. They were considered as an innate and inherent phenomenon by the end of the eighteenth century.⁶⁷ The most widely circulated codification of this list by the early nineteenth century was that by Christian Schubart. This was an extensive reworking of the *proprietas modi* codified by Renaissance and Baroque theorists, which in turn was built on Classical philosophy.

Of several existing descriptions, C. F. D. Schubart's description of keys from *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (1784/ 1806) was the most widely copied and cited. Schubart's list was cited in Johann Ernst Hauser's *Musikalisches Lexikon* (1812), Heinrich Weiker's *Kunstwörterbuch* (1827), Anton Graffer's *Ueber Tonkunst, Sprache, Schrift und Bild* (1830), and Ignaz Franz Mosel's *Versuch einer Aesthetik des dramatischen Tonsatzes* (1813).⁶⁸

Schubart's *Charakteristikstück der Töne* is given in Appendix 1, along with a translation.

Although Smith may well have had access to these German titles in their original language, translation of theoretical volumes which promoted such views were not uncommon in Victorian England. James Warner discussed the key characteristics in his 1846 translation of Gottfried Weber's *Theory of Composition*.⁶⁹ Novello published Ernst Pauer's *The Elements of the Beautiful in Music* in 1877, which includes a full list of key characters and other affective devices such as rhythm and metre.⁷⁰ The first edition of Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* of 1880 includes a substantial

⁶⁶ Finn Egeland Hansen *Layers of Musical Meaning* (Copenhagen: The Royal Library Museum Tusulanum Press. 2006), 44.

⁶⁷ Rita Steblin *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press. 1983), 150-151.

⁶⁸ Summary by Maho A. Ishiguro, *The affective properties of keys in instrumental music from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries* (Mmus Thesis, University of Massachusetts Amherst, 2010), accessed 14 February 22, <https://scholarworks.umass.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1561&context=theses>

⁶⁹ Godfrey [sic] Weber, *Theory of Musical Composition Vol. 1* (transl. James Warner) (London: Wiley & Putnam. 1846), 323-325.

⁷⁰ Ernst Pauer, *The Elements of the Beautiful in Music* (London: Novello. 1877), 19.

discussion on the affective properties of keys. Grove considers their use in the works of various composers, the intricacies of instrument design, and the impact of unequal temperament, which was still normative, as his writings indicate.

If the system of equal temperament were [unreal conditional!] perfectly carried out, the difference would be less apparent than it is [present tense!]: but with unequal temperament, or when the tuner does not distribute the tempering of the fifths with absolute equality in instruments of fixed intonation, there is necessarily a considerable difference between one key and another.⁷¹

It is especially notable that Smith's tutor, Macfarren,⁷² believed in the distinct characters of keys, as is evident in this account of a discussion of pitch between him and the scholar Alexander John Ellis.

Prof, (now Sir George) Macfarren, Principal of the Royal Academy of Music, spoke of 'the difficulty of representing the compositions of different eras, which had been written for different standards of pitch,' and added 'it was a marvellous fact that, while the pitch was felt to be changed, the impression of the character of the keys seemed to remain with reference to the nominal key, not to the number of vibrations of each particular note.'⁷³

Such a nuanced, academic approach should be no surprise. Ebenezer Prout refers to Macfarren as 'England[']s ... greatest theoretical musician'.⁷⁴ Macfarren did not only consider these theoretical issues to be topics of discussion and enlightenment but that they had a real implication upon composition.

I firmly believe that everything which may be hereafter written with good effect, like everything which has up to the present time been produced, will be, must be, clearly accountable and fully explicable by the theory it has been my privilege to lay before you.⁷⁵

As such, it is reasonable to assume that Alice Mary Smith studied the characteristics of keys under the tutelage of Macfarren, and applied these in her compositions. The following analyses suggest that the whole of *Affektenlehre*, including *Figurenlehre*, was studied in detail. This historical

⁷¹ George Grove, 'Key' *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* Vol. II (London: MacMillan, 1880), 53-4.

⁷² No similar accounts are available for Sterndale Bennett, but this is to be expected, considering the rarity of such detailed accounts.

⁷³ Hermann von Helmholtz, tr. Alexander John Ellis 'Additions by the translator' *On the sensations of tone as a physiological basis for the theory of music* (London, New York: Longmans, Green, and Co. 3rd ed. 1895), 550.

⁷⁴ Ebenezer Prout, 'Some Suggested Modifications of Day's Theory of Harmony' *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 14th Sess. (1887 – 1888), 89-117.

⁷⁵ George Alexander Macfarren, *Six Lectures on Harmony* (London: Royal Institution. 1867), 220.

background is of paramount importance to a project which seeks to read the music as an expression of the composer. *Affektenlehre* in its various forms and guises is very well-codified, and offers analytical tools that can be used to decode Smith's constructions of meaning in music.

While the nineteenth century brought minor changes to our understanding of *Affektenlehre*, the patterns of meaning and the conventions of their construction remained stable. One exception is the change in perception of the pre-tonal modes. Even the happiest of these sounded solemn and sacred to the major/minor ears of the nineteenth century. Consider, for example, the use of the Lydian mode in Beethoven's *String Quartet No. 15 in A minor Op. 132, Mvt. 3*. It is not employed as the most joyful of all the modes, but rather, as a mode that depicts the depth of his illness. Heard in juxtaposition to the faster D major sections, entitled *Neue Kraft fühlend*,⁷⁶ which depict his recovery, the *Molto Adagio* sections in the Lydian mode evoke his severe anxiety and the gravity of his disease. Such a change in meaning, however, is not the rule, but the exception. Most conventional constructs of meaning remained relatively stable throughout the nineteenth century. This can even be seen in the more avant-garde of nineteenth-century composers, like Richard Wagner.⁷⁷ Even the Tristan motif, often considered as a landmark on the road of new methods to construct music, can be easily read through the lens of *Affektenlehre*. The desire motif is an elaboration of the historic *exclamatio* figure which also defines the incipits of Bach's aria *Erbarme Dich BWV 244, part 38* and his *Fantasia in C minor BWV 537i* for organ. It symbolises a prayer for help and a longing for resolution. That almost sacred longing is combined with an ascending chromatic pattern of four notes – Wagner's desire motif.⁷⁸ Such chromaticism is analysed in *Affektenlehre* as a representation of love,⁷⁹ especially of *eros*, the physical lust.⁸⁰ Even many of Wagner's complex figures can be analysed relatively

⁷⁶ Feeling new power; re-energised.

⁷⁷ Eva Rieger has argued that Wagner uses *Affektenlehre* to construct his female characters. Eva Rieger, *Leuchtende Liebe, Lachender Tod: Richard Wagners Bild der Frau im Spiegel seiner Musik* (Dusseldorf: Patmos Verlag, 2009), 256.

⁷⁸ Laurence Dreyfus, *Wagner and the Erotic Impulse* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010), 101.

⁷⁹ Jeffrey Kurtzmann, 'The Iagoization of Otello' in *Sonic Transformations of Literary Texts. From Program Music to Musical Ekphrasis: Nine Essays*, ed. Siglind Bruhn (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2008), 88.

⁸⁰ Chromaticism is also linked with physical love beyond Wagner, i.e. in Humphrey Carpenter, *Britten: Benjamin Britten, a biography*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993), 160-2.

accurately through *Figurenlehre*, demonstrating that *Affektenlehre* remains a valuable tool in the arsenal of the musicologist, even when considering music from the nineteenth century. In Alice Mary Smith's case, her teacher's active engagement with this somewhat theoretical understanding of music, and his insistence that contemporary music be comprehensible through established musical theory, reinforces the validity of this methodology.

Having considered the validity and suitability of this approach, the question of its implications remains. What does the structural use of *Affektenlehre* tell us about Smith, her character, and her compositional process? Whilst her harmonic and melodic language are fully within the parameters of Victorian convention, her tonal structures are quite unusual at times, potentially as a result of her focus on *Affektenlehre*, as will be argued later. This shows a very active engagement with the theoretical side of music. This is not unexpected. Her music may well be more heavily based in theory, because so very few practical opportunities for music-making were available. Unlike her brother composers, her music was not based in the daily round of singing as a chorister, but should rather be considered as an expression of the lived reality of an incredibly well-read and well-educated girl who was studying Latin, Greek, and Hebrew at primary school age. It is no surprise that she learned more from books than her male colleagues, who had more opportunities for practical musical experiences in every area of Victorian life. Such a reading could be summarised as: Smith learned from textbooks what she could not learn in the field. Her family's affluence likely allowed her to spend considerable time on composition as a young adult, developing an approach to vocal composition which was more theoretical and intricate than many of her male colleagues. Finally, the why-question remains. Did Smith follow the theoretical intricacies of *Affektenlehre* to prove herself to herself, to Macfarren, or to Barnby? Did she actively try to be more correct – more by the book – than her male colleagues? If such is the case, did she do it because she had to; because she had to work twice as hard for the same recognition? Or did she do it to prove she could be better than her male colleagues? The unusual, somewhat anachronistic focus on theoretical devices to create meaning in Smith's sacred choral music could be read as an act of emancipation in music.

Te Deum Laudamus in E flat (fragment)

This fragment is the only sacred choral work by Smith that was completely abandoned. While a lot of the manuscripts show pieces that are not fully finished, it was not her habit to give up on a piece altogether. Therefore, this fragment can tell us a lot about her compositional process – especially about what she decided not to pursue: typical Victorian tonal stability.

The structure of the Te Deum is unusually stable for Smith's *oeuvre*. The first phrase is dominated by a tonic pedal point, over which the harmony remains in the tonic, dominant, and subdominant, before finding a perfect cadence in the tonic in bar 9. The second phrase introduces more functional tonality through seventh chords of the dominant and supertonic, before returning to a perfect cadence in the tonic in bar 17. The following phrase reaches imperfect cadences in the tonic in bars 21 and 25. In the final, unfinished phrase, the implicit harmony moves towards the dominant area, introducing the supertonic again, but could very well still cadence in the tonic, as occurred in the second phrase, which primarily occupied the dominant key area. Throughout the fragment, the tonic is always present: almost relentlessly so.

The melodic motifs in the fragment are also heavily reliant on the triadic writing. This is especially clear in the opening tenor line, moving from the fifth to the octave, and down to the third. In bar 6, the soprano and alto introduce an even more triadic shape, which returns in bars 18 and 22. It could be argued that the final melodic phrase, introduced in bar 25, derives from the opening tenor line (bars 3-4). If such an argument is made, bar 10 should be read as an inversion of the same melody. This scalar motif is not triadic, but it does nothing to challenge the supremacy of the tonic.

Structurally, harmonically, and melodically, this Te Deum fragment is the stable composition in Smith's sacred choral works. While this is usually considered to be a positive attribute, this is not always the case. In this fragment, the composer gets firmly stuck in that stability, both harmonically and melodically. It is as if Smith is trying to get out of the hold of the tonic at the end of the fragment, but can't, and abandons the sketch. There are various possible explanations: perhaps she

felt there was no tension – there was nowhere left to go. The motivic material did not ask for further development. The harmonic structure required nothing further. There was nothing left to say.

Alternatively, a more theoretical reading is also possible. The association between the male, the masculine, and the tonic was well established by the 1850s and 1860s when Smith was writing, especially in structural terms.⁸¹ If her teacher, Macfarren, the ‘greatest theoretical musician’⁸² of their time taught her the ways of A.B. Marx and his students, such associations may have made such a preponderance of the tonic feel disingenuous. Why would she work to constantly keep affirming the masculine as the normative, the safe, the good, whilst actually, it constrained her, got her stuck, leaving her no choice but to start over with new vigour, resolving to rebalance the tonic/dominant relationships that got her quite so stuck in this *Te Deum* fragment?

Whichever reading is considered preferable – this abandoned approach leads to the same interesting questions about the other canticles. How is the tonal structure managed? How is the dominance of the tonic avoided? How does thematic development relate to structure? How does Smith achieve a balance between tension and stability?

Jubilate Deo in E flat

The *Jubilate Deo*, presumably intended to be sung alongside the unfinished *Te Deum*, is a youthful piece. It is carefully balanced, sprightly, and offers lots of scope for interpretation in performance.

Tonally, the work relies on a balance of tertiary and quinary relationships. The long opening phrase stays firmly in E flat until bar 12, where it moves into C minor. From there, it travels through various key areas, with temporary centres in A flat (bar 25), F minor/major (bar 26), and Bb (bar 37). After a harmonically searching section, the intimate three-part ‘For the Lord is gracious’ returns to F (bars 48-53). E flat is approached without a cadence in B flat, but through a touch of C minor instead, this allows the composer to move the music flat-wards more swiftly. Bars 60-67 reinforces the tonic,

⁸¹ See page 172.

⁸² Prout, ‘Some Suggested Modifications’, 89.

primarily through the subdominant, again eschewing the dominant. This section could be considered as a codetta, as the text is repeated. The *Gloria Patri* starts in E flat in bar 68. The trinitarian opening phrase is divided into three short sentences which move from E flat to C minor to E flat. ‘As it was’ is introduced in A flat major (bar 79). The many repetitions of ‘World without end’ provide a counterbalance to the quasi-codetta of bars 60-67. In this closing statement, the dominant is finally brought to the fore. Musically, the phrase is extended through interruptions of the cadences with sevenths (bar 95), before cadencing into E flat (bar 101). It is concluded by a plagal cadence Amen in bars 103-104 which is clearly considered an organic part of the text and music, as it was prepared in bars 99 and 101.

The tonal progress in this canticle shows clear planning. This is made especially clear in the fact that we see that the *Gloria Patri* is not an extension or an add-on, but a conclusion. The harmonic structure of the *Gloria Patri* is a summary of the structure of the canticle that prefaces it. It is a little more rooted, avoids the superdominant key areas, and spends a little longer in the tonic instead. This allows the longer form to be captured in the microcosm of the *Gloria Patri*. It is as if the *Gloria Patri* acts to summarise the Psalm from the Old Testament, but taking away its veil,⁸³ and enriching it with the overtly Trinitarian doxology, reflecting the clarity of New Testament revelations. Such a focus on the *Gloria Patri* was a typical Anglo-Catholic trademark in the mid-nineteenth century and can be seen clearly in Keble’s *Psalter* and the *Sarum Hymnal*.

Jubilate Deo	E flat major	C minor		A flat major	F minor / F major	B flat major	F major	E flat major
Gloria Patri	E flat major	C minor	E flat major	A flat major		B flat major		E flat major

Table 1: Tonal Structure of the Jubilate Deo in E flat

This focus on the *Gloria Patri* is also visible in the melodic development. Throughout the Jubilate Deo, the primary melodic shapes are descending scalic figures. The triadic writing of the Te

⁸³ Cf. ii Corinthians III.xiv.

Deum is not found here. The opening is like a clarion call, moving from I-V-I-(vi)-I-(IV)-V with all voices staying in a very small register. This is an imperative prelude to the commands that follow in the text, 'serve... come... be...', which form the core of the psalm. The downward scalar figures evolve from this commanding opening. To consider such scales particularly thematic is difficult. However, they do dominate the crucial moments and develop. In bars 9-12, they mark the first perfect cadence in the tonic with the descent of a sixth. The modulation to C minor is marked with the descent of a seventh (bars 13-15). The intimate three-part 'For the Lord is gracious' is marked by the descent of a tenth, interrupted by an octave leap. This is counterbalanced by the repetition of 'and his truth', which features an ascending seventh in bars 61-62. The soprano melody is joined by the bass voice in parallel tenths, and, hidden at the bottom of the texture, they sing the first full octave scale, albeit in inversion. At the start of the *Gloria Patri*, this engagement with the downwards scale is brought to completion. Having grown from sixth to seventh to tenth, and been inverted, it finally finds its perfection in bars 68-72. The Soprano 'Glory be...' moves from the third degree of the scale down a full octave. As in bar 50, the scale is interrupted by an octave leap, which makes it into more of a recognisable thematic entity. The powerful, stable opening is balanced with the exciting, unstable augmented sixth chord in bar 72, which swiftly move the tonal centre to C minor. The *Gloria Patri* which follows is marked by its energetic character and focused writing. The final phrase 'World without end' is marked by dominant seventh chords and melodic descending sevenths through the tonic scale. These two elements carefully balance each other, preserving the conventions of tonic-dominant relationships, but because of the inversions of the tonic chord, and the many gentle dissonances introduced by the descending scalar movement, the tonic is no more stable than the dominant. Perhaps it is for this reason that a plagal cadence is required to end the piece in bars 103-104, to bring resolution where the tonic and dominant cannot.

The Jubilate Deo offers some answers to the questions that were raised at the end of the Te Deum. The tonal structure of the psalm is almost fully recapitulated in the *Gloria Patri*, providing a type of unary form which balances its full expression with its own microcosm. Throughout, Smith

seems to be working very actively to interrupt the dominance of the tonic. This is partially done by avoiding a structural focus on the dominant. Instead, the supertonic minor is set up as the first contrasting key area, both in the large scale (bar 13) and the small scale (bar 73) expressions of the tonal structure. While the conventional connection between the supertonic and the tonic would be made via the dominant, this is not the case, initially. Instead, Smith opts to approach the supertonic minor via the subdominant: its relative major, A flat. This key area is not only central to both sections (see table 1), but also provides all closure in both the first codetta (bars 60-67) and in the final Amen (bars 103-104). In other words, the tonic and dominant, charged with gendered meaning, are held in a careful balance throughout the piece, and it is only in the sacred subdominant that they find resolution and release.

Nunc Dimittis in E flat

The Nunc Dimittis in E flat shows a similar pattern of reliance on a third key to balance tonic-dominant tension, but here, that key is C minor. The hint of G major in bar 3 can be read as a premonition for the preponderance of C minor in this brief, peaceful canticle. C minor occurs at structural moments in bars 10 and 36. The Gloria is marked by two perfect cadences on the dominant in bars 50 and 58, but overall, the whole canticle stays peacefully in E flat throughout. The balance between the three key areas is struck sensitively, and the lack of complex modulations allows the listener to pick up on small nuances in the text setting.

The most characterful word-painting occurs on the word Holy in bar 52. Smith understands Holy in the traditional sense of sanctified or 'set apart', and sets the word to a flat sixth chord: C flat major. Both in its character and its approach through tertiary movement, it echoes Schubertian influences, moving from I – bVI – iv – V – I. The sudden move flat-wards is made especially effective because of the juxtaposition with the superdominant in bar 49 and dominant in bar 50. This may suggest that holiness was a central aspect of her theological understanding or her lived religious experience.

It is likely the various canticles in E flat were conceived as an organic whole. The work opens with an upper auxiliary on the fifth of the tonic chord, which could be read as a slower repetition of the same motif that began the Jubilate. Repetitions in the text also show similarities: for example, the word Holy is not only repeated in the Nunc, but also in bars 76-77 of the Jubilate Gloria. Finally, the Nunc shows a similar focus on the non-temporal words, as did the Jubilate. In the latter case, this can be fully explained by the fact that 'from generation to generation' and 'world without end' are the closing phrases of the two sections. Here, 'is now' is repeated thrice before leading to 'and ever shall be', and 'world without end' is repeated twice. Because repetitions are not used to create tidy four-bar phrases anywhere in these canticles, they do likely have a function, either regarding emphasis or structure. Considering the regularity with which these repetitions occur on the words that point to the eternal, it is plausible that Smith actively repeats these phrases as an expression of her interior life.

Te Deum Laudamus in A

In the largest of Smith's canticles, she continues the process of inverting common tonal functions. After the first phrase moves from the tonic to the dominant, the second dwells entirely in tertiary keys, moving from the mediant major to the submediant minor. As a result of this, the dominant sounds firmly like the tonic at 'To thee all angels' (bar 20). Similarly, 'To thee cherubim' (bar 28) sounds like it is in the subdominant although it is in the tonic. The dominant has been fully tonicised by the tertiary key areas, removing most of the hierarchical binary tension between the keys. As a result, the I-V movement on 'Holy' (bar 36) sounds plagal. This perception is aided by convention and conditioning. Similarly, at 'We believe' (bar 142) the dominant is tonicised by the previous transient cadence into the mediant, C# minor (bars 136-137). Until its conclusion in bar 169, the whole section inhabits the dominant key area, before cadencing into the mediant. Bars 170-192 remains tonally ambiguous, beginning and ending in the mediant, but avoiding conclusive cadences during the rest of the section. In bar 192, 'Govern them' returns to A major, which is primarily tonicised through its

relationship to the subdominant (bars 194-195), not the dominant. After a perfect cadence, 'Day by day' begins to use dominant relations, fully tonicising the tonic. However, the following movement to the superdominant (bar 205) via the submediant (bar 202) immediately calls the dominance of the tonic into question and sets up the tonicisation of the dominant, which is fully achieved by bar 212. After various hints towards the tonic from bar 225 onwards, the tonic is reached through the subdominant by bar 241. The final phrase gently moves from tonic to tonic, touching upon the major secondary and tertiary key areas of A, D, F#, and C# in the process.

The tonic is not just the stable 'home', but is often made to feel like the subdominant – distant and reverend. The dominant, on the other hand, is the primary sphere of operation. The key area historically associated with the feminine is the area in which the joy of life occurs. The relationship between the two keys is largely not navigated through their juxtaposition and hierarchical relationship through repeated cadences. Instead, it is largely navigated by the use of the relative minor, F# minor, and its subdominant, B, which can also act as the dominant of E. As it operates as both subdominant and dominant, most tension is removed from this area. It is through the mediation of submediant that the tonic and dominant are approached, almost every time. This is almost the exact same model that Smith uses in the Jubilate, where the submediant is also set up as the initial contrast, and where its subdominant has a pivotal function in returning from the subdominant to the dominant without touching on the tonic (see Table 1).

Approach

While it is not clear in which order the canticles were written, there are regular patterns in their compositional approach. Apart from the abandoned Te Deum fragment, each of them carefully negotiates a balance between the tonic and the dominant which largely avoid their structural juxtaposition in hierarchical arrangements. In each of them, the submediant minor takes on a pivotal function as structural mediator between tonic and dominant. In the two longer canticles, the Te Deum and Jubilate, substantial sections in the subdominant further help to balance the overall tonal

structure, allowing Smith flexibility to move away from the strict confines of the roles ascribed to related keys. In the Te Deum, A major can be bright, it can be solemn, it can be safe, it can be distant. Her tonic is not a flat character, and as a result, she can dwell in the dominant for whole sections without creating instability.

Considered in gendered theoretical terms, it could be argued that she abandons the one-sided hierarchical masculine and that her ability to inhabit the feminine key areas in the Te Deum in A relies on the versatile, multi-faceted masculinity. The emancipation of the feminine does not require ontological change within its own self but demands it of the masculine. Considered in purely theoretical terms, these early works, possibly written by a young Smith between the ages of 16 and 18, already show a move away from constructions of meaning and structure through relative tonal relationships. This trend is continued in her later anthems and cantata.

O Praise the Lord

O Praise the Lord is probably the earliest of Smith's anthems. It could be read as a verse anthem, along with *By the Waters of Babylon* and *Out of the deep*. The text combines Psalm 117:1⁸⁴ with Psalm 115: 13, 15-18. The combination is unusual, but not unprecedented. The psalms share a joint heritage as Vesper Psalms in the catholic tradition, and the Benedictines commonly combine Psalm 117 with another psalm,⁸⁵ usually Psalm 116. It is not likely that she would have been to a Catholic service of Vespers in the 1850s, only a few years after the Catholic Emancipation Act. It is more likely that she studied their liturgy in the library or experienced it in an English church imitating Italian practices.

Section	Bar	Character	Key
A	1	Quartet and Chorus	A major

⁸⁴ The Hebrew numbering system will be used for all Psalms.

⁸⁵ Timothy Fry, ed., *The Rule of St. Benedict* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press. 1980), 18.

B	18	Soprano Solo	F major
C1	124	Quartet	D minor
C2	159	Quartet	D major
A*	174	Brief recapitulation of opening chorus section	A major, but given in the key of D major.

Table 2: Tonal Structure of *O Praise the Lord*

The tonal structure is marked by tertiary movement. The opening section in the tonic is contrasted with the second section in a rich Schubertian flat submediant major. The third section uses the minor/major of the relative minor of F and the subdominant of A as a pivotal connection to the recapitulation in the original key. This process is reminiscent of the bimodal use of the superdominant in Smith's earlier *Jubilate Deo*. None of the interior sections are in E major. This lack of a structural use of the dominant is notable and results in a very peaceful interior character.

Both sections A and C are marked by metrically unaccented endings, historically known as 'feminine cadences' at crucial structural points such as bars 2, 10, 18, 129, 166, 175. They drive the modulation and progression. While they are often seen as a gentle device, they are here used as a way of perpetuating the momentum. The strength is especially marked in the first repeat of the opening material, where 'Praise Him' (bar 18) is overlaid on the soloists' 'heathen' in an example of particularly excellent text-setting. These unaccented cadences are also an intrinsic part of the organic unity of the work. Especially in the A section, many downbeats have suspensions, which lead to unaccented consonances that metrically align with the resolutions of the unaccented cadences, thus creating rhythmical patterns that generate a sense of unity. In the C section, the unaccented cadence on 'Silence' (bar 129) is also what propels the momentum of the piece. It leads to a restatement of the cadence on a second inversion tonic and again on a dominant seventh, effectively preparing the V-i-iv6-#ivdim7-V6/4-V-I cadential figure that follows. The second iteration of 'The dead praise not thee' replaces the repetitions of 'silence' and its unaccented cadential figure with repetitions of 'down' (bar 145), where the use of a Neapolitan sixth beautifully highlights the meaning of the word.

The same connection between the Neapolitan tonal area and the word ‘down’ is found in *By the waters of Babylon*, bar 180. In *O Praise the Lord*, it propels the music through the following diminished chords, into the cadence. In the following D major section, suspensions and unaccented cadences return *en masse* to prepare the brief final chorus section. Accented dissonance is used on a localised level to effect rising tension, which is used for formal structural purposes, especially repetition. The subtleness with which this is done does not suggest a conscious intent, but rather a well-developed subconscious sense of musical rhetoric.

The lack of a structural dominant and the accented use of the dominant at cadences is notable in this work. These follow the pattern of the surrounding suspensions, as a form of dissonance. The dominant is treated as the weakest. It is avoided structurally and is partially avoided in the cadential approach, where Smith often opts for variants of V6/4-V-I cadences, introducing a lot of tonic harmony into the dominant area of the cadence. In other words, within the bounds and conventional functions of western classical music, this anthem does everything to avoid all notions of conflict between the dominant and the tonic by removing the dominant almost entirely.

Instead of generating meaning through relative key relationships of the dominant and subdominant, this work relies on absolute key characteristics to convey the meaning of the text. As shown in Table 3, the associations of every key area in the anthem line up exactly with the meaning of the psalm verses. It is through this use of absolute tonality, combined with the clever use of D in its minor and major modes to unify the tonic and flat submediant key area, that the work can avoid the dominant and its hierarchical issues structurally, and yet make perfect sense to the listener.

Section	Bar	Text	Schubart's Key Characteristics
A	1	O praise the Lord	A major This key includes declarations of ... youthful cheerfulness and trust in God.
B	18	He shall bless them that fear the Lord	F major Complaisance & Calm.
C1	124	The dead praise not thee	D minor Melancholy womanliness, the spleen and humours brood.
C2	159	But we will praise	D major

			The key of triumph, of Hallejuahs, of war-cries, of victory-rejoicing. Thus, the inviting symphonies, the marches, holiday songs and heaven-rejoicing choruses are set in this key.
A*	174	O praise the Lord	A major, but given in the key of D major. Both are given above.

Table 3: Key Characteristics in *O Praise the Lord*

Out of the deep

The tonal structures of *Out of the deep* follow the same pattern. It is shaped primarily by the absolute character of the key, not its relation to neighbouring key areas. This return to the construction of meaning in music through the properties of the keys, rather than through key relationships, could be considered as an emancipatory act. Rather than being defined in relation to anyone or anything, Smith gives each structural area its own meaning by returning to devices that are based on Classical rhetoric.⁸⁶

Section	Bar	Character	Key
A1	1	Recit. Baritone solo	F major
A2	13	Andante. Baritone solo	F major (C major, F minor, C major, F major)
B	50	Allegretto. Baritone solo and SSA in antiphony	F major (80-91: f minor)
C	92	SSATB, later in antiphony with Baritone solo	F major

Table 4: Tonal Structure of *Out of the deep*

As Table 4 demonstrates, the overall structure is unusually tonic-heavy. While a similar tonic-heaviness may have led Smith to abandon her *Te Deum in E Flat*, she effectively manages to construct a long and complex structure here by the internal contrast of F in its major and minor modes. Although the overall Psalm is a cry for help, the modal changes reflect the nuance between moments of trust and fear in the voice of the Psalmist. F major, complacent and calm,⁸⁷ is the

⁸⁶ For a complete list, see Manfred Dings *Kleines Lexikon der musikalisch-rhetorischen Figuren*, accessed 31 March 2022 <https://www.musikundtheorie.de/pdf/mth/Figurenlehre.pdf>

⁸⁷ see Appendix.

primary key area. F minor, the key of 'deep depression, funereal lament, groans of misery and longing for the grave'⁸⁸ is used to highlight the anxiety of 'if thou, Lord, wilt be extreme to mark what is done amiss. O Lord, who may abide it?' (bars 25-40) and 'my soul fleeth before the Lord before the morning watch' (bars 80-91). In both cases, it prepares iterations of 'Israel trust in the Lord' in the major mode. The internal character of calm and trust is enriched by the juxtaposition with the anxious depression of the minor mode.

The differences between RAM MS1617A and MS1617B suggest that this use of the key characteristics was important to Smith, but was not always pre-planned. The opening *Recit.* of MS1617A is written down a minor third, in D major. This gives a much more typical Baritone range, from D to D. However, the concept of singing 'Lord hear my voice' in the 'key of triumph'⁸⁹ was clearly unsatisfactory to Smith. In the later manuscript, MS1617B, this has been transposed to F major, moving the Baritone to the extreme of their range, but infusing the opening lines of 'Out of the deep have I called' with a tonal undertone of calm, which fully blooms in 'Israel, trust in the Lord', when it is held in juxtaposition with F minor.

Moreover, Smith seems to have added another set of tools to her compositional arsenal which can help her to construct meaning in choral music: the rhetorical figures of *Figurenlehre*. Bars 3 and 9 could now be analysed as *hyperbole*, where the baritone exceeds his usual compass for dramatic effect. However, considering this is a transposed version, these may not be intended as unusually affective figures. Bars 5-8 are marked with *auxesis*, rising repetition, to create more tension, and add emphasis. The climatic F on 'called' in bar 9 is followed by a B natural, creating a *parrhesia* figure, adding denotations of despair. Bars 16, 18, 22, 28 are marked by *suspiratio* or sighing figures, embodying something of the pleading nature of the psalmist's prayer. The urgency of that prayer is marked through *auxesis* between bars 17-20 and 21-24. The move to the parallel minor in bar 27, discussed earlier, can also be analysed as a *mutatio in genus* in Classical terms. The high F

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

in bar 33 should be considered as *hyperbole*, raising the voice to the extreme of its range. Considering that this occurs whilst singing the word ‘extreme’, it can also be analysed as a *hypotyposis* figure, conveying the meaning of the word very literally by its musical shape. Bar 39 is marked by an ascending diminished seventh, a figure recognisable as the *saltus duriusculus*, which leaps over a dissonant interval to portray harshness and anger. In this way, the music answers the rhetorical question in the text: ‘... who may abide it?’ is answered by ‘no-one’. The cadence which accompanies this rhetorical question in bar 40 derives from the Classical *interrogatio* pattern, although it does not follow it to the letter – the melodic phrase does not ascend to add even more unresolved charge to the phrase, and the cadence is not a conventional imperfect cadence. ‘I look for the Lord’ is marked with several figures. A clear contrast is created with the previous section by the move from F minor to F major. In rhetorical terms, *antitheton* is created through a *mutatio in genus*. The head motif of the original melody (bars 13-14) is extended from two bars to four bars, heightening the sense of calmness and hope. Further examples of *Figurenlehre* in this work include the change in character in bar 62, explicable in historical terminology as an *antitheton in modus* and an *antitheton in genus*. It moves from primarily diatonic writing to a more chromatic language to suggest intense sadness, and it moves from major to minor key areas. Mattheson explains that semitones and sadness go hand in hand and arguing that small intervals reflect the contraction of our ‘vital spirits’.⁹⁰ In bars 74-75, another *saltus duriusculus* heightens the anguish in the solo voice, creating an effective contrast with the calm and hopeful affects embodied in the choir parts. Finally, the climax of the work at bars 138-142 is achieved through a combination of affective figures. Again, there is an *antitheton in modus* as the writing moves from diatonic to chromatic. This results in *pathopoeia* – the heaping up of chromaticism to show extreme sadness. This is carefully combined with ascending melodies in most voices, which could be seen as representing hope. After the dramatic climax, the coda section is marked by stability through extended note values or

⁹⁰ Hans Lenneberg, ‘Johann Mattheson on Affect and Rhetoric in Music (I)’ *Journal of Music Theory*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Apr., 1958), 51-52.

supplementum, and a homophony of imperfect consonances that rely so heavily on sixths that it is almost reminiscent of *fauxbourdon* practices. This is accompanied by a tonic pedal (bar 142) which is repeated or creates *multiplicatio* figures. This is normally used to accent dissonance.⁹¹ Here, it highlights the consonant nature of this calmer section, and brings to mind the image of the footsteps of the coming Christ, as the listeners are called to ‘trust in the Lord’.

While not all of these figures will have been actively planned, their grouping, intentionality, and textbook accuracy suggest that this composition very actively sought to turn the theories of *Figurenlehre* into practice. Whether Smith studied *Figurenlehre* with Macfarren or learned about it from a book, it enabled her to add further layers of meaning to her composition, construct larger structures, and align her compositional style more closely with that of the German school.

By the waters of Babylon

By the waters of Babylon falls into the same structural pattern as the two anthems discussed above. Sections are clearly marked by changes in tonality and texture. Ellis and Graham Jones both give a surface analysis of the anthem. However, there are a few further considerations that can add to their reading.

Section	Bar	Text	Schubart’s Key Characteristics
A	1	Slow. SATB By the waters of Babylon I sat down and wept	G Minor Discontent, uneasiness, ... bad-tempered gnashing of teeth; in a word: resentment and dislike.
B1	41	Recit: Solo Bass For they ... required of us then a song and melody in our heaviness	C Minor ... the lament of unhappy love. All languishing, longing, sighing of the love-sick [homesick?] soul lies in this key.
B2	47	Allegretto. SS duet, in antiphony with Solo Bass and TBB. SS: Sing us one of the songs of Sion.	SS: E flat and F major do not align B and TBB: F Minor Deep depression, funereal lament, groans of misery and longing for the grave.

⁹¹ See Dings, *Kleines Lexikon der musikalisch-rhetorischen Figuren*.

		B/TBB: How shall we sing ... in a strange land?	
C	80	Tenor Solo If I forgot thee If I prefer not Jerusalem	F major: does not align A minor: does not align
D1	142	Grave (quasi recit). Bassi Remember the children of Edom	D minor: does not align
D2	149	Molto Allegro. SATB Fugue Down with it to the ground	D minor: does not align
A*/E1	202	Tempo Primo. SATB Daughter of Babylon wasted with misery	G minor Discontent, uneasiness, ... bad- tempered gnashing of teeth; in a word: resentment and dislike.
E2	212	Allegretto. Solo (Tenor) and Chorus Yea happy shall he be that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us.	G major Everything rustic, idyllic and lyrical, every calm and satisfied passion, ... every gentle and peaceful emotion of the heart is correctly expressed by this key.

Table 5: Key Characteristics in *By the waters of Babylon*

As in *Out of the Deep*, the tonal structure is marked a bimodal tonic. The original G minor of ‘discontent, ... gnashing of teeth, [and] ... resentment’ is transformed into G major at ‘Yea happy shall he be’ in bar 212. Schubart writes of G major ‘Everything rustic, idyllic and lyrical, every calm and satisfied passion, ... every gentle and peaceful emotion of the heart is correctly expressed by this key.’⁹² G minor/major is the central area around which the rest of the composition is constructed. In this, the largest of her anthems, the remainder of the structure does not fully fall into a pattern established exclusively by key characteristics. The only clear use of the key characteristics is in bars 55-62 and 70-79, where the utterly miserable character of F minor clearly aligns with the lament of the exiled Jews, asking themselves ‘How shall we sing the Lord’s song in a strange land’. The affect is enriched by sonorities of the bass solo and the three-part choir of lower voices. The affect is heightened by its juxtaposition with the merry, taunting, ruthless, insistent, duet between two solo

⁹² see Appendix.

sopranos. With great realism, the soprano duet paints a picture in which the derision of one Babylonian child is taken over by another before they both join in a playful allegretto and insist that the exile give them a song. The response of the bass solo is marked by *suspiratio* figures: *Seufzers* or sighing motifs. When the same material is repeated in bar 70, with the melody transposed up a fourth, these *suspiratio* figures return in the tenor part, and their affective effect is heightened by the harmonic context offered in the bass parts. The remaining sections are written around these two core key areas, and unify the distant areas of G minor/major and F minor into a pattern that would presumably be comprehensible to the Victorian ear, even if the underlying large-scale tonal structure was quite unusual.

An important point can be made about the use of imitative counterpoint. It is used structurally, to distinguish the actions of many from those of one person. Imitative counterpoint is employed for sections such as 'We sat down and wept' (bars 13-16 and 30-34), 'We hanged them up' (bars 22-25), and the whole people of Edom saying: 'Down with it to the ground' (bars 149-201). By contrast, the text only concerns one person, it is sung without imitation. 'If I forget thee' (bar 82) and 'Yea happy shall he be' (bar 212) are solos, and the latter is taken over by homophonic choral writing. Imitative writing becomes part of the arsenal of tools Smith uses to construct meaning.

Finally, a comment on the ending of the fugue in bars 188-201. In this section, tonic-dominant contrasts abound. The subtle devices Smith has developed to avoid such blunt confrontations between the two key areas are actively avoided, unleashing the violent potential of the dominant-tonic movement. It is not by default, but by intention that Smith uses the Beethovenian methods of bashing 'to the ground' and into submission one key area with another. It is clearly not her own authentic writing style, but she wields its techniques here with commanding conviction. Through these ferocious patterns, she evokes the inhumane violence which Edom unleashed upon Jerusalem, as described in the text.

Offertory (Whoso hath this world's goods)

Smith's *Offertory* is a delightful miniature and can claim to be the first anthem by a woman composer to be performed in the liturgies of the English church. The work, in binary form, largely dwells in the tonic, with some reference to the subdominant minor and tonic minor for colour and affect. The *suspiratio* patterns, which are most overt in bar 7, create an interesting affect in their combination with the A major tonality (see Table 6). The figures sigh because there may be times where a 'brother hath need', but the key character shows trust in God and hope for the future.

The recapitulation of the two themes is preceded by an expressive five-bar tenor solo (bars 33-37) in which the dominant is used to return to the tonic major. This puts significant emphasis on the text sung by the Tenor; the rhetorical question which underpins the whole motet: 'dwelleth the love of God in him' who does not help his brother in need? This focus is not only structural and tonal but also rhythmical and melodic. While the motet is dominated by crotchets throughout, these bars do exclusively use other note values. The descending melodic lines of the two main themes are replaced by a descending triadic pattern of A minor on the downbeats, elaborated through reference to a descending E major pattern.

Section	Bar	Text	Schubart's Key Characteristics
A	1	Whoso hath this world's goods...	A major This key includes declarations of innocent love, satisfaction with one's state of affairs; hope of seeing one's beloved again when parting; youthful cheerfulness and trust in God.
B	24	How dwelleth the love of God in him?	D minor Melancholy womanliness, the spleen and humours brood. A minor Pious womanliness and tenderness of character.
A*	38	Whoso hath, repeated	A major (as above)
B*	45	How dwells, repeated.	A major (as above)

Table 6: Key Characteristics in *Offertory*

The Souls Longings

The Souls [sic] Longings is a setting of a text by Nicholas Breton. The title is editorial, and the sonnet is an excerpt from a longer poem, *The Soules Harmony*. The only publication which includes this particular sonnet with this title is Lewis Borrett White's *English Sacred Poetry of the Olden Time of 1864*. Neither Graham-Jones nor Ellis have considered the origins of this poem in any detail. However, it is highly significant for two reasons. Lewis Borrett White, the vicar of St Mary Aldermary, was the brother of Frederick Meadows-White, whom Smith would marry on 2 January, 1867. Second, the publication, dating from the first weeks of 1864⁹³ helps to narrow down the date of composition of this anthem. As suggested earlier, the work should be dated between the anthems performed in February 1864 and the operetta *Gisela* of 1865. Smith likely encountered Lewis Borrett White's collection of 'olden' poetry soon after publication, due to her proximity to his brother Frederick.⁹⁴

This could affirm my hypothesis that the anthem was also written in 1864, significantly narrowing the period in which these works were written. Inversely, the dating of the work can also tell us more about Smith's personal life. Not much is known about the time of courtship between her and Frederick. However, her setting of this poem, likely in 1864, suggests that their courtship may have extended back to 1864, between two and three years before their marriage.

The work carefully balances the use of key characteristics and rhetorical figures to create affective content. Breton's text takes the form of a Shakespearean sonnet: three quatrains followed by a couplet. In Smith's rendering of the text, the couplet is inserted between every quatrain and thrice repeated at the end of the anthem. The tonal centre is firmly in G major, although the quatrains are set in the relative minor, the parallel minor, and the relative minor. The instrumental

⁹³ It was discussed in the *Art Journal*, February 1864 (Vol. 12), 50, suggesting publication in January, accessed 3 March 2022.

https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/The_Art_Journal/D1IVAAAACAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0

⁹⁴ The composition is fully finished, as if it was made ready for performance. Considering the way in which the counterpoint between the soprano and tenor works, and the fact that the melody is only ever found in the soprano or the tenor, imagination summons the picture of the young Mary and Frederick singing the sonnet as a duet at the drawing room piano, ever under the watchful eye of a courtship chaperone.

THE SOUL'S LONGINGS.

O GRACIOUS God, and Lord of mercy's might,
 Why do I live amid this world of woe?
 When every day doth seem to me as night,
 While sorrows seek my spirit's overthrow.

I hear Thy word, and would obey Thy will,
 But want the power that might perform my due;
 I know the good, and fain would leave the ill,
 And fear the sorrow that doth sin ensue.

And yet I fall into that depth of sin
 That makes me fear the judgment of Thy wrath,
 Until Thy grace doth all my help begin
 To know what comfort faith in mercy hath.

O Blessed Light that shows in mercy's eye!
 While faith doth live, that love can never die.

Figure 1: The Soul's Longings⁹⁵

introduction is largely in E minor but begins with a dyad of G and B, which is initially heard as G major, although it still makes sense in the emerging tonal context of E minor. Although the musical style of *The Souls Longings* and *Come unto him* is slightly different to her earlier anthems, the compositional approach is by this point well-established. *Figurenlehre* is used extensively, as demonstrated below. The key characteristics are closely followed, as demonstrated in Table 7. The tonic is again employed in both of its modes: the couplets (section B) in the major are contrasted with a poignant central section in the minor (bars 67-100). This shows a confidence, maturity, and consistency in her compositional approach.

⁹⁵ Lewis Borrett White, *English Sacred Poetry of the Olden Time* (London: Religious tract society. 1864), 24.

Section	Bar	Text	Schubart's Key Characteristics
A	1	O gracious God and Lord of mercy's might	E minor ... lament without grumbling; sighs accompanied by few tears; this key speaks of the imminent hope of resolving ...
B	45	O Blessed light that shows in mercy's eye	G major Everything rustic, idyllic and lyrical, every calm and satisfied passion, every tender gratitude for true friendship and faithful love, in a word every gentle and peaceful emotion of the heart is correctly expressed by this key.
A*	67	I hear thy word and would obey thy will, but want the power.	G minor Discontent, uneasiness, ... bad-tempered gnashing of teeth; in a word: resentment and dislike.
B*	101	O Blessed light, repeated.	G major, as above.
A**	123	And yet I fall into that depth of sin	E minor, as above.
B**	135	O Blessed light, T solo .	G major, as above.
B***	155	O Blessed light, SATB.	G major, as above.
B****	173	O Blessed light, T, SATB.	G major, as above.

Table 7: Key Characteristics in *The Souls Longings*

Smith's use of *Figurenlehre* has been shown in the analysis of *Out of the deep*. Similar devices are used here. Particularly effective is the minor sixth in bars 21 and 25. This *exclamatio* figure traditionally represents a cry for help, and closely align with Breton's expansions on the question 'Why do I live amid this world of woe'. When this text is repeated in bar 29, it is accompanied by a *multiplicatio* figure to highlight dissonance, significant chromaticism or *pathopoeia* to signify severe distress, and variations on the *interrogatio* figure to show the nature of the text as a question. The transition to G major in bar 45 is marked *pianissimo*, highlighting the lyrical and calm character of the key and the text. Various types of *antitheton* are used to highlight the internal contrast in the following line: 'While faith doth live that love can never die'. The first half descends and is diatonic, while the other half ascends, and has chromatic inflexions (bars 49-50). In bars 63-64, the note values on the word 'never' are augmented in comparison to bar 58. These double-length note values could be read as a *supplementum* figure, which in turn can be read as a *hypotyposis* of never-endingness.

The transition to the couplet after the second quatrain is particularly effective. It is achieved through the transformation of a diminished seventh into an augmented sixth (bars 91-100). In rhetorical terms, the melody is marked with a B flat – D flat *passus duriusculus in tertia deficiens*. Both the diminished and augmented chords contain tritones, but this is made especially explicit when accompaniment drops to C# (bar 97) while the melody focuses on G, a diminished fifth above and augmented fourth below, actively using the tritone for affect in a *parrhesia* figure. Both of these figures are designed to communicate the fear, sorrow, and sin of the text. After the next couplet, a gentler form of sadness is introduced through the sighing motifs or *suspiratio* figures of bars 126 and 127. Further examples of similar devices can be found consistently throughout the rest of the work.

The consistent use of *Affektenlehre* in both tonal and figural sense is especially relevant and somewhat unexpected because the musical style of this work and *Come unto Him* initially appears to be more romantic, with what appears to be a hint of French influence. The repeated chords, chromatic chords, dramatic melody, and the lilting 6/8 metre create a very different character than that found in *By the waters of Babylon*, which has stylistic elements that might be associated with more traditional, germanic writing, such as found in Mendelssohn or Wesley. *The Souls Longings*, by contrast, is more reminiscent of Gounod. Despite these differences in style, the underlying compositional practice is firmly established by this point in Smith's process and is authentically her own.

Come unto Him all ye that labour

Come unto Him and *The Souls Longings* are bound together in their manuscript form and share many surface features. However, there are nuanced differences that give *Come unto Him* a slightly more conventionally sacred quality. The metre is given as 6/4 rather than 6/8, suggesting a more noble approach,⁹⁶ and the texture is distinctly more contrapuntal, with regular imitative entries.

⁹⁶ Pauer, *The Elements of the Beautiful in Music*, 29.

Section	Bar	Text	Key
A1	1	Come unto him, all ye that labour.	D major The key of triumph, of Hallelujahs, of war-cries, of victory-rejoicing. Thus, the inviting symphonies, the marches, holiday songs and heaven-rejoicing choruses are set in this key.
A2	26	Ibid.	A major This key includes declarations of innocent love, satisfaction with one's state of affairs; hope of seeing one's beloved again when parting; youthful cheerfulness and trust in God.
B	51	Take his yoke upon you and learn of him.	F# minor A gloomy key: it tugs at passion as a dog biting a dress. Resentment and discontent are its language.
C	83	For he is meek and lowly of heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls.	A major, as above.
B*	95	Take his yoke, repeated.	D minor Melancholy womanliness, the spleen and humours brood.
C*	107	For he is meek, repeated.	F major Complaisance & Calm.
B**	115	Take his yoke, repeated	F major, as above.
D	123	His yoke is easy and his burthen is light.	F major, as above.
B***	127	Take his yoke, repeated	D major, as above.
A*	137	Come unto him, repeated	D major, as above.
D*	153	Coda. Come unto him (fragmented) & His yoke is easy, repeated.	D major, as above.

Table 8: Key characteristics in *Come unto him*

Even though the text does not contain clear divisions, like the quatrains and couplets of *The Souls Longings*, or the individual verses of *Out of the deep* and *By the waters of Babylon*, the anthem still follows a clear structure. Within this structure, key character and textual meaning are closely linked, as Table 8 demonstrates.

The increase in imitative counterpoint could also be considered as a direct response to the text. The imitation of the voices can be read as a *hypothesis* of the imitation unto which the listener

is called in the text. 'Come unto him' receives a little imitative attention (bars 26-28) occasionally, but at the words 'Take his yoke upon you', imitation is consistently used. Under the yoke, there is no choice but to imitate the pattern of the other carrying the yoke with you. This is made clear in bars 51-71, 95-103, and 115-118. With this image of the yoked Christian in mind, it is hard not to hear the broken descending parallel sixth patterns of bars 55-58 and 99-102 as the footsteps of an ox, steadily putting right foot after left. While this reading certainly has merit, it is unlikely it was intentional. The relationship between imitative writing and the following of Christ, however, is well-established in the western classical repertoire.⁹⁷

Come unto Him is arguably the most mature of Smith's anthems. It develops the earlier verse anthem structures into a dramatic through-composed structure, whilst preserving the fundamental internal organisation and Smith's compositional process. Within this more expansive structure, Smith begins to embrace the long melodies and rich harmonic language that is also found in the Cantata *Exile* and her 1865 operetta *Gisela of Rudesheim*.

It is unclear whether the work was ever performed. However, an unlikely source suggests that it was. The composer John Henry Maunder was born in London in 1858, and attended the Royal Academy of Music. It is unclear whether he was ever a chorister, but the similarities between his aria 'Come unto him' from *Olivet to Calvary* and Smith's *Come unto him* are too marked to be ignored. As he was born in 1858, and the piece was written around 1865, Maunder was around 7 or 8 when the piece was likely premiered. At this age, he could have been one of the first chorister to sing the piece, or he may have heard *Come unto him* from the pews. This childhood memory seems to have endured, because the principal theme from Smith's *Come unto him* comes to Maunder when he pens an aria by the same title in his cantata *Olivet to Calvary*, and takes on the role of the secondary theme in Maunder's work. It does not appear to be an act of wanton plagiarism, but the similarities in a work of the same title are too great to ignore.

⁹⁷ See for example the discussion of *Tritt auf die Glaubensbahn*, BWV 152 in Alfred Dürr *The Cantatas of J. S. Bach* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 137.

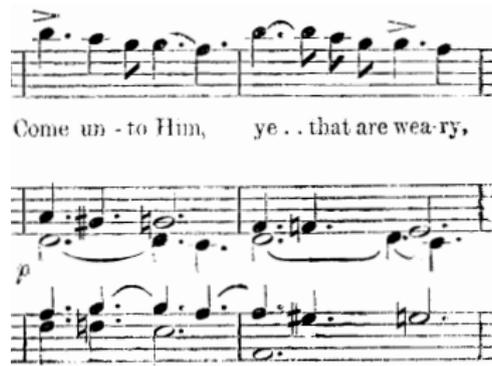


Figure 2: Mauger, 'Come unto him' from *Olivet to Calvary*⁹⁸

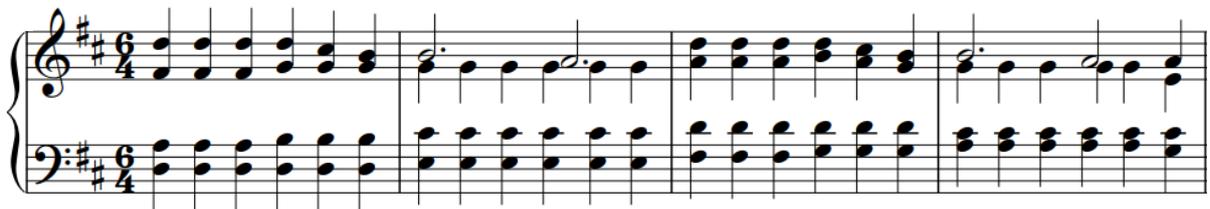


Figure 3: Smith, *Come unto him*, bar 1-4

Exile

This twenty-minute sacred work is based on Jean Racine's *Esther*. The work is only extant in one untitled manuscript; no separate libretto is available. The name *Exile* and the designation as cantata were introduced in my edition of 2019, reflecting the topic, and a practical approach to performance.⁹⁹ The choral parts are almost entirely complete in the manuscript, with exceptions of the first fugue, of which only the entries are given. The original accompaniment, given in an orchestral reduction, contains large gaps.

The text is taken from Jean Racine's *Esther*, written in 1689, and is selected from the second half of Act 1 Scene 2, and Act 1 Scene 5.¹⁰⁰ These two sections are the only two in Racine's original marked as sections that should be sung. It appears that Smith has an unusually high esteem for the intention of the playwright. Not only does she follow the general instructions, but she also follows

⁹⁸ John Henry Mauger, *Olivet to Calvary* (London: Novello, 1904), 32.

⁹⁹ For further comments on genre and performance, see page 159.

¹⁰⁰ Act and scene numbers from the original, which are different in the translations.

the playwright's instructions about which sections should be sung by which voices, with only the most minor deviations. Racine's text had also been used for Händel's *Esther*, often considered to be the first English oratorio.¹⁰¹ This libretto was based on Thomas Brereton's 1715 translation¹⁰² of Jean Racine's *Esther*. Alice Mary Smith's libretto comes from various sources. Large portions of the text can be traced back to Brereton's translation, while other sections are from an anonymous translation published by John Moir in 1803.¹⁰³ The libretto is not discussed with any external parties in Smith's preserved letters. The relevant letters may have been lost, but it is plausible that Smith composed the libretto of the cantata herself, using the two translations and the original side-by-side: this was certainly within her capacity, given her linguistic acumen.¹⁰⁴ Based on the assumption that she did construct the libretto herself, the choices made in the assembly of this cantata can be used to learn more about Smith.

Most of the first section of her Cantata derives from the 1715 Brereton translation. However, there are some notable differences. Racine writes this section as verse-verse-chorus-verse-chorus. Brereton deviates from the original of Racine by adding a chorus section between the first two verses and reducing the original first chorus to half its original length. Smith completely cuts the reduced chorus and moves straight from the second verse (bar 33) into the third (bar 59). Furthermore, she adds a recapitulation of the text of the second verse after Racine's final chorus, creating a distinctly different overall character.

The chorus Smith uses is most likely by her hand. It is the same length as the original: longer than Brereton and shorter than the 1803 translation. It is more accurate than the Brereton and truer to the original than 1803. The original rhymes ABBAB. In this translation, the A rhymes are in the same places, and no attempt has been made to make B rhyme, allowing space for a good translation, and making it poetic without becoming tiresome or far-fetched. It is an excellent translation.

¹⁰¹ Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio, Vol. 2: the Oratorio in the Baroque Era: Protestant Germany and England* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press. 2012), 351.

¹⁰² Thomas Brereton, *Esther; or, Faith Triumphant: A Sacred Tragedy*, (London: J. Tonson. 1715)

¹⁰³ Anonymous, *The sacred dramas of Esther & Athalia* (Edinburgh: John Moir. 1803)

¹⁰⁴ See page 173.

Racine	Literal Translation
O rives du Jourdain! ô champs aimés des cieux! Sacrés monts, fertiles vallées, Par cent miracles signalées! Du doux pays de nos aïeux Serons-nous toujours exilées?	O Banks of Jordan! O fields beloved by heaven! Sacred mountains, fertile valleys, By a hundred miracles reported! The sweet land of our ancestors Shall we forever be exiled?
Brereton	Moir
O Banks of Jordan's Stream by Heav'n belov'd! Which thousand Miracles have prov'd Each sacred Mount, and hallow'd Plain! When, when shall we behold your charms again?	Dear native fields, where Jordan strays! Fields which the Highest loves, Where heav'n its wond'rous works displays! Ye sacred hills and groves! O from our dear paternal home How long are we condemn'd to roman!
Alice Mary Smith	
Banks of Jordan, dear to God, ye hills, ye valleys of peace. Hills where miracles were wrought, Valleys where our parents trod, When shall our exile end?	

Table 9: *Esther*, Act 1, Scene 2, final chorus.

Smith's succinct translation prominently foregrounds the natural aspects of Israel's land¹⁰⁵ connecting religion, nature, heritage, and national identity through poetry in a deeply romantic manner. Her ending is more Zionist than either translation and arguably even more so than Racine's original. Smith's 'When shall our exile end?' points at the systemic and intergenerational aspects of the exile, compared to the more personal 'Serons-nous toujours exilées?'. This argument is especially strong with the power of hindsight. The very same line would be used later in the nineteenth century by the prominent Zionist Naphtali Herz Imber, the author of the Israeli national anthem, who wrote: 'When shall our exile end? When shall the bridegroom Yeshurun return in love to his Chosen Bride Zion to dwell with her forever?'¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Regarding the importance of the physical land of Israel in Judaism and to the Israeli people, see a.o. Martin Sicker, *Judaism, Nationalism, And The Land Of Israel* (Abingdon: Francis & Taylor. 2019).

¹⁰⁶ 'Philadelphia Jewish Exponent Archives, Jun 11, 1891, 2', *Newspaperarchive*, accessed 17 September 2022, <https://newspaperarchive.com/philadelphia-jewish-exponent-jun-11-1891-p-2/>

A similarly Hebraist inflexion is found in verse two. Smith's text is largely derived from Brereton's translation, but 'now low as Hell art cast' is replaced by 'now into Jophet cast'. Metrically identical, there is no musical reason for such a change. However, this adaptation is deeply rooted in Israeli thought and tradition. Jophet here should be read as an alternative spelling of Japheth, one of Noah's sons, who is associated with the Philistines, a seafaring nation on the Mediterranean, whose people were the archnemeses of the Old Testament Israelites. Thus, Smith constructs an image that is deeper than being cast down 'low as Hell', replacing it with a double meaning: being cast into Jophet primarily reflects the uncleanness of Philistia, and its condemnation to eternal damnation,¹⁰⁷ but also carries a visual, visceral image of being cast into the depths of the sea. This shows considerable engagement with Palestinian politics at the end of the nineteenth century, as well as an unusually deep understanding of the nuances of Jewish culture and faith on Smith's part.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ This is conveyed particularly powerfully in the pseudepigraphical Book of Jubilees: 24, 28-33. Robert Henry Charles (translator), *The book of Jubilees, Or, The Little Genesis* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1917) 136-137

And Isaac on that day cursed the Philistines and said: "Cursed be the Philistines unto the day of wrath and indignation from the midst of all nations; may God make them a derision and a curse and an object of wrath and indignation in the hands of the sinners the Gentiles and in the hands of the Kittim. And whoever escapeth the sword of the enemy and the Kittim, may the righteous nation root out in judgment from under heaven; for they will be the enemies and foes of my children throughout their generations upon the earth.

And no remnant will be left to them,

Nor one that will be saved on the day of the wrath of judgment;

For for destruction and rooting out and expulsion from the earth is the whole seed of the Philistines (reserved),
And there will no longer be left for these Caphtorim a name or a seed on the earth.

For though he ascend unto heaven,

Thence will he be brought down,

And though he make himself strong on earth,

Thence will he be dragged forth,

And though he hide himself amongst the nations,

Even from thence will he be rooted out;

And though he descend into Sheol,

There also will his condemnation be great,

And there also he will have no peace.

And if he go into captivity,

By the hands of those that seek his life will they slay him on the way,

And neither name nor seed will be left to him on all the earth;

For into eternal malediction will he depart."

And thus is it written and engraved concerning him on the heavenly tables, to do unto him on the day of judgment, so that he may be rooted out of the earth.

¹⁰⁸ I am grateful to Cantor Olivia Brodsky (Hebrew Union College -Jewish Institute of Religion, NYC, NY) and her brother Michael for discussing this paragraph with me at some length.

In the current author's 2019 edition of Smith's sacred choral music, the work was designated as a cantata.¹⁰⁹ This was based on the assumption that it would be performed as a stand-alone musical work. However, Smith may well have conceived of the work as a sacred drama in text and music, following the instructions of Jean Racine. Preceded and interspersed with the spoken text of *Esther*, the score would provide a convincing account of the whole of act one. It may even have been Smith's intention to also set the sung sections of the second and third acts to produce a full-scale Oratorio. Considering the manuscript for the first act was left with substantial unfinished sections, it is unlikely that she did compose music for acts two or three, but it is possible that she did, and the manuscripts were simply lost to the ages. This does leave the performer today with difficult decisions to make. Should the sections be offered as a stand-alone musical work, or should they be accompanied by spoken text to complete the first act as Racine intended it? Considering Smith's loyalty to his directions, this is plausible. However, it might be somewhat unsatisfactory to only experience one act of a three-act drama.

Structurally, the manuscript follows the text. Part one corresponds with the end of Racine's Act 1 Scene 2, while part two corresponds to Act 1 Scene 5.¹¹⁰ While Smith was actively using *Affektenlehre* both in relation to key characteristics and *Figurenlehre* in earlier works, this is the first work in which she also employs a construction of meaning which can only be understood through musical analysis. The first section is exactly 137 bars long, and intentionally so: the last bar was left empty, and now only contains an editorial stack of tonics across the lower part of the keyboard. Considering the topic of the drama, the Babylonian exile, the number 137 is highly significant. Every Victorian musical analyst would immediately understand this as a numerological reference to the 137th Psalm: 'By the waters of Babylon, we sat down and wept when we remembered thee, O Sion.'¹¹¹ Smith, well-versed in Scripture, actively lengthens the work beyond absolute necessity, but

¹⁰⁹ I also offered additional divisions of the work, primarily for rehearsal purposes. However, the two sections of the work should not be subdivided further in performance or scholarship.

¹¹⁰ Act and scene numbers from the original, which are different in the translations.

¹¹¹ Psalm 137 (translation as given in The Book of Common Prayer).

within the margins of convention, to create a little Easter egg for the analyst of the future, showing a sense of humour, and an awareness of self-worth. This manuscript contains the most advanced and refined of her sacred music. She may have constructed the 137-bar section as a little nugget for her teacher and friend, Macfarren, known as the greatest music theorist of the time,¹¹² who would indubitably notice such details. However, it is also entirely possible she did so with the future historian and theorist in mind, as if to say: this is the sort of detail you love in the works of the ‘great composers’: here you go.

Section	Bar	Text	Schubart’s Key Characteristics
A	1	Sop: Recit. Unhappy Sion, now no more For pomp and splendour known.	B minor This is as it were the key of patience, of calm awaiting one's fate and of submission to divine dispensation.
B	18	Chorus Banks of Jordan, dear to God. Ye hills, ye vallies of peace.	D major The key of triumph, of Hallelujahs, of war-cries, of victory-rejoicing. Thus, the inviting symphonies, the marches, holiday songs and heaven- rejoicing choruses are set in this key. (partially aligns)
C	33	Solo Sion, once to Heav’n upraised, Now into Jophet cast.	F major Complaisance & Calm. (partially aligns)
C*	59	Solo	D minor Melancholy womanliness, the spleen and humours brood. (partially aligns)
B	90	Chorus (as above)	D major (as above)
C*&B*	99	Solo (see section C) & SATB (based on the chorus) in antiphony	G major & D major (as above) G major Everything rustic, idyllic and lyrical, every calm and satisfied passion, every tender gratitude for true friendship and faithful love,--in a word every gentle and peaceful emotion of the heart is correctly expressed by this key. (partially aligns)

Table 10: Key characteristics in *Exile* part 1

¹¹² See page 176.

The tonal structure of the work is marked by an absence of the dominant. Most of the movement is tertiary. Various structural tropes from Smith's anthems are used again. The shift into the rich Schubertian flat mediant in bar 33 is reminiscent of the use of the flat submediant in *O Praise the Lord*, which comes at the same point in the structure, and has a very similar effect. The bimodal tonic (bars 59-90) is a device found in almost all of Smith's anthems. The use of key characteristics seems to have been less of a concern to Smith in this section. Many key areas do not align fully with the expectations set out by convention and codified by theorists such as Schubart. This suggests that the tertiary movement between the opening sections was not an accident, but a priority. Gendered, hierarchical tonic-dominant relationships are actively, and almost entirely, avoided. In other words: Smith often uses the tonal characteristics to charge her music with meaning, but also draws on a wide variety of other compositional tools. While it is often an important part of her compositional process, it does not always dominate, as shown here.

Section	Bar	Text	Schubart's Key Characteristics
A	1	Recit Weep sisters, let your sorrows flow	F minor Deep depression, funereal lament, groans of misery and longing for the grave.
A*&B	25	Fugue theme (How great cause for fear) introduced as ostinato while Recit continues. Israel's last day draws near	B flat minor A quaint creature, often dressed in the garment of night. It is somewhat surly and very seldom takes on a pleasant countenance. Mocking God and the world; discontented with itself and with everything; preparation for suicide sounds in this key.
B*	49	Fugue (text as above)	F minor (as above)
C	84	Recit Ah can our sighs alone avert the fatal day Solo, Duet, and Chorus Away, away with all this pageant show	B flat minor (as above)
A**&B** & C*	130	Recit & Fugue with elements from the chorus. (text as above)	A flat minor Grumbler, heart squeezed until it suffocates; wailing lament, difficult struggle; in a word, the color of this key is everything struggling with difficulty.

B*** & D	159	Recit, initially with hints of previous fugue theme What horrid carnage stains the soil Great God thy saints exposed aree lying to rav'nous beasts and birds a prey	B flat minor (as above) E flat major (does not align) A flat major Key of the grave. Death, grave, putrefaction, judgment, eternity lie in its radius.
E	191	Solo What crime can on my infant head. Draw such a weight of woes. Ev'n so before her sweets are spread Is nipt the budding rose. Long ere my life shall have begun to bloom, my harmless soul will meet an early doom.	D flat major A leering key, degenerating into grief and rapture. It cannot laugh, but it can smile; it cannot howl, but it can at least grimace its crying.-- Consequently only unusual characters and feelings can be brought out in this key.
F	212	Solo Victims of our fathers' crimes, vainly these tears we shed. Our fathers sinn'd in other times. Our fathers now are dead. Their crimes have fall'n on our guiltless head.	F# minor (originally written in G flat minor, and revised as F# minor) A gloomy key: it tugs at passion as a dog biting a dress. Resentment and discontent are its language.
G	229	Quartet Ah no, our God is our defence. Tis he shall succour innocence.	A major This key includes declarations of innocent love, satisfaction with one's state of affairs; hope of seeing one's beloved again when parting; youthful cheerfulness and trust in God.
H	241	Recit Methinks I hear the heathen cry.	A minor (does not align)
I	247	Solo This God so high, this jealous God, ye nations, tremble at his Name.	C major (does not align)
G*	257	Chorus & Solo A God of war is our defence. Tis he shall succour innocence.	C major (as above)
J	284	Chorus & Solo God of Gods with gloy crowned, God whom light does still surround.	F major Complaisance & Calm. (partially aligns)

		Who on wings of wind dost ride, Angels chanting at thy side. God who wouldst that in thy praise Very babes their voices raise...	
K	304	Chorus & Duet Arm thee then! And us defending, Come below As ocean saw thee once descending. (some of the text of section L is introduced at bar 323)	F major (as above) (partially aligns) (does not align)
L	334	Duet May they confounded grow And dust and chaff resemble.	G minor Discontent, uneasiness, worry about a failed scheme; bad-tempered gnashing of teeth; in a word: resentment and dislike.
K*	355	Solo & Chorus (text as above)	B flat major Cheerful love, clear conscience, hope aspiration for a better world.
J*	370	Chorus (text as above, with elements of K)	F major (as above)

Table 11: Key characteristics in *Exile* part 2

The second part of the sacred drama displays an exemplary command of affective writing. Classical *Affektenlehre* governs the tonal structure and defines the character of virtually every section. When it does not, this drives repetition and modulation. The finale, from bar 284 to the end, takes an arch form (JKLKJ) in which ‘Arm thee then! And us defending, come below’ is presented in the overly gentle key of F major. Similarly, ‘Now let th’unrighteous nations know At thy dread wrath to tremble’ (bar 319) remains in F major, although elements of B flat minor are introduced as a colouristic device. The text and key characters are at odds. This tension drives the formal structure. As the arch form turns back on itself, these texts are presented in appropriate keys, G minor for ‘dread wrath’ and a hopeful B flat major for the incarnational cry: ‘Come below’, a cry repeated over and over throughout the final sections, which eventually becomes the last breath of the work.

Throughout the work, structural tonic-dominant relationships are avoided, with one significant exception, at the stunning aria ‘What crime can on my infant head’ (bar 191) and its

preceding recitative (bar 159). As the text paints grotesque images of death and destruction, Smith sets up one tonic-dominant relationship after another. B flat minor turns to E flat major and A flat major before the Aria starts in a traumatised D flat major. Even this eventually turns into the dominant, enharmonically preparing the way for the F# minor section in bar 212. Smith's clear avoidance of these hierarchical relationships with a gendered charge has been noted throughout the previous analyses. Only in the fugue depicting the Edomites violently tearing Jerusalem down to the ground was the Beethovenian violence of the dominant-tonic figure unleashed on a local level. Here, dominant-tonic movement is used structurally from bar 159 to 212, although for most of this, the key's inherent character doubles the effect, as shown in Table 14. The downward quinary cascade culminates in a ferocious setting of the text:

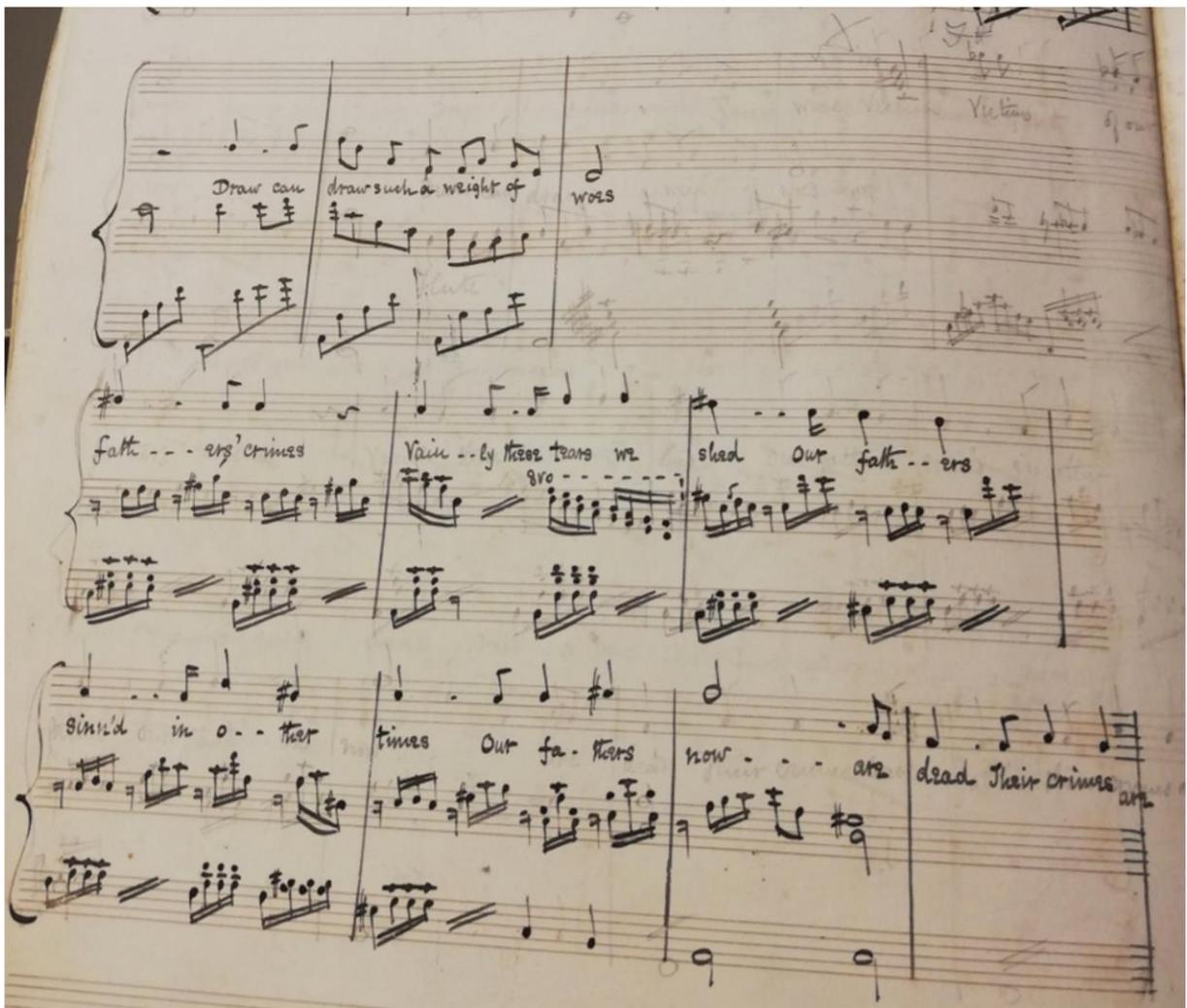


Figure 4: RAM MS 1770, Alice Mary Smith: Exile, part 2, bars 208-219

Victims of our fathers' crimes
Vainly these tears we shed
Our fathers sinn'd in other times
Our fathers now are dead
Their crimes have fall'n
on our guiltless head¹¹³

The manuscript (Figure 4) tells us a lot about the importance Smith ascribes to this section. These pages contain some of her most complete writing as if the text spoke to her on a very profound level. Between bars 159 and 219, barely any notes are missing, in contrast to some of the surrounding sections. Bar 209 contains a faint marking: Flute. This is the only orchestration indication in the whole manuscript. Moreover, Smith's writing in bar 213 changes from pencil to pen, from sketch to detailed reality, from question to statement. She had a crystal clear notion of how she had to respond, musically, to the notion of patriarchal problems destroying a girl's life.¹¹⁴ From the hauntingly beautiful lament of the D flat major aria to the savage reality of the F# minor section, these pages contain some of Smith's finest vocal writing.

Throughout, the work is marked by rhetorical figures to heighten the affective qualities of the compositions. An in-depth study of each example is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, the fugal theme (25-28) is of significant structural importance. It shows a shift from writing from the diatonic to the chromatic, or an *antitheton* through *mutatio per tonum*. Central to the theme is the interval of the diminished fourth between A and D flat, an unusual, dissonant leap, which can be considered a *saltus duriusculus*. This is combined with chromatic movement between bars 25-26 and bars 27-28. As such, the writing can be considered as *pathopoeia*: the confluence of significant amounts of chromaticism to show deep sorrow. Together, these devices maintain the character text 'How great cause for fear', even though the theme is repeated for nine pages in the printed edition. These devices were also used in the anthems, although not quite with such intensity.

There is a clear consistency and maturity to Smith's compositional techniques in this work, compared to the anthems, although some new devices are introduced. The circular writing in bars

¹¹³ See the appended edition: Alice Mary Smith, *Exile 2*, 232-225.

¹¹⁴ The stage instruction is: 'one of the youngest virgins'. Brereton, *Esther*, 19.

342-353 signifies the blowing of the wind through word-painting or *hypotyposis*.¹¹⁵ Trills (bars 343, 345, 351-353) are introduced to the same effect. Particularly notable is the use of rhythmical interruptions, both on a small scale and a larger scale. The interruption in bar 212 separates the word ‘Victims’ from the continuation ‘of our fathers’ crimes’. It is placed in an unexpected place, on a weak beat, and followed by an unexpectedly long pause, creating significant tension, which fuels the momentum of this section. A larger-scale use of interruption is found in bar 367, which Smith marks ‘Silence’. The general pause or *aposiopesis*, is historically used to signify eternity or nothingness.¹¹⁶ In the context of the call ‘come below’,¹¹⁷ it is best understood as a signification of the heavenly eternity from which the divine descent¹¹⁸ begins.

The repeated call: ‘Come below’ is set up as the focal point of the final movement. Structurally and textually, this is a new perspective on the text, introduced by Alice Mary Smith. In the original, ‘descends’ only occurs once, in a relatively insignificant place, structurally.¹¹⁹ The Brereton translation emphasises this by adding a line break and translating ‘descends’ as the somewhat pleonastic ‘Descend below’.

¹¹⁵ During the process of rehearsing and recording, this was immediately noted by the soprano soloist, Ella Rainbird-Earley, demonstrating that many of the techniques Smith uses to create constructions of meaning in her work are still comprehensible to musicians today.

¹¹⁶ Dietrich Bartel, *Handbuch der musikalischen Figurenlehre*. (Laaber: Laaber, 6th ed. 2019, 1st ed. 1982), 105.

¹¹⁷ See also the editorial accompaniment of 331-333.

¹¹⁸ See also the bass of the editorial accompaniment 368-370.

¹¹⁹ The original context is:

Une Israélite, seule
 Arme-toi, viens nous défendre.
 Descends tel qu'autrefois la mer te vit descendre.
 Que les méchants apprennent aujourd'hui
 A craindre ta colère.
 Qu'ils soient comme la poudre et la paille legere
 Que le vent chasse devant lui.

Tout le choeur
 Tu vois nos pressants dangers:
 Donne à ton nom la victoire;
 Ne souffre point que ta gloire
 Passe à des dieux étrangers.

Racine, 1689	Brereton, 1715
<i>Une Israélite, seule</i> Arme-toi, viens nous défendre. Descends tel qu'autrefois la mer te vit descendre.	<i>3 Virgins.</i> Arm Thee then; and Us defending Descend below, As the Sea saw Thee once descending

Table 12: Comparison of Racine and Brereton, *Esther*, Act 1, Scene 5.

In Smith's text, this is replaced by the more elegant 'Come below', charged with incarnational associations. This prayer is frequently repeated, most significantly as the conclusion of the whole work, in bars 416-417.

Through gendered analysis, this conclusion (Figure 5) can be understood to contain various layers of meaning. Firstly, it actively avoids setting up the masculine and feminine key areas of the tonic and dominant in a hierarchical relationship, instead opting for a more peaceful, sacred ending. Smith's ending does not focus on interhuman relationship, but rather on the relationship between humanity and the Divine. The plagal cadence is elaborated through chromaticism and dissonance. Bar 416 beat 2 prepares the cadence with an I7/9 chord, which can also be read as the combination of equal parts of the tonic and dominant chords: a confluence of all humanity. The plagal cadence that follows is interrupted by the ascending soprano line and the descending chromatic alto part. The latter is especially significant, moving from E flat to C fully chromatically. This descent occurs over the whole plagal cadence, and ends with the tonic, although the dramatic alto line and the tenor both land on the fifth, the dominant. The descent of the divine, signified by the subdominant, occurs in the fragility of chromaticism, to eventually be born of woman, as man.

414 [Soprano Solo]

Arm thee then Arm thee then

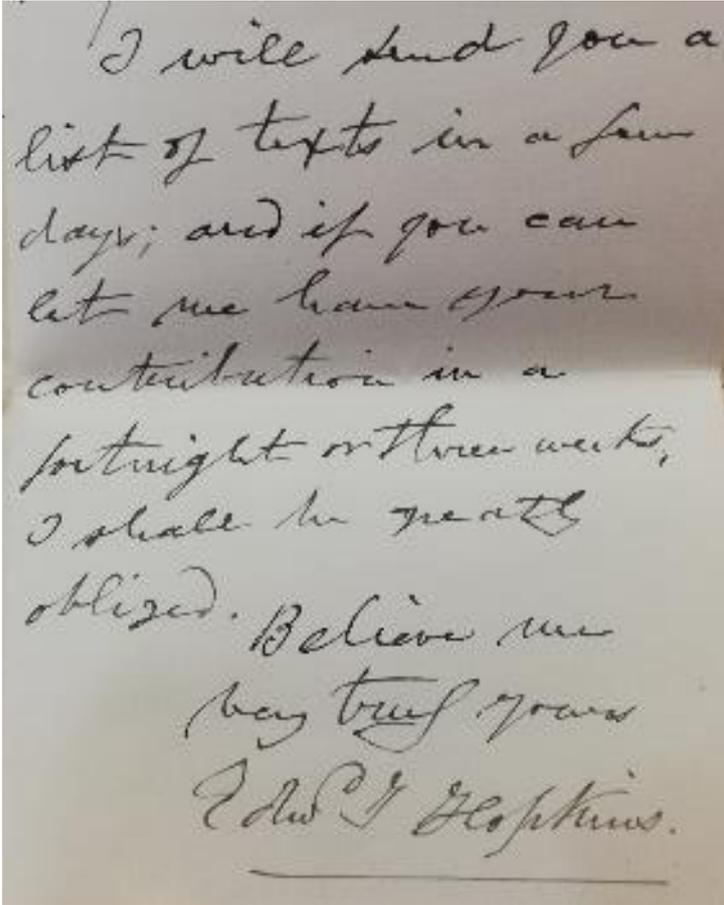
round & Come be - low.

Figure 5: Alice Mary Smith, *Exile*, part 2, bars 414-417, 2019 edition.

Conclusions

The sacred choral music of Alice Mary Smith is a valuable collection. A well-known composer in her day, she diminished into a footnote of the annals of music history because almost all of her compositions were lost for a century, only to be rediscovered in a leaking garden shed.¹²⁰ As composer without music, and with very little archival material remaining, she became voiceless. Following Macfarren's suggestion that 'the lasting presence of her mind is in her music', the preceding analyses have attempted to consider her work as an extension of her character. Moreover, they have given an insight into her technical approaches to composition between the approximate ages of 16 and 26. One question left unanswered is: why did she stop composing for the church?

¹²⁰ Pamela Blevins, 'Lost and Found', *The Maud Powell Signature* Vol. II, No. 3, Autumn 2008, 6, accessed 03/03/2022
http://www.maudpowell.org/signature/Portals/0/pdfs/signature/Signature_Autumn_2008.pdf



I will send you a list of texts in a few days; and if you can let me have your contribution in a fortnight or three weeks, I shall be greatly obliged. Believe me very truly yours
Edward Hopkins.

Figure 6: The end of Hopkins' letter requesting an anthem ¹²¹

The answer is unclear, but an unfulfilled request to write a new anthem in 1882 offers a perspective on the matter. The church music of Alice Mary Smith dates back to the most ambitious part of her life. She completed her first symphony in 1863. The year 1864 saw performances of her first anthems,¹²² the composition of the first act of an oratorio,¹²³ and the composition of parts of her operetta *Gisela of Rudesheim*, first performed in 1865. Even though she was actively shattering various glass ceilings, she found time to write large sacred choral works. By contrast, she is approached by Hopkins in 1882, who asks her to contribute a simple anthem for congregation in the next 'fortnight or three weeks' (Figure 6). In a follow-up letter, she is asked to return a list of

¹²¹ Document held by the West Sussex Record Office in Chichester, uncatalogued, Edward Hopkins to Alice Mary Smith.

¹²² More on the dating of this on pages 172.

¹²³ See the discussion of *Exile* on page 202.

potential anthem texts to Hopkins, indicating her choice. However, she did not pursue this: the list remains in her archives.¹²⁴ What had changed? Why did she turn away from liturgical composition?

It is possible that the request simply came at the wrong time, and with too short a deadline. When Hopkins wrote, she was finishing her large-scale choral and orchestral work: *The Ode to the Passions*. In order to have sufficient time to complete this major work, Smith had already turned down other prominent work. Graham-Jones writes:

The success of these overtures led [Wilhelm] Ganz in 1881 to request a new overture for the season, but Smith declined, substituting the two Intermezzi from *The Masque of Pandora*. At this time Smith was busy with the composition of ... "Ode to The Passions".¹²⁵

It could also be argued Smith had begun to prioritise the composition of larger-scale works like the *Passions* more systemically, much like she was using the revenue from her salon music to fund the publication of her large cantatas. Such a reading casts Smith as an emancipated woman, actively encroaching on the territory of male composers. If this was the case, her approach was effective and upset various conservative critics. When Smith garnered widespread praise for the *Passions*, a critic wrote that her work was a 'striking reproduction of the masculine art'.¹²⁶ Similarly, her *Masque of Pandora* was met with criticism by George Grove, who argued that she was copying the style of Beethoven in the middle section. Beethoven in this context should be seen as the archetype of composers who develop notions of the hierarchical masculine to the extreme in their compositions. To make this criticism more palatable, Grove concludes with a belittling pat on the back, telling her to consider it a compliment:

I thought the middle part rather diffuse – you seemed to fall, in one place, all of a sudden under the influence of Beethoven. I don't mean that there was any direct plagiarism of subject, so much as that the style & harmonies were his; and that was a too-great contrast to the other portions. But, dear me, that's rather a feather in your cap – to be able to write like Beethoven!¹²⁷

¹²⁴ Document held by the West Sussex Record Office in Chichester, uncatalogued.

¹²⁵ Graham-Jones, *Short Orchestral Works*, ix.

¹²⁶ Cited in Derek B Scott, *From the Erotic to the Demonic: On Critical Musicology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 42.

¹²⁷ Graham-Jones, *The life and music of Alice Mary Smith*, 96.

Correspondence.

WOMEN AS COMPOSERS.

To the Editor of the MONTHLY MUSICAL RECORD.

SIR,—In the article on Franz Schubert, which appeared in the MONTHLY MUSICAL RECORD last February, the writer observes, "Is it not strange that although so many women have attained to high places in literature, there is not one woman composer who could be ranked with a Mrs. Browning, George Eliot, George Sand, and others?" It is a fact which has often been commented on, but as yet no satisfactory answer has been found to the question, "why women who so frequently distinguish themselves in other branches of art, being able even in some cases to claim equal merit with the most talented of the superior sex, should have never aspired to an honourable position in the ranks of composers?" I now propose to suggest a few of the reasons which I believe to have caused this apparent incapacity—this want of musical creative power in women. I said *apparent* with intention, for my object is to try and show that women are *not* by nature debarred from shining in this branch of art any more than in the others. On the contrary, being usually gifted with a lively imagination, combined with a "peculiar sensitiveness and delicacy" (as the writer above referred to observes), these qualities are admirably adapted for the cultivation of an art which, in such a high degree, is dependent on the feelings. What language so capable as music of expressing all the varied emotions of passion and tenderness by which woman, in a far greater measure than man, is governed? How is it, then, that so few seem to have felt within them the fire of creative genius, bidding them pour out their thoughts in harmonious and sweet sounds, and find therein the comfort which can never be met with elsewhere.

My own opinion is that this power does exist in many women, but that it is destroyed, or at least prevented from bearing worthy fruits, by various causes. Firstly, a woman endowed with a lively, excitable imagination, rarely possesses the enormous perseverance and energy necessary for a composer; she cannot climb the steep and weary hill before her, nor struggle against the innumerable disappointments and disheartening obstacles which meet her at every turn—for success and fame are slow in coming to nearly all, but more especially to the composer. So she will not wait and work in patience, but prefers to waste her talents on frivolous compositions to satisfy the tastes of a certain class of people, by which means she will gain, no doubt, more applause from the general public than had she aspired to something higher and nobler. It is an established maxim that "a woman can never be a great composer," and I do not mean to dispute its truth; certainly no female Beethoven has appeared as yet, nor do I think that such will ever be the case; setting aside everything else, no woman has the *physical* strength without which such a genius could not exist. I do not even contemplate the possibility of any rivalry with the present masters of the field of composition. All I would maintain is that many a woman's talent is wasted by her undecided, vacillating spirit, and that were she only to aspire humbly but earnestly to a higher form of art, there is every cause to believe that she might work out a path of distinction for herself. So in music, as in literature and painting, a man's work might be easily distinguished from that of a woman, but withal each should possess merits to be gratefully recognised, and mutual profit be gathered therefrom. My object in writing this will have been obtained if my remarks serve in any degree to encourage and stimulate to fresh efforts of perseverance, any who may have been disheartened and taught to have an exaggerated depreciation of their own abilities by those who are continually impressing upon their minds the disagreeable truth that "woman can never be a great composer."

ARTISTE.

Figure 7: 'Women as Composers'¹²⁸

¹²⁸ Artiste 'Women as Composers' *The Monthly Musical Record*, 1 Jul, 1877 (London: Augener, 1877), 108.

Women composers like Smith were caught between a rock and a hard place. When she writes music for the salon only, she is not taken seriously. When she makes inroads into the concert halls, she is accused of imitating the male style too much. Smith's perspective on this is very interesting. Both Graham-Jones and Ellis have discussed a fascinating letter (Figure 7) which they ascribe to Alice Mary Smith,¹²⁹ published the pseudonym *Artiste*, to the editor of the *Monthly Musical Record*. She advocates for women composers but claims that men shouldn't be too worried because women are too weak to make a real dent in male dominance anyway. Both Graham-Jones and Ellis take this entirely seriously, while I am increasingly convinced it is simply facetious and humorous in both tone and content.

In her compositional approaches, Smith shows great control over the use of the masculine Beethovenian techniques that establish hierarchy in structures through the submission and suppression of the dominant and the eventual victory of the tonic. Moreover, Smith shows she can create long, complex structures without using them. The very concepts of 'struggle' and 'physical strength' attributed to male composers in *Artiste's* letter, are actively eschewed by Smith in her anthems and cantata, unless she is depicting scenes of extreme violence and destruction, where she demonstrates complete command over these compositional tools. With this in mind, it is hard to imagine that the comments on female incapacity are anything but a facetious response to her critics.

In contrast to the post-Beethovenian idea of the composer as the focus of the music, Smith seems to place the listener first. In many of her works, she chooses to construct the structures and melodies based, in part, on the old doctrine of affections, which was drawn up to codify the affective responses of people to music. Because these compositional guidelines were used by generations of composers, generations of listeners were conditioned by their patterns, making them even more understandable to many listeners. However, this is not the only compositional tool used. Her works

¹²⁹ For a discussion of the origin of this, see Graham-Jones, *The life and music of Alice Mary Smith*, 10, and Ellis, *The Choral Anthems of Alice Mary Smith*, 35. In summary, the attribution is made because the clipping of the letter by *Artiste* was found amongst Smith's papers, as were clippings of reviews of two early piano works, published under the pseudonym Emil Künstler: a germanic form of the same pseudonym.

also demonstrate an excellent command over affective modulation in the Schubertian vein, and Beethovenian violence and stability. Despite these varied influences, the surface detail of her works remains squarely within the conventions of English nineteenth-century convention.

The diverse constructions of meaning in Smith's sacred choral works show her as a highly literate young woman, far more aware of the historical constructions of meaning in music than her male contemporaries. For a girl like Mary, there were no opportunities to develop musicianship skills in a church or cathedral choir, where male composers had their early formation. Where they learned through osmosis and practice, she could not. Smith compensates for this by theoretical excellence. Because of this fundamental difference in perspective and education, her compositions have a very distinct quality. Their tonal structures are far more complex than is common in the period. Hierarchical quinary relationships do not dominate the structure, but often, each key area is allowed to speak on its own terms, following centuries of conditioning and convention. The nuances of her structures are perhaps best heard in a slightly unequal temperament such as that by Thomas Young to highlight the key characters upon which she relies so heavily in her construction of meaning in music.

Alice Mary Smith's sacred choral music shows her as a highly intelligent, educated, emancipated woman with a sense of humour. On the surface, the music is very sympathetic to Victorian custom and expectation, but the structural foundations of her music are far more closely aligned with Baroque and Renaissance compositional guidelines such as the doctrine of affections, which, in turn, is based on the Classical rhetorical models of Cicero, the elder Seneca, and Quintillian. These scholarly approaches enable Smith to construct layers of meaning in music without resorting to the violent, gendered, hierarchical, quinary relationships of the Romantic era. Instead, individual character is brought to the foreground, and allowed to speak on its own terms. The historical perception of Alice Mary Smith is marred by a scarcity of archival sources. If these compositions contain the 'lasting presence of her mind', as Macfarren stated, she should be re-considered in our music histories as an intellectual, a brilliant music theorist, and a highly innovative composer.

As a composer, she shattered numerous glass ceilings, and strove for equity both in the practical and theoretical sense. Her symphonies and choral liturgical music were the first by any woman composer to be performed in the United Kingdom: her operetta and cantatas were among the first. Her sacred choral compositions show a clear move away from hierarchical constructions of gender, through emancipation, unto equity. In works as diverse as the *Jubilate Deo* and the ending of her setting of Racine's *Esther*, she does so through reference to the sacred. The unique compositional approaches of Smith in her sacred works invite a narrative reading of her symphonies and later cantatas from a similar perspective.

Since 2010, Alice Mary Smith does not need to be a footnote to history anymore. Her music, forgotten, after more than a century, is now available. Although it is unlikely that her compositions will become part of the canon of the church or concert hall without transformational social and institutional changes, her compositions can be performed again. Her voice can be heard again. Listen to her music, and get to know – literally – Alice Mary Smith.

CHAPTER V

National style and the English Musical Renaissance hypothesis

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Summary

This chapter considers the influence of the English Musical Renaissance hypothesis on English late nineteenth-century church music. It considers the influence of nationalism, and the development of a national style on the formation of our church musical canon. The changing priorities are considered by analysing parts of Barnby's youthful service in E (1856) and an early work by Stanford, his evening service in E flat (1873). Adaptations to works by Stanford for the coronation services of 1902 and 1911 are used to trace something of the shifting priorities of the time, contextualised by reference to other works. Finally, the influence of Vaughan Williams in the field of hymnody is considered. This short chapter contextualises the earlier parts of the thesis by considering their later reception, as aesthetic priorities shifted in response to a socio-political change.

Introduction

The English Musical Renaissance (EMR) hypothesis has significantly reshaped the history of English music, of which liturgical music is an important part. The existing histories of the EMR do not engage usually with its effects on the world of church music, even though 'the Anglican Church ... was very

deeply implicated in the English renaissance.¹ Meirion Hughes and Robert Stradling argue that the EMR directly influenced the realm of liturgical music when Ralph Vaughan Williams became the musical editor of *The English Hymnal* in 1904.² The influence of this decision is still tangible today. However, the EMR hypothesis had heavily influenced liturgical music before this and would continue to colour and shape most narratives of the history as well as the performance canon of English liturgical music. While a complete history of the EMR would be beyond the scope of this thesis, this introduction contains a summary of the various definitions of the hypothesis. However, the primary focus of the chapter is on the effect of the EMR on liturgical music.

The long nineteenth century is in many ways defined by nationalism, issues of national identity, and imperialism. The English Musical Renaissance hypothesis is the product of such a quest for national identity in music. Initially, it was primarily the construction of music critics who responded to the 'Land ohne Musik' theory: the idea that England had no national musical identity, posited by Carl Engel in *An Introduction to the Study of National Music* (1866).³ The responses to this were varied. There is not one English Musical Renaissance, but rather, a series of rebirths, reacting to each other and to changes in the socio-political situation of England and Europe. Histories of the topic are often contradictory.⁴

The first possible generation of EMR apologists, spearheaded by Joseph Bennett, operated in the realm of musical criticism and constructed a narrative in which the 1860s are cast as a new golden age of music. After Arthur Sullivan's premiere of *The Tempest* the *Cornhill Magazine* writes

¹ Athena Leoussi, Steven Grosby, *Nationalism and Ethnosymbolism: History, Culture and Ethnicity in the Formation of Nations* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 73.

² Meirion Hughes, Robert Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance 1840–1940: Constructing a National Music*, 2nd rev. edn. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 65.

³ Carl Engel, *An Introduction to the Study of National Music* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866).

⁴ For an assesment of EMR scholarship, see Alain Frogley, 'Rewriting the Renaissance: History, Imperialism, and British Music since 1840', *Music & Letters*, 84 (2003), 241-57. For a more complete study, see: Hughes, Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance*, as well as the somewhat more dated works: Frank Stewart Howes, *The English Musical Renaissance* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1966), Peter J. Pirie, *The English Musical Renaissance* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1979), and Michael Trend, *The Music Makers: The English Musical Renaissance from Elgar to Britten* (New York: Schirmer, 1985).

that 'we English can no longer be called an "unmusical people"'.⁵ Sullivan was only a young composer at the time, but 'before he was 30, Sullivan had secured a reputation in England which rivalled that of Mendelssohn'.⁶ He was hailed by many as the beginning of a rebirth of music in Britain. Bennett also credits Barnby's role in this revival, arguing that secured the future of English music.

E'en should Time's stream, with never ending flow,
obscure thy name and mem'ry, still thou'rt blest;
for in the temple, once so poor and low,
of England's music they have place confessed
who raise its towers to meet the dawning glow.⁷

This generation of critics coined the idea of the revival or rebirth but did not actively seek to create an English national music. It was not so much an idealistic construction as it was an expression of Victorian optimism. Hughes and Stradling write: 'For a bizarre minority of Renaissance memorialists, Sullivan ... was the true founder, whose place Parry ... usurped.'⁸ Because the composers had no link with the successive EMR movement, many theorists do not consider these composers part of the EMR.

Hughes and Stradling argue that the 'English Musical Renaissance was the conscious production of an intellectual and social elite'⁹ in South Kensington, led by Grove, Stanford, and Parry. In the 1870s, Europe was shaken at its very core by the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871. The war led to the creation of the Third French Republic and the German Empire. France lost its role as the pre-eminent power in Europe. Without the protection of Napoleon III, Italy could complete its internal unification by conquering the Papal States. According to Temperley, the English response to the emerging powers of Germany and the United States was an increasing tendency towards musical protectionism,¹⁰ because of which new opportunities became available to English composers at the end of the nineteenth century. Within this context, the second generation of EMR authors set out on

⁵ *Cornhill Magazine* (1862) 408-409, cited in Hughes, Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance*, 222.

⁶ Hughes, Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance*, 15.

⁷ Joseph Bennett, *Musical Times*, March 1, 1896, 165.

⁸ Hughes, Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance*, 222.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 291.

¹⁰ Nicholas Temperley, 'Xenophilia in British Musical History', *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies* (Abingdon: Routledge. 1999), 8.

a nationalist project to create an English music. Stradling and Hughes write: 'music *in* England was no longer enough, there had to be an English music too. ... A music for England became a political priority'.¹¹ This project encompassed various overlapping areas, including publication, education, and composition.

English musical history was codified in George Grove's *The Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1879-1889). William Husk contributed lengthy entries on pre-Victorian English composers to show England had a rich musical history before 1850. The most astounding act of constructing a new narrative of musical history is found in Grove's treatment of *Sumer is icumen in*. The thirteenth-century song is interpreted as the 'germ of modern music ... the direct and absolute progenitor to ... Handel, ..., Beethoven, ... [and] Wagner'.¹² In an act of unfettered cultural colonialism, Grove claims the entirety of the German tradition for England in one fell swoop. Grove's plea for a national music was heard across the country. In 1876, the National Training School (NTS) for music was opened in South Kensington, with Arthur Sullivan as principal. After a few mediocre years, the NTS was reformed as the Royal College of Music (RCM) in 1883, with Grove as its head, and Stanford, Parry, and Parrett as the core of the professorship. Stradling and Hughes argue that the trio was 'committed to Grove's goals – more and better music in England, more and better English music.'¹³ The South Kensington philosophy was firmly committed to Grove's appropriation of Germanness as Englishness. They sought to teach the 'German musical style and ideology as a universal language with no national connotations'.¹⁴ Based on this *contradictio in terminis*, the style of Beethoven and Brahms were idealised, and Englishness was decidedly Teutonic.¹⁵

¹¹ Hughes, Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance*, 21.

¹² *Ibid.*, 23.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹⁴ Simon McVeigh, 'A Free Trade in Music: London during the Long 19th Century in a European Perspective.' *Journal of Modern European History*, 5(1), (2007) 67-94, 83.

¹⁵ Even in the 1970s, this was not a problem for someone like Pirie, who refers to the Germans as 'a race that is nearest ethnically to our own – our fellow Saxons', directly combining nationalism with race. Pirie, *The English Musical Renaissance*, 18.

This second wave of EMR thought is based on the idea that Germanness is Englishness, founded upon a politically-driven revisionist history of *Sumer is icumen in*. It could be argued that the definition of musical Englishness was apophatic – a negative definition. English music was not French. During the Franco-Prussian war, the popularity of composers like Gounod in London knew virtually no bounds.¹⁶ However, after the war, the seat of power in Europe had changed from the Second French Empire to the German Empire. By the 1880s, national music was a symbol of empire. ‘By the 1880s the [British] Empire seemed to need English Music as music as it did the Royal Navy’,¹⁷ and therefore, Frenchness in music was considered undesirable by the South Kensington musicians. While Sullivan remained the favourite composer of the Victorian court, his reputation suffered at the hands of the RCM and the music critics of this second generation of the EMR. The most vocal of these critics was Fuller Maitland, who famously disapproved of the work of Sullivan, despite his popularity. He began to suppress Sullivan, considering himself as a door-keeper for good taste, safeguarding the cultural character of the nation.¹⁸ As a direct result of his work, Sullivan lost his post as conductor of the Leeds Festival.¹⁹ Sullivan’s biographer Arthur Lawrence was acutely aware of the effects of South Kensington philosophy on Sullivan’s reputation but held out hope that the historian of the future would be kinder to the composer.

The musical renaissance of Great Britain is part of the history of the last thirty years. ... How truly that renaissance has been due to the genius of Sullivan ... will be determinable when the historian is able to impartially analyse the work and influence of the men of this generation, at a time when our present petty jealousies and differences of opinion will have been relegated to oblivion.²⁰

The first critical, academic, impartial study of this type was published in 2018. Benedict Taylor’s substantial book begins the process of scholarly re-engagement with the music of Sullivan, considered historically, contextually, and analytically.²¹

¹⁶ See Paul Rodmell, *French Music in Britain 1830-1914*, (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis. 2020), especially ‘The ascendancy of Gounod’, 79.

¹⁷ Hughes, Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance*, 30.

¹⁸ See his autobiography: John Alexander Fuller Maitland *A Door-keeper of Music* (London: J. Murray, 1929).

¹⁹ Hughes, Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance*, 50.

²⁰ Arthur Lawrence, *Sir Arthur Sullivan, Life Story, Letters and Reminiscences* (London: J Bowden. 1899), 165.

²¹ Benedict Taylor, *Arthur Sullivan: A Musical Reappraisal* (London: Routledge, 2018).

When Carl Engel discussed English musical character in 1866, he uses the German term *Volkslied*, translating it as 'national music'.²² He uses the word to encompass two genres of music: folk-song and national anthems, and urged musicians to collect this music of the people, writing: 'We [do not] possess any collection of English national tunes of our own century which we can consult with confidence.'²³ As the second generation of EMR encomiasts set out to create a national music, defined by a distant or fictional national tradition,²⁴ they responded to Engel by creating a folk-song movement, which sought to codify the songs sung by people in the provinces. Sabine Baring-Gould's *Songs and Ballads of the West* of 1889 was an early example,²⁵ and was soon to be followed by publications by Kidson²⁶ and Broadwood and Fuller Maitland.²⁷ The movement gathered steam towards the end of the century. The Folk-Song Society was founded in 1898, with support of Parry, Stanford, and Mackenzie. The society began publishing a journal in the next year. Folk-song was beginning to become a part of the classical musical canon.

The third incarnation of the EMR, around the beginning of the twentieth century, is marked by the work of two composers: Elgar would redefine notions of Germanness in English music, while Vaughan Williams redefined musical Englishness through intensified engagement with the folk-song and early music. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Elgar begins to make inroads into the life of musical Britain, without the aid of the RCM and the EMR. After many years in the provincial circuit, he put himself firmly on the map in the latter years of the nineteenth century with *King Olaf*, *Caractacus*, *The Dream of Gerontius*, and *Enigma Variations*. Hughes and Stradling argue that the *Enigma Variations* of 1899 was the turning point, at which point the EMR decided to recruit Elgar

²² Engel, *An Introduction to the Study of National Music*, 13.

²³ Hughes, Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance*, 173.

²⁴ See also Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, ed., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

²⁵ Baring-Gould did not explicitly work as an exponent of the nationalist EMR project. During his time in Horbury, before the publication of Engel's book, he keenly gathered stories, folklore, and songs of local millworkers. 'I may add that whilst at Horbury I collected several folk-songs, carols and folk-tales.' Sabine Baring-Gould, *Further Reminiscences* (London: John Lane, 1925), 4.

²⁶ Frank Kidson, *Traditional tunes* (Oxford: Chas. Taphouse & Son, 1891).

²⁷ Lucy E. Broadwood, John Alexander Fuller Maitland, *English Country Songs* (London: Leadenhall Press 1893).

into its ranks.²⁸ Although his Wagnerian sympathies were slightly more contemporary and expressive than the Brahmsian tendencies of Stanford, his Teutonic approach to composition fitted squarely into the ideals preached in South Kensington; his identity, however, did not. Elgar came from the provinces, from a humble social background, did not attend Oxbridge, and worshipped in the churches of Rome. Despite the barriers he had to overcome,²⁹ Elgar established himself as one of the most important composers of the period. His musical language became closely associated with perceptions of Englishness in music during the period and has remained closely associated with national identity ever since. Ralph Vaughan Williams³⁰ was appointed music editor of the *English Hymnal* of 1906. Hughes and Stradling argue that the agnostic composer was more interested in putting 'Anglicans in touch with the English Musical Renaissance than with the Almighty'.³¹ The collection is a clear product of nationalist EMR ideologies. Many Tudor melodies were reintroduced, affirming a sense of heritage. Some thirty-five secular folk-songs were stripped of their historical texts and appropriated into this liturgical collection. Only twenty new tunes were introduced. This marks a significant departure from the creativity in hymnody seen in the 1860s and marks the beginning of the end of English hymnody. Many hymnals since *The English Hymnal* have largely affirmed the canon created by *The English Hymnal* and *Hymns Ancient & Modern*, repeating much of the same collection of hymns in volume after volume. After his work on *The English Hymnal*, Vaughan Williams became the next leader of the Renaissance. By the outbreak of the First World War, Vaughan Williams 'stood second only to Elgar in public estimation'.³²

In these different iterations of the English Musical Renaissance, church music was affected both directly and indirectly in distinct ways. This influence can be divided into a few overlapping

²⁸ Hughes, Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance*, 50.

²⁹ See chapter 4. In his own reinvention, he was heavily supported by his wife. See also Hughes, Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance*, 48.

³⁰ Alain Frogley 'Constructing Englishness in Music: National Character and the reception of Ralph Vaughan Williams', in *Vaughan Williams Studies*, 6, n. 9, ed. Alain Frogley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). On the pastoral ideal, see Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1973) and Alun Howkins, 'The Discovery of Rural England', in *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880–1920*, ed. Robert Colls and Philip Dodd (London: Croom Helm, 1986).

³¹ Hughes, Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance*, 66.

³² *Ibid.*, 67.

topics: the establishment of a national style; the influence of the English Musical Renaissance hypothesis on the priorities of sacred style in the early twentieth century, and the subsequent rewriting of the church music canon.

Creating the dark ages

The establishing of a national style in England was a self-aware and continuous process. However, it is based on the rather pregnant premise that there was no music in England before the end of the nineteenth century. EMR apologist Peter Pirie poignantly summarises this premise in 1979, writing:

No fact or collection of facts can quite account for it: English music led the world in the fourteenth century, and made a decent show from then on until the appearance of a major composer in Henry Purcell; but from his death until the first works by Elgar almost exactly two hundred years later we were virtually silent.³³

One of the necessary qualifications for the idea of a renaissance, or rebirth, is some sort of death.

While this point has not been made explicitly by previous scholars, Pirie's construction, characterising the death of Purcell as the death of English music is quite common in twentieth-century scholarship.³⁴ Various twenty-first-century authors, such as Palmer, have argued against such a construction because 'musical life [in England] was far from undernourished before the 1880s.'³⁵ To create this suggestion, composers from the pre-Stanford generation were largely suppressed. In *English Music in the XIXth century* of 1902, the EMR music critic Fuller Maitland entirely ignores Barnby as composer, conductor, and choir trainer. Similarly, Stainer is only mentioned briefly as head of the National Training School for Music³⁶ and as predecessor to Parry as Professor of Music at Oxford.³⁷ While Sullivan – the most popular composer of the generation – was often attacked by EMR

³³ Pirie, *The English Musical Renaissance*, 18.

³⁴ For example, Wilfrid Hocking Parry, *Thirteen Centuries of English Church Music* (London: Hinrichsen Edition. 1946) 30: 'After the death of Purcell there is a growing gap in English music'.

³⁵ Fiona M. Palmer, *Conductors in Britain, 1870-1914: Wielding the Baton at the height of Empire* (The Boydell Press, Woodbridge: 2017), 33.

³⁶ John Alexander Fuller Maitland, *English Music in the XIXth century* (London: Grant Richards. 1902), 157.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 204.

critics like Fuller Maitland, his friends and brother composers Stainer and Barnby were simply suppressed and silenced.

Some later EMR scholarship, such as that of Pirie and Trend, argues that the twentieth-century iteration of the EMR was the only 'true' English Musical Renaissance. Within such a construction, Parry and Stanford are attacked in the same way they had attacked Sullivan before.

The sum total of our musical achievement in the Victorian era was meagre, reactionary, and undistinguished. Stanford ... is shrivelled in the blaze of a composer like Richard Strauss. ... most of his choral works are terribly vacuous and devoid of significant invention. Parry's choral music, with the possible exception of *Blest Pair of Sirens*, is dead.³⁸

The creation of a narrative of musical dearth before the EMR effectively constituted the death of the reputation of the most popular composers of the previous era, including Sullivan, Stainer and Barnby. However, it also affected the reputation of EMR composers like Stanford. This can be seen in detail in an analysis of the music and reception of two evening services: Barnby in E and Stanford in E flat.

Musicologists and music historians have often focused on Barnby's *Service in E major* as an example of his writing: Joseph Bennett discusses the piece in an 1897 essay³⁹; Donald Tovey discusses it in *The Main Stream of Music* (1949);⁴⁰ and it is analysed by Kenneth Long (1971),⁴¹ William Gatens (1982),⁴² Peter Horton (2003),⁴³ and Martin Thomas (2016).⁴⁴ Based on this, most people researching Barnby might get the impression that *Barnby in E* encapsulates all archetypal features of his style. Why else would such a long line of scholars refer to the same piece again and again with such consistency?

³⁸ Pirie, *The English Musical Renaissance*, 22.

³⁹ Cited in William J. Gatens, *Victorian Cathedral Music in Theory and Practice*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 75.

⁴⁰ Donald Tovey, *The Main Stream of Music and Other Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949. 1st ed. 1938), 214.

⁴¹ Kenneth Long, *The Music of the English Church* (London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1971), 363.

⁴² Gatens, *Victorian Cathedral Music*, 75.

⁴³ Peter Horton, 'Another String to his Bow: The Composer Conducts', in Peter Horton and Bennett Zon, ed., *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies 3* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

⁴⁴ Martin Thomas, *English Cathedral Music and Liturgy in the Twentieth Century* (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis. 2016), 58.

The Lute informs us that Barnby in E was ‘written at the age of seventeen’⁴⁵ and first performed at King’s College, Cambridge. Despite the fact it was such an early work, it became very popular. As mentioned in chapter 3, it was a staple at St Paul’s Cathedral: in 1875 the *Te Deum* from *Barnby in E* was performed fifteen times; the *Jubilate* sixteen times;⁴⁶ the *Communion Service* nine times;⁴⁷ and the *Evening Service* fourteen times.⁴⁸ Buck and Fellowes count 29 performances a year in 1898.⁴⁹ This is echoed by contemporaneous sources, which note that at the time of Barnby’s death, ‘his Service in E is in constant use’,⁵⁰ and ‘is often to be heard in Westminster Abbey.’⁵¹ *The Review of Reviews* even gives anecdotal evidence which suggests the piece began the friendship between Barnby and the famous author and clergyman, Charles Kingsley.

One day when I was staying with my brother at Westminster, Canon Kingsley was announced, and rushing into the room he seized me warmly by the hand and explained, “Now I have kept my word. I always declared that one of the first things I would do when I came to London would be to make the acquaintance of Barnby in E.”⁵²

Kenneth Long describes the verse passage ‘For the Lord is gracious’ from the *Jubilate* as ‘a veritable triumph of gooey sanctimoniousness.’⁵³ Tovey, Horton, and Thomas focus their criticism of this piece on the ‘unfortunate word repetition’⁵⁴ in the doxological fugue (Figure 1).

... generations of schoolboys and choir-boys have been brought up to believe without question in a 40th Article of Religion which no theologian has ever explained, but which Barnby, in E, strenuously proclaims; the doctrine that ‘As it was, it was in the beginning’.⁵⁵

⁴⁵ *The Lute* (No.97 January 1,1891), 137.

⁴⁶ Timothy Charles Storey, *The music of St Paul's cathedral 1872-1972: The origins and development of the modern cathedral choir* (MMus thesis, Durham University. 1998), 154, accessed 3 February 2022, http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/4088/1/4088_1607-vol1.pdf

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 156.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 157.

⁴⁹ Buck and Fellowes, cited in Thomas, *English Cathedral Music and Liturgy*, 58.

⁵⁰ ‘The Composer of “Sweet and Low” The Late Sir Joseph Barnby’. *Review of Reviews* (Vol. XIII, 1896. London: Marshall and Son), 154.

⁵¹ *The Lute* (No. 97 January 1,1891), 137.

⁵² ‘The Composer of “Sweet and Low” The Late Sir Joseph Barnby’, 154.

⁵³ Long, *The Music of the English Church*, 363.

⁵⁴ Horton, ‘Another String to his Bow’, 111.

⁵⁵ Tovey, *Main Stream of Music*, 214.

Peter Horton simply affirms Tovey's argument with the comment 'he has a point', and Thomas copies the argument blindly. Barnby's repetition of 'As it was' stands squarely in Victorian convention, and creates additional space for a more interesting fugue subject. Horton observes that the 'unfortunate repetition' is copied exactly by Stainer in his *Service in B flat*, written two decades later. Given the popularity of Barnby in E at St Paul's,⁵⁶ it is no surprise that Stainer followed this model. This imitation indicates that the fugue subject was considered very successful by Barnby's contemporaries. The dislike for the repetition of text in sacred music is a strictly twentieth-century phenomenon, which should not be used to measure Victorian music.

More importantly, Barnby in E does not represent Barnby accurately: it is an earlywork which does not reflect the composer's later output. It is more traditional and academic than his later works,

⁵⁶ See chapter 3.

58 *Slower*

and to the Ho - ly Ghost; As it was, it was in the be -

and to the Ho - ly Ghost;

8 and to the Ho - ly Ghost;

and to the Ho - ly Ghost;

gin-ning in the be - gin-ning, is now, and e-ver shall be: world with-out

As it was, it was in the be - gin-ning, is now, and e - ver shall be:

8 As it

Figure 1: The Gloria of the *Nunc Dimittis* of Barnby in E, 1855 or 56.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Joseph Barnby, *Canticles in E*, ed. Sjouke Bruining, 2012, Choral Public Domain Library, accessed 30 March 2022 <http://www1.cpd.l.org/wiki/images/4/49/Barnby-Canticles-in-E.pdf>

117

dim. *rall.* *Allegro molto* $\text{♩} = \text{♩}$

Fa - ther, and to the Son, and to the Ho - ly Ghost;

dim. *p*

Fa - ther, and to the Son, and to the Ho - ly Ghost;

dim. *p*

Fa - ther, and to the Son, and to the Ho - ly Ghost;

dim. *p*

Fa - ther, and to the Son, and to the Ho - ly Ghost;

rall. *Allegro molto* $\text{♩} = \text{♩}$

dim. *p* *f*

124

f *f* *As*

As it was, it was in the be - gin - ning, is, now, and e - ver

Figure 2: The Gloria of Stainer in B flat, 1879⁵⁸

which display a more liberal treatment of form, harmony, and in which his textural and melodic writing has developed significantly. His service in E was considered to be a ‘scholarly and effective’ work by contemporary critics.⁵⁹ Paraphrased, it was a bit conservative and scholastic, just as one would expect from a 17-year old non-Oxbridge composer writing for King’s College, Cambridge. Perhaps it is because it was so inoffensive to conservative cathedral culture that this piece was so frequently performed across the country. Considering this context, it is nothing short of comical that

⁵⁸ John Stainer, *Magnificat and Nunc dimittis in B flat*, ed. Robert Nottinham, 2007, Choral Public Domain Library, accessed 30 March 2022

https://www.cpdl.org/wiki/images/b/bc/Stainer_magnificat_and_nunc_dimittis_in_b_flat_2.pdf

⁵⁹ *The Lute* (No. 97 January 1, 1891), 137.

so many scholars have chosen one of Barnby's most conservative compositions to make the point that his music is too affective.

While Barnby in E was acceptable within the cathedral canon, Barnby's later music is far more affective. Joseph Bennett writes: 'Barnby's most impressionable years belonged to ... the older school of Church composers ... the era of free effects and what was then looked upon as operatic sentiment had only just begun to dawn.'⁶⁰ While the young Barnby grew up in a cathedral environment, an American critic writes that, as he grew older, Barnby became one of the 'most progressive of his contemporary musicians, and was among the first to modernize the style of music in use in the church,' because he showed increasingly 'less regard for what may be called the old cathedral spirit than ... his contemporaries.'⁶¹ Barnby was at the very front of introducing affective romantic music into the Church, and he adapted his style to match that of contemporary music: 'the composer showed himself in sympathy with the musical feeling of his day rather than with the austere scholasticism of an earlier time.'⁶² In other words, Barnby's compositional style developed significantly after Barnby in E, changing into the far more affective musical language of *King all Glorious* and other later works. These later, more affective pieces never found much of a place in the Cathedral repertoire but remained predominantly in the Anglo-Catholic parochial context, where the richly orchestrated pieces fitted into the liturgies of a faith which celebrated the Divine with exuberance.

This development was deliberate, as Barnby and Stainer identified 'a lack of emotional expression as the weak point of English music.'⁶³ It is because of that quest for subjectiveness and emotional expression that Barnby's music was both popular at the time, and unwelcome in the nationalist EMR, which sought to turn music into an unassailable vestige of empire, in which

⁶⁰ Joseph Bennett, 'Joseph Barnby' *The Musical Times* (March 1, 1896), 153.

⁶¹ Raymond Huntington Woodman, 'Church Music', *New York Evangelist* (20 February 1896), 22.

⁶² Bennett 'Joseph Barnby', 153.

⁶³ John Francis Ling, *The Debate in England on the Progress and Regress of Music*, PhD thesis (London: Royal Holloway College. 2014), 161.

subjectivity had no place. However, the appeal to emotion in Barnby's compositions was received positively during his life, as *The Musical Standard* acknowledges:

We do not hesitate to say that, so far as we know English Church Music of the XIXth century, Mr. BARNBY'S name stands in the front rank as a composer. We all know his music for the Church, and we all love it, because it contains those qualities which satisfy both head and heart.⁶⁴

Barnby's approach to church music is quite different to how many later musicologists have portrayed him: as the worst exponent of operatic dramatic decadence in the Victorian church. Barnby's priorities were almost the exact opposite of such an image, showing how tastes have changed, and how history is coloured by changing priorities.

While shunning frivolity and the undignified, he did not at all see why the Church should be closed against musical developments in the direction of ornate or even pretty effects. To this he gave practical expression in his works, but always with the prudence and self-restraint which were conspicuous in his musical career. Hence the popularity of his compositions as things having in them the modern spirit yet not offensive to older tastes.⁶⁵

Within the larger sphere of music, Barnby's music remains very much a high art form. Even if we were to situate his style somewhere between Schubert and Gounod – and that is a very advanced context for him, he is usually more conservative – he would still by every estimation be a high art composer. Although Barnby was a big supporter of Gounod and other contemporary composers, he 'displayed little practical sympathy with opera'.⁶⁶ Barnby openly wrote against people who sought to replace genuine ecclesial mission with musical extravaganzas.

But of all the errors which cry aloud for a remedy, the worst to my mind is perpetrated in the endeavor to draw a new congregation to a church, or to fill up the thinned ranks of a decreasing flock, by the exhibition of startling novelties, and what I should term musical *tours de force*.⁶⁷

Barnby was a well-known advocate for the reform of church music, away from operatic tendencies, and towards congregational participation. The American commentator Frederick Root notes:

⁶⁴ *The Musical Standard* (August 20, 1892; 43, 1464), 145.

⁶⁵ Bennett, 'Joseph Barnby', 153.

⁶⁶ 'Barnby, Sir Joseph', *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1911, Volume 3 accessed 30 March 2022, https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/1911_Encyclop%C3%A6dia_Britannica/Barnby,_Sir_Joseph

⁶⁷ Frederic W. Root, 'The Church music Question', *The Song Messenger*, held at the Library of Congress.

In our day, when it is so common to hear, in places dedicated to the worship of God, words of Scripture used to exhibit the soprano's flexible voice and the tenor's *ut de poitrine* [high C in chest voice] — which congregations are so lamentably ignorant concerning the true use of church music, it is encouraging to see so influential a man as Mr. Barnby preaching in the interests of reform.⁶⁸

He argued that everyone in the congregation 'has a right—nay, even an obligation—to take a part in the service beyond that of a silent auditor',⁶⁹ and that liturgical music should be chosen to enable congregational participation. With this in mind, he argued for simplicity in congregational music.

The principle that the congregational service should be one in which the congregation can join, involves, to my thinking, a second principle, namely, that of singing in unison—inasmuch as this is the only form which admits of a whole congregation's joining without a violation of the laws of harmony.⁷⁰

Just as he considered the congregation as an essential part of the choir, so was the choir considered an essential part of the congregation. Barnby 'regards a choir as a matter of course, in every church',⁷¹ and considers the performance of musical pieces by the choir alone as a distinct part of the service, 'which he classifies as "meditative"'.⁷² He argues that the performance of elaborate choral works can stimulate the meditation and worship of the congregation. However, unlike simple congregational singing, it is not a contingent part of the service.

An interesting comparison can be made between Barnby in E and Stanford in E flat (1873). Both are early works by their respective composers, and both were written for a Cambridge College. Barnby in E has often received criticism, while Stanford in E flat was suppressed — both by the composer and by later scholars. In Dibble's authoritative works on Stanford, he almost entirely ignores the existence of Stanford's early evening services in F (1872) and E flat (1873), written for Queen's College, Cambridge. In a recent paper presented at the University of Durham,⁷³ Jeremy Dibble spoke on the Stanford *Evening Services*, praising them for their stable structures and academic approaches. When asked why he had chosen to omit the *Service in E flat* from his study, he answered

⁶⁸ Root, 'The Church music Question'.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid. A fascinating thought which leads to much further considerations.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Key note, *Church Music and Worship Conference*, Durham University & Durham Cathedral, April 2018.

that it was difficult to take it seriously, and that, as an early work, it should be forgotten.⁷⁴ In his programme notes for the first recording, Dibble describes sections of the service in E flat as ‘distinctly secular in style’ and ‘of a pastoral character’.⁷⁵ Jeremy Dibble analyses the Stanford evening services as miniatures of symphonic forms to support his case for a Stanford revival, and to justify his affection for the music. He praises Stanford’s formal approach to music. *Mutatis mutandis*, works that favour the affective over the formal, such as the service in E flat, are dismissed as light music. While Stanford in E flat does not square with the ideals espoused by the Germanic iteration of the EMR, it is distinctly recognisable as English church music of the 1870s and is a fair representation of the style of church music which composers such as Sullivan, Stainer, and Barnby had been utilising. The work is accompanied by a semi-orchestral organ part dominated by repeated quaver chords. The tonal structure of the work is ‘adventurous’,⁷⁶ and many crucial modulations are achieved through the same chromatic means for which Barnby was chastised. This is presumably the reason Stanford did not publish the work, in an act of self-censure.

Stanford’s later works, of a far more academic, conservative, and formal character have remained a staple of the cathedral repertory. However, we ignore Stanford’s musical development when we do not consider his pre-Germanic period. In Stanford’s case, this was the intention of the composer, who suppressed his own early works which did not align with the new Teutonic constructions of Englishness that he promoted alongside Parry and the South Kensington school. The same institutional nationalistic idealism resulted in the suppression of Sullivan, Stainer, and Barnby from the history books of Fuller Maitland, even though their works were still regularly performed at the turn of the century. However, as the ideals of the EMR became more commonly accepted, their music fell from favour.

⁷⁴ I paraphrase to the best of my recollection, writing in February 2019.

⁷⁵ Jeremy Dibble, booklet to ‘Stanford: Sacred choral music’, Winchester Cathedral Choir, David Hill (conductor), accessed 30 March 2022 https://www.hyperion-records.co.uk/dc.asp?dc=D_CDS44311/3

⁷⁶ Richard Barnes, ‘editorial note’ in Charles Villiers Stanford *Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in E flat* (Salisbury: Cathedral Music. 1997), 2.

Magnificat

3

C. V. Stanford

Andante con moto

SOPRANO

ALTO

TENOR

BASS

Solo 1

My soul doth mag - ni - fy the

ORGAN

p

Ped.

Andante con moto

Solo

My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord, hath re-joic'd in God my

Solo

My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord, and my spi - rit hath re - joi - ced in God my

Lord, doth mag - ni - fy the Lord, and my spi - rit hath re-joic'd in God my

Solo 2

My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord, and my spi - rit hath re-joic'd in God my

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Figure 3: The incipit of Stanford in E flat⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Charles Villiers Stanford, *Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in E flat* (Salisbury: Cathedral Music, 1997)

Changing priorities

Stanford's *Te Deum* in B flat (1879) was changed significantly for the coronation of Edward VII in 1902. When Stanford was asked to supply a work for the coronation, he decided to orchestrate and alter his 'already well-known *Te Deum* from the service in B flat, Op. 10'⁷⁸ for the occasion. In this work, Stanford 'adapted ... Brahmsian instrumental technique for liturgical use'.⁷⁹ Symphonic forms and deformations of such structures underpin the whole service and provide a sense of largeness by unifying the separate liturgical parts into something which can be considered as one organic work. Largeness becomes a common preoccupation of composers in the early twentieth century: many of the anthems⁸⁰ from the period which survive in the choral repertoire are of monumental proportions.

Symphonic approaches are also visible in the semi-orchestral approach to organ accompaniments of Stanford, Parry, and their contemporaries. The orchestral reductions of anthems such as that to Harwood's *O how glorious* (1898) had influenced composers' approaches to organ writing. Noteworthy examples are the opening of Ireland's *Greater Love* (1914), mimicking a double bass *pizzicato*, and the unruly arpeggiations of Stanford's *For Lo, I raise up* (1914), which set the scene for the dramatic anthem.

⁷⁸ Jeremy Dibble, booklet to 'Stanford: Sacred choral music'.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Large-scale anthems from the period with similar tropes include:

Harwood	O how glorious	1898
Parry	I was glad	1902/1911
Vaughan Williams	Let all the world	1906/1911
Balfour Gardiner	Evening Hymn	1908
Ireland	Greater love	1912
Bairstow	Blessed city	1914
Elgar	Give unto the Lord	1914
Stanford	For lo I raise up	1914
Gray	What are these that glow from afar	1915
Wood	O Thou the central orb	1915

5785
Op. 10

Te Deum laudamus.

C. VILLIERS STANFORD.

With breadth and not too slow. $\text{♩} = 80.$

ORGAN. *f Brass.* *Tutti.*

(Introduction added by the Composer for the Coronation Service, 1902)

SOPRANO.
ALTO. We.. praise Thee, O God, . . . we ac - know-ledge Thee to
TENOR. We.. praise Thee, O God, . . . we ac - know-ledge Thee to
BASS. We.. praise Thee, O God, . . . we ac - know-ledge Thee to
We.. praise Thee, O God, . . . we ac - know-ledge Thee to

mf Gl.

cres.
be the Lord. All the earth doth wor - ship Thee, the Fa - ther ev - er -
cres.
be the Lord. All the earth doth wor - ship Thee, the Fa - ther ev - er -
cres. *ff*
be the Lord. All the earth doth wor - ship Thee, the Fa - ther ev - er -
cres. *ff*
be the Lord. All the earth doth wor - ship Thee, the Fa - ther ev - er -

cres. *ff*

The Composer has (in the Te Deum, Credo, and Gloria in Excelsis) made use of Gregorian Intonations, as well as of the Amen according to the Dresden use.—O. V. S.

Figure 4: The new opening to Stanford's Te Deum in B flat, 1902.⁸¹

⁸¹ Charles Villiers Stanford, *Morning, Evening and Communion Service in B-flat major, Op.10* (London: Novello, 1902).

Extemporised preludes to most works were the norm in Victorian performance practice, enabling the organist to set the tempo and atmosphere for the unconducted choir. Frederick Bridge gives evidence of this improvised tradition in his instructional volume on *Organ accompaniment of the choral service*:

[An introductory] voluntary is almost universally played as an introduction to [the anthem] ... Should it happen that the organist has not sufficient confidence in his power to attempt an extempore introduction, he should select some leading phrase from the Anthem itself, and use this as a prelude rather than taking refuge in the striking of a single bald chord to rouse the attention of the choir.⁸²

Because of the orchestration of the work, the conventional improvised organ introduction had to be replaced with a written introduction. The introduction highlights the gregorian intonation of the Te Deum, thereby connecting the work to the past. Stanford makes explicit mention of this on the first page of the Novello edition, also mentioning the use of the Dresden Amen to strengthen the sense of Germanness in the composition.⁸³ The use of Gregorian motifs to indicate monumentality and heritage is not unique to Stanford. The same device can be seen clearly in Bairstow's *Blessed City* (1914).

Parry's *I was glad* was also originally composed for the coronation of Edward VII in 1902. An interesting insight into the changing priorities in the church musical world can be found in the introductions used for *I was glad* at the coronation services of 1902 and 1911. The original introduction operates at half the speed of the new introduction. Bar 11 of the original is the first moment to return in the revision, where it becomes the second half of bar 10. The original is an expressive Brahmsian opening gesture, which slowly grows from *mezzo-forte* to *fortissimo*. The music is rich in texture and timbre and gains an almost mysterious solemnity through its harmonic progress. Without reference to the dominant, the tonic turns to the subdominant area (b2), and, continuing its journey flatwards to the subdominant of the subdominant, eventually moves to the flat sixth before returning to the tonic by introducing the dominant. By contrast, the new introduction replaces

⁸² Frederick Bridge, *Organ accompaniment of the choral service* (London: Novello, 1885), 17.

⁸³ Or Englishness, as an EMR author might argue.

I was glad when they said unto me

Psalm cxxii, 1-3, 6, 7

C. HUBERT H. PARRY

The musical score is arranged in three systems. The first system is the piano accompaniment, marked **Maestoso** and **ACCOMP.**, starting with a forte (**f**) dynamic. The second system continues the piano accompaniment, reaching a fortissimo (**ff**) dynamic. The third system contains the vocal parts: 1st SOPRANO (rit. then **A a tempo**), 2nd SOPRANO, ALTO, 1st TENOR (rit. then **a tempo f**), 2nd TENOR, BASS, and a final piano accompaniment line (rit. then **A a tempo**). The lyrics "I was glad," are written under the vocal staves.

Figure 5: The 1911 introduction of Parry's *I was glad*⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Charles Hubert Hastings Parry, *I was glad* (London: Novello, n.d., 1911 version)

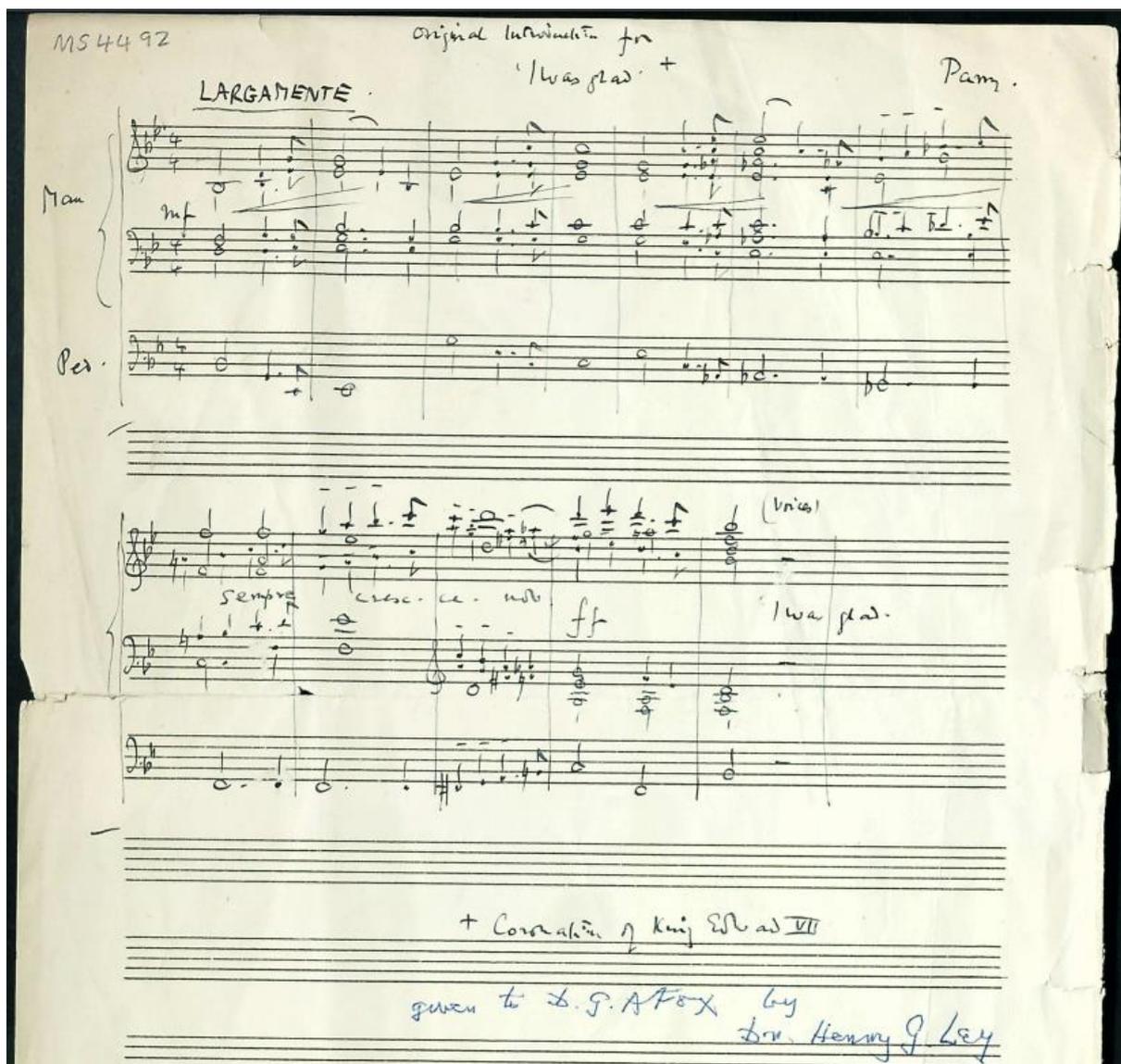


Figure 6: The original introduction to Parry's *I was glad*, in the manuscript of Henry Ley.⁸⁵

brooding late-nineteenth-century Germanic language with elements of Beethoven's heroic style, married with a ceremonial grandeur more commonly associated with depictions of the sacred in opera. Parry reduces the opening motifs of the work down to the minimum. The second choral entry with its anacrucial organ chords outlines a melody of two thirds. The opening shape of the choral entry is just one ascending third with repetition. Parry works backwards from this. The work opens with the germinal motif of a minor third (D-F, bar 1). This is developed into the same shape as the

⁸⁵ Charles Hubert Hastings Parry, *Original Introduction to I was glad* (transcribed by Henry Ley), Royal College of Music MS4256a

choral entry by adding a repetition (D-F-F, bar 3). In bar 5, it turns into a three-note motif (D-F-G), ending a fourth above the opening note, which bridges the gap between the first and second choral entry, which respectively span a third and a fifth. The trumpet calls are underscored with dotted motifs with strong military connotations. Whereas the original introduction avoids the dominant until bar 8, the new introduction emphasises the dominant from the opening, almost suggesting the work begins in the dominant. The excursion to the flat seventh and flat sixth is replaced with a more conventional tonal progression through dominants and tonics, realised using fragmentations of the dotted motif (bar 6-8). As a result, the work takes on an entirely new character. The brooding, mysterious nobility of the original introduction is supplanted with the assertive, heroic character of the new introduction, while the first introduction takes the listener on a journey, opening up space for questions which can be answered later. The mystifying descent to G flat in the first introduction is rationalised through the semi-chorus section, *O pray for the peace*, which resolves that tension. By contrast, the new introduction leaves no room for doubt. The instruction *Largamente* – broadly, generously – is replaced by *Maestoso* – majestically. The germinal opening allows for a much louder entry, as the growth does not occur primarily dynamically, but melodically. The result is one of the most memorable introductions in the English choral repertoire. It is charged with heroic overtones for the cause of nation and empire. Perhaps it is for this reason that *I was glad* has become an archetype of the ‘ceremonial tradition’ in the Church of England. Leoussi and Grosby consider this ‘ceremonial tradition’ to be a significant part of the English Musical Renaissance project.⁸⁶

Centre and periphery

The English Musical Renaissance had been engaged in a project of canonic codification and rewriting since the days of George Grove. His *Dictionary* gave a single, cohesive, history of English music with a clear nationalist agenda. Similar projects were undertaken through the publication of histories of

⁸⁶ Leoussi, Grosby, *Nationalism and Ethnosymbolism*, 73.

church music and collections of liturgical musics. The church music histories of the English Musical Renaissance focused almost exclusively on the cathedral tradition, even though the nineteenth-century places of church musical excellence were primarily parish churches, such as Leeds Parish Church, All Saints, Margaret Street, and St Andrew's, Wells Street. The revival of cathedral music slowly began in the late nineteenth century, based on the work of Stainer and Barnby at St Paul's.⁸⁷ The focus on cathedrals demonstrates the growing interest in establishments with historic traditions, regardless of their state. This academic historical interest did encourage musical revival. Bumpus' *A History of English Cathedral Music* (1908) and Fellowes' *English Cathedral Music* (1941) were highly influential. Subsequent histories such as those by Gatens (1986), Gant (2015) and Thomas (2015) have primarily maintained the same cathedral focus; Nicholas Temperley's *The Music of the English Parish Church* (1979) is a notable exception. One of the clearest examples of the consolidation of the canon is found in Kenneth Long's *Music of the English Church* (1971). He Fellowes' narrative to the letter, but argues even more fervently against romanticism in church music. Because of this conservative attitude, the book was extremely influential in church music across England.⁸⁸ In his discussion of Barnby, Long takes direct aim at the composer's style and character.

[His] sickly sentimental style [was] achieved largely by the excessive use of chromatic harmony ... When transferred from the parlour to the chancel such a style was wholly debilitating and most of Barnby's output shows an almost unbelievable lack of taste and sensitivity.⁸⁹

Gatens posits that 'it is hard to forgive the groundless aspersions casts on the artistic and even moral integrity of Barnby' based on assumed moral superiority.⁹⁰ Temperley also takes issues with Long's style, simply referring to him as 'Fellowes plus Prejudice'.⁹¹

⁸⁷ See chapter 3.

⁸⁸ Andrew Knowles, formerly Director of Music of the Oxford Oratory, related to me that when he was growing up, Long's book was considered as the 'Bible of Church Music'.

⁸⁹ Long, *The Music of the English*, 363.

⁹⁰ Gatens, *Victorian Cathedral Music*, 75.

⁹¹ Nicholas Temperley, 'Ancient and modern in the work of Sir John Stainer', in Peter Horton and Bennett Zon, ed., *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies 3* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

Similarly, Hymnody was canonised in *The English Hymnal* (1906). The original *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1861) pre-dated the EMR project, but the 1922 “standard edition” by Sydney Nicholson explicitly sought to standardise and codify hymnody further. Psalmody was codified in publications such as *The New Cathedral Psalter* (1910), *The Oxford Psalter* (1929), and Sydney Nicholson’s *The Parish Psalter* (1932). In most of these books, the same material was repeated, creating a clear sense of canon.

The main contribution of Vaughan Williams to church music was as editor of *The English Hymnal*. Vaughan Williams’ dual interests in early music and folk-song are evident. He reintroduced a significant number of melodies by early English composers, and appropriated melodies from folk-song to create, or rather, change, the idea of national music. This work was based on the conviction that any remaining elements of the sentimental pre-Stanford school of English composition should be purged. He sets out this goal in the preface, writing that through the focus on folk-song and early music, he ‘seeks to ensure purity of musical taste, perhaps even leaning to the side of severity’.⁹² *The English Hymnal* of 1906 only includes one hymn by Barnby, two by Sullivan, and none by Stainer.⁹³ Only a few new hymns were composed for the volume. This introduced the process of canonisation to the realm of small-scale liturgical repertoire. Many hymnals and psalters since have followed Vaughan Williams’ approach, combining material from old sources, and avoiding the introduction of new compositions.⁹⁴ As a result, the core of most collections of English hymnody published even today is the late-Victorian and Edwardian repertoire.⁹⁵ This has had a stifling effect on the

⁹² Hughes, Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance*, 81.

⁹³ Two more melodies by Barnby are in the appendix, as is one by Sullivan.

⁹⁴ There is, of course, a commercial challenge towards commissioning a significant of new works for each new hymnal. However, this can be achieved, as is evident from the Dutch hymnals of 1973 and 2013, both of which contain hundreds of new commissions. The present author was delighted to contribute some twenty-five new small-scale liturgical works to the *Liedboek: Zingen en bidden in huis en kerk* of 2013. Since then, a flourishing cooperation with Sytze de Vries, prince amongst the priest poets of The Netherlands, has resulted in a number of new hymns. The prefatory poem to this thesis is also by his hand.

⁹⁵ The proposed list of contents of the forthcoming Revised English Hymnal is an example of this. It contains 185 items which were not included in the New English Hymnal (NEH). A considerable number of these 185 are not new hymns, but older hymns and other liturgical items from older collections which were not included in the NEH. ‘First Lines’ *The Revised English Hymnal*, accessed 17 September 2022, <https://reh.hymnsam.co.uk/first-lines/>

composition of small-scale liturgical music in the English church. With every new hymnal and psalter published, repeating the same core of works, the canon became more immovable. Donald Mitchell notes this immobility in English music, writing: 'the musical scene in England after the turn of the century possessed all the immobility of a waxworks stacked with dummy composers and the effigies that they passed off as compositions'.⁹⁶ The combination of the focus on largeness and the canonisation of music in smaller forms led to the end of a creative era in small-scale church music. We will never know the hymn tunes of Britten and Tippett or the psalm chants of Walton and Maxwell Davies.

Conclusions

Priorities in church music changed significantly in the early twentieth century. In England, one of the driving forces behind this change was the production of the English Musical Renaissance hypothesis by an intellectual and social elite with an overt nationalist agenda.

Church music was affected by the EMR hypothesis. Although the genre was still widely considered to be less important than the symphonic and operatic genres, it was not a significant academic battlefield for the EMR apologists. However, the field of church music was changed significantly by the practical contributions of Stanford, Parry, and Vaughan Williams: leaders of this philosophy. The music of Stanford and Elgar operated on a far more formal level than that of their predecessors. Stanford employed deformations of symphonic structures, while Elgar used Wagnerian approaches to form and structure. These devices were in line with their philosophy, which promoted the German romantic compositional language. Form and structure were not priorities to the previous generation of composers, such as Barnby, Stainer, and Sullivan, whose church music primarily sought to remedy a lack of affection in English music. For this reason, the reputation of these Victorian high-church composers diminished as the influence of the EMR apologists grew in the 1880s and 1890s.

⁹⁶ Donald Mitchell, *The Language of Modern Music* (London: Faber & Faber. 1963), 109.

Although form and affection are hardly an obvious binary, they have often been cast into that relationship.

The priorities of Vaughan Williams, on the other hand, are more clearly opposed to those of the Victorian high-church composers. His reintroduction of much early music and introduction of folk-song melodies, appropriated for liturgical purposes, was an expression of his ideology for church music: a more severe music, free from the chromatic excess and emotional charge of the High Victorian style. Donald Mitchell argues that this focus on the past eventually led Vaughan Williams to become 'a victim of his own achievement: encircled by the past, not freed from it. His attempts to widen his scope – e.g., the fourth symphony – suggests he was intermittently conscious of the prison bars.'⁹⁷ It could be argued that the same prison bars have taken over much of the landscape of liturgical music since the early twentieth century. The focus on cathedral music tradition and largeness in musical works has directed the work of many English composers away from the realm of parish churches.

Vaughan Williams' attitude of severity, within which the affective qualities of the High Victorian style are considered to be inappropriate for the church, is not a new one. It is remarkably similar to the narrative of restraint and reserve seen in the writings of early Tractarians like Bennett.⁹⁸ In both cases, affective qualities of music were considered with suspicion. In the latter case, it was considered as an expression of the insecurity within the English church, especially the new, controversial Tractarian wing. In Vaughan Williams' case, it could be considered as a product of a generation of national insecurity, following the destabilising effects of the Franco-Prussian war, which would eventually lead to the First World War.

⁹⁷ Mitchell, *The Language of Modern Music*, 110.

⁹⁸ See chapter 2.

CONCLUSIONS

While each chapter contains a set of conclusions, there are some overarching themes to highlight. Moreover, the approaches and philosophies discussed may offer questions and answers to the present generation of musicians and clergy.

One of the most striking themes across the chapters is the changing engagement with the concepts of affection and sympathy in liturgical music. While most of Keble's poetry operates on a somewhat indirect level, using analogy and allegory to bring together romanticism and high churchmanship through reserve, his incarnational focus moves the discussion beyond the general spirit of reserve: it begins to open the door to a more exuberant church music. Oakeley responds to this in his articles on church music, which begin to codify a cohesive music theology. Through a growing sense of liturgical awareness, inspired by the work of Palmer, he calls for the introduction of more direct and affective forms of music in church. He called for the revival of hymnody: old texts, approved by the catholic church, which relate to the Christian experience more directly than the psalms of the Old Testament. His articles were influential, and inspired work like J. M. Neale's *Hymnal Noted*. The lack of affect in English church music was still felt by high-church composers of the 1860s and 1870s, like Barnby and Stainer. In their compositions and their church-musical practice, they sought to remedy this. A particularly inventive and interesting approach to this problem was taken by Alice Mary Smith, whose sacred choral music of the 1860s falls back on Classical approaches to communication. Tonal structure and melodic content are heavily influenced by the Renaissance and Baroque codification of *Affektenlehre*, through both *Figurenlehre* and the *proprietas modi*. Her musical figures communicate the text expressively, while the characteristics of each key are used to set the overall tone of each section. Through these academic devices, she offers a unique response to the perceived challenges of contemporaneous church music. The final chapter traces the fall from grace of the subjective musical constructions of the Victorian composers. As Grove, Stanford, and Parry shifted the focus increasingly to the objective, formal aspect of

composition, the subjective musical goals of Stainer and Barnby were fundamentally at odds with the objective formal demands made by the priorities of Stanford and Parry. As they created an increasingly national style through reference to Brahms and Beethoven, even their own works had to be adapted to meet the increasingly monumental demands that were made of a national music. The Victorian focus on the subjective found its clearest opponent in Vaughan Williams. He began to purge the hymnals of the English church from the affective spirit of the Victorians. Their direct, emotive responses to the Gospel were partially at odds with his lived experience,¹ and certainly did not align with his musical priorities. His focus on early music and folk-song returned something of the severity of the 1840s to the English church.

Another noteworthy overarching theme is the decline of the focus on poetry. While the Oxford Movement and the English choral tradition are founded in the spirit of poetry, this relationship appears to wane through the nineteenth century. By the end of the nineteenth century, the academic aspect of music becomes more prominent. The conscious invention of the English Musical Renaissance hypothesis was initially a product of this, but became a major cause for it. There may not be a direct relationship between the decreased focus on poetry and the increased focus on musicology, but the two are related, perhaps most significantly in church music. Music which considers itself born of poetry is necessarily contingent. However music is necessary when it is viewed from the perspective of musicology. Without music, there is no musicology. Church music is contingent – it is a normative part of the service, but not a required element: it does not affect the operation of sacramental grace which operates *ex opere operato*. By contrast, in a politically charged musicology, music is necessary: required to bolster the imagined identity of nation or empire. Without music, there is still Word and sacrament. Liturgical music, ontologically, is always only a contingent part of worship. While it may be normative, uplifting, and otherworldly, it is not an essential part for the celebration of the offices or sacraments. This shift in the ontological demands

¹ He was agnostic.

placed upon church music may be one of the reasons for the complex relationships between musicians and clergy often seen in choral foundations.

A third issue which runs through the entire work, but is especially visible in the chapters on Keble and Vaughan Williams, regards appropriation, which is a form of colonisation.² Vaughan Williams very actively redeployed folk music melodies for political purposes to grant authenticity and validity to his construction of national identity. Similarly, Keble's poetry sits squarely in the tradition of appropriating non-Christian classical thought for Christian purposes, as was common at Oxbridge and in much of European academia and society. This leads to an important underlying point to make here. Although the world of church music is rather conservative, the awareness of the need for decolonisation is growing in universities in the world at large. If the development of choral singing in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is indeed rooted in ground made fertile by Keble's poetic imagery, as the first chapter argues, and if indeed, *The Christian Year* is heavily rooted in the modes of academic thought practised at Oxford in the early nineteenth century, then it follows that issues which exist(ed) in the academy are also a core and essential part of what would become the English choral tradition. The potential implications of this hypothesis are significant. Reconsidering the history of liturgical music in high-church parishes as a product of the Oxonian classical education offers a perspective which can be used to consider issues of elitism which are commonly associated with the ancient academic institutions in this country: problems which can also be identified in the roots and branches of the English choral tradition.³ Similar charges of elitism, especially with regards to the disproportionality of admissions from private schools,⁴ could be levied against the Cathedrals of the Church of England, many of which maintain their own private schools, supplying choristers to

² Seth W. Mehl, 'Appropriation, Gentrification, Colonisation: Newly Synonymous?', *Lexis* (16. 2020) accessed 3 February 2022, <http://journals.openedition.org/lexis/4603>

³ For examples, consider the statements made after the dissolution of the Cathedral Choir in Sheffield, for example in James Mitchell 'Clashing with Modernity? Diversity in the English Choral Tradition' *Varsity* (2020) accessed 2 February 2022, <https://www.varsity.co.uk/music/19728>

⁴ Claire Hann, Danny Dorling, 'The Oxbridge access question has not been settled', *Times Higher Education* (2019), accessed 2 February 2022, <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/opinion/oxbridge-access-question-has-not-been-settled>

music foundations run almost exclusively by white, male Oxbridge graduates. However potent an image this is, and one that should give cause for pause and reflection, it is too binary to be considered truth *an sich*. Taken as a view which is a facet of a larger, nuanced perspective, however, it can create a helpful awareness of the nature of the 'Choral Tradition' and help its leaders to address systemic problems. For all its problems, this approach opened the church up to Classical philosophy, thought, and music, and urged it to see beauty and meaning in nature and by extension, embrace the natural sciences. Keble's use of these same methodologies helped to validate the English choral tradition initially, as it was underpinned by philosophies and praxes of the Oxonian academic tradition. However, as a result, much of the established choral tradition has been charged with many of the same systemic issues of appropriation, elitism, and oppression which were – and to a large degree, remain – present in the academy.

Finally, there are elements from this study which may inform church musical practice today. The musical landscape in the parishes is not all that different to that seen in the early nineteenth century, fundamentally. While there are some parishes which retain a choral tradition, most only engage with church music through the singing of hymns: often, the only church music used is paraliturgical, as it was in the early nineteenth century; the repertory of hymnody is fairly iron-clad, as the repertory of metrical psalmody was, two centuries ago; the parts of the service which are normatively sung are said, and singing occurs on the margins of the liturgy. Our focus on hymnody today may reflect a focus on the individual – especially if those hymns are primarily engaged with matters human, rather than divine. Still, it is an important part of church life to many worshippers.

The answer is not in imitation. We can not solve our present problems with answers from the 1840s. We can learn from their approach, which offers suggestions towards process reconstruction – examining not the product at which they arrived, but the process by which this was achieved.

How were the limits of church music expanded beyond paraliturgical metrical psalmody? Not by the introduction of hymnody initially, but by a study of liturgy: by a consideration of different genres of church music. If the priority in church music shifts from the paraliturgical to the liturgical,

the function of church music as the servant of the liturgy will become clearer. The singing of the services, as prescribed in many denominations, can be very simple, but unites and elevates both the liturgy and its music, as intended. This need not be complex to be done well. A handful of people, or a single experienced singer, is sufficient to lead the congregation in the singing of psalms, the ordinary, the propers, office hymns, and canticles.

This naturally leads on to the second consideration. The choral revival did not focus on choirs very much. Tractarian clergy and musicians like Barnby consistently insist that church music is the occupation of the whole congregation. Choirs may lead, and even elevate the service through the meditative sections where it may speak with the voice of the whole congregation. However, during the liturgy, they can not replace the congregation's voice.

Another point, which is particularly poignant in an environment which has seen the launch of a 'Save the Parish' campaign in the Church of England, is that cathedrals did not lead the way in the Victorian revival of liturgy and music. While early-twentieth-century histories of these venerable institutions praise their rich tradition, this same established character prevents meaningful change from happening swiftly. The nineteenth-century church music revival sprung from the parishes, suggesting that any contemporary changes must also begin on a parish level. The focus on institutional hierarchy which prioritises cathedral choirs over parish choirs closely aligns with the issues of elitism discussed earlier. Choirs are a part of the mission and worshipping life of the Church, and their conductors should be properly resourced. The work is too important to be left to individual parishes, or non-unionised interest groups like the RSCM. We must ensure all choirs are accessible to all, not just those who can pay extortionate private school fees.

The narrow canons of church music were opened up by abandoning a narrow view of propriety in church music and broadening it to encompass the diverse historical canons of the universal church. Modern constructions of national style have little function in a church which proclaims catholicity. However, the opening of the canon can not be achieved only by looking

backwards but demands that church music becomes a vibrant space for composers, with a structural and significant place for new compositions in the liturgy.

This thesis has discussed some of the areas of church music which are now commonly considered to be peripheral, rather than central. Music stands front and centre in our history, not poetry. However, Heidegger considers poetry the very source of all art, and Keble's poetry may well be the inspiration for our choral tradition. Composers are pedestals, not choir trainers, and yet without performance, their music is mute. The histories of women are suppressed, although it is exactly those histories that can inspire a new generation of non-male musicians today. National identity is fabricated in the face of political conflict, but beyond a thin veneer of the Victorian and Edwardian constructs of Englishness lies a wealth of international influences that co-exist harmoniously. The topics addressed may not be at the centre of our histories today, but that does not mean they are not significant or important. It is only a reflection of the priorities of those who constructed the historical narrative. It is my sincere hope that this study will rebalance something of those priorities and enrich the existing body of scholarship on liturgical music in high church parishes in England 1827-1914.

A P P E N D I X

Schubart's 'Charakteristikstück der Töne'⁵

Jeder Ton ist entweder gefärbt, oder nicht gefärbt. Unschuld und Einfalt drückt man mit ungefärbten Tönen aus. Sanfte, melancholische Gefühle mit B Tönen; wilde und starke Leidenschaften mit Kreuztönen.

C dur, ist ganz rein. Sein Charakter heißt: Unschuld, Einfalt, Naivetät, Kindersprache.

A moll, fromme Weiblichkeit und Weichheit des Charakters.

F dur, Gefälligkeit und Ruhe.

D moll, schwermüthige Weiblichkeit, die Spleen und Dünste brütet.

B dur, heitere Liebe, gutes Gewissen, Hoffnung, Hinsehen nach einer bessern Welt.

H moll [G minor - probably a misprint⁶], Mißvergnügen, Unbehaglichkeit, Zerren an einem verunglückten Plane; mißmuthiges Nagen am Gebiß; mit einem Worte, Groll und Unlust.

ES dur, der Ton der Liebe, der Andacht, des traulichen Gesprächs mit Gott; durch seine drey B, die heilige Trias ausdrückend.

C moll, Liebeserklärung, und zugleich Klage der unglücklichen Liebe. - Jedes Schmachten, Sehnen, Seufzen der liebetrunkenen Seele, liegt in diesem Tone.

As dur, der Gräberton. Tod, Grab, Verwesung, Gericht, Ewigkeit liegen in seinem Umfange.

F moll, tiefe Schwermuth, Leichenklage, Jammergeächz, und grabverlangende Sehnsucht.

Des dur. Ein schielender Ton, ausartend in Leid und Wonne. Lachen kann er nicht, aber lächeln; heulen kann er nicht, aber wenigstens das Weinen grimassiren. - Man kann sonach nur seltene Charaktere und Empfindungen in diesen Ton verlegen.

B moll. Ein Sonderling, mehrentheils in das Gewand der Nacht gekleidet. Er ist etwas mürrisch, und nimmt höchst selten eine gefällige Miene an. Moquerien [Vorwürfe] gegen Gott und die Welt; Mißvergnügen mit sich und allem; Vorbereitung zum Selbstmord - hallen in diesem Tone.

Ges Dur. Triumph in der Schwierigkeit, freyes Aufathmen auf überstiegenen Hügeln; Nachklang einer Seele, die stark gerungen, und endlich gesiegt hat - liegt in allen Applicaturen dieses Tons.

Es moll. Empfindungen der Bangigkeit des aller tiefsten Seelendrangs; der hinbrütenden Verzweiflung; der schwärzesten Schwermuth, der düsteren Seelenverfassung. Jede Angst, jedes

⁵ Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, 'Charakteristikstück der Töne', *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, (Vienna: 1806) 377-380

⁶ Rita Steblin *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (UMI Research Press, 1983) 122-123

Zagen des schauernden Herzens, athmet aus dem gräßlichen Es moll. Wenn Gespenster sprechen könnten; so sprächen sie ungefähr aus diesem Tone.

H dur. Stark gefärbt, wilde Leidenschaften ankündigend, aus den grellsten Farben zusammen gesetzt. Zorn, Wuth, Eifersucht, Raserey, Verzweifelung, und jeder Jast des Herzens liegt in seinem Gebiete.

Gis moll, Griesgram, gepreßtes Herz bis zum Ersticken; Jammerklage, die im Doppelkreuz hinseufzt; schwerer Kampf, mit einem Wort, alles was mühsam durchdringt, ist dieses Tons Farbe.

E dur. Lautes Aufjauchzen, lachende Freude, und noch nicht ganzer, voller Genuß liegt in E dur.

Cis moll. Bußklage, trauliche Unterredung mit Gott; dem Freunde; und der Gespielinn des Lebens; Seufzer der unbefriedigten Freundschaft und Liebe liegen in seinem Umkreis.

A dur. Dieser Ton enthält Erklärungen unschuldiger Liebe, Zufriedenheit über seinen Zustand; Hoffnung des Wiedersehens bey dem Scheiden des Geliebten; jugendliche Heiterkeit, und Gottesvertrauen.

Fis moll. Ein finsterer Ton; er zerrt an der Leidenschaft, wie der bissige Hund am Gewande. Groll und Mißvergnügen ist seine Sprache. Es scheint ihm ordentlich in seiner Lage nicht wohl zu seyn; daher schmachtet er immer nach der Ruhe von A dur, oder nach der triumphierenden Seligkeit von D dur hin.

D dur. Der Ton des Triumphes, des Hallelujas, des Kriegsgeschrey's, des Siegsjubels. Daher setzt man die einladenden Symphonien, die Märsche, Festtagsgesänge, und himmelaufjauchzenden Chöre in diesen Ton.

H moll. Ist gleichsam der Ton der Geduld, der stillen Erwartung seines Schicksals, und der Ergebung in die göttliche Fügung. Darum ist seine Klage so sanft, ohne jemahls in beleidigendes Murren, oder Wimmern auszubrechen. Die Applicatur [der Fingersatz] dieses Tons ist in allen Instrumenten ziemlich schwer; deßhalb findet man auch so wenige Stücke, welche ausdrücklich in selbigen gesetzt sind.

H dur. [G major - probably a misprint⁷] Alles Ländliche, Idyllen- und Eklogenmäßige, jede ruhige und befriedigte Leidenschaft, jeder zärtliche Dank für aufrichtige Freundschaft und treue Liebe; - mit einem Worte, jede sanfte und ruhige Bewegung des Herzens läßt sich trefflich in diesem Tone ausdrücken. Schade! daß er wegen seiner anscheinenden Leichtigkeit, heut zu Tage so sehr vernachlässiget wird. Man bedenkt nicht, daß es im eigentlichen Verstande keinen schweren und leichten Ton gibt: vom Tonsetzer allein hangen die scheinbaren Schwierigkeiten und Leichtigkeiten ab.

E moll. Naive, weibliche unschuldige Liebeserklärung, Klage ohne Murren; Seufzer von wenigen Thränen begleitet; nahe Hoffnung der reinsten in C dur sich auflösenden Seligkeit spricht dieser Ton. Da er von Natur nur Eine Farbe hat; so könnte man ihn mit einem Mädchen vergleichen, weiß gekleidet, mit einer rosenrothen Schleife am Busen. Von diesem Tone tritt man mit unaussprechlicher Anmuth wieder in den Grundton C dur zurück, wo Herz und Ohr die vollkommenste Befriedigung finden.

⁷ Ibid.

Steblin's translation:⁸

C Major

Completely Pure. Its character is: innocence, simplicity, naïvety, children's talk.

C Minor

Declaration of love and at the same time the lament of unhappy love. All languishing, longing, sighing of the love-sick soul lies in this key.

D \flat Major

A leering key, degenerating into grief and rapture. It cannot laugh, but it can smile; it cannot howl, but it can at least grimace its crying.--Consequently only unusual characters and feelings can be brought out in this key.

C# Minor

Penitential lamentation, intimate conversation with God, the friend and help-meet of life; sighs of disappointed friendship and love lie in its radius.

D Major

The key of triumph, of Hallelujahs, of war-cries, of victory-rejoicing. Thus, the inviting symphonies, the marches, holiday songs and heaven-rejoicing choruses are set in this key.

D Minor

Melancholy womanliness, the spleen and humours brood.

E \flat Major

The key of love, of devotion, of intimate conversation with God.

D# Minor

Feelings of the anxiety of the soul's deepest distress, of brooding despair, of blackest depression, of the most gloomy condition of the soul. Every fear, every hesitation of the shuddering heart, breathes out of horrible D# minor. If ghosts could speak, their speech would approximate this key.

E Major

Noisy shouts of joy, laughing pleasure and not yet complete, full delight lies in E Major.

E minor

Naïve, womanly innocent declaration of love, lament without grumbling; sighs accompanied by few tears; this key speaks of the imminent hope of resolving in the pure happiness of C major.

F Major

Complaisance & Calm.

F Minor

Deep depression, funereal lament, groans of misery and longing for the grave.

F# Major

Triumph over difficulty, free sigh of relief uttered when hurdles are surmounted; echo of a soul which has fiercely struggled and finally conquered lies in all uses of this key.

⁸ Ibid.

F# Minor

A gloomy key: it tugs at passion as a dog biting a dress. Resentment and discontent are its language.

G Major

Everything rustic, idyllic and lyrical, every calm and satisfied passion, every tender gratitude for true friendship and faithful love,--in a word every gentle and peaceful emotion of the heart is correctly expressed by this key.

G Minor

Discontent, uneasiness, worry about a failed scheme; bad-tempered gnashing of teeth; in a word: resentment and dislike.

A \flat Major

Key of the grave. Death, grave, putrefaction, judgment, eternity lie in its radius.

A \flat Minor

Grumbler, heart squeezed until it suffocates; wailing lament, difficult struggle; in a word, the color of this key is everything struggling with difficulty.

A Major

This key includes declarations of innocent love, satisfaction with one's state of affairs; hope of seeing one's beloved again when parting; youthful cheerfulness and trust in God.

A minor

Pious womanliness and tenderness of character.

B \flat Major

Cheerful love, clear conscience, hope aspiration for a better world.

B \flat minor

A quaint creature, often dressed in the garment of night. It is somewhat surly and very seldom takes on a pleasant countenance. Mocking God and the world; discontented with itself and with everything; preparation for suicide sounds in this key.

B Major

Strongly coloured, announcing wild passions, composed from the most glaring colours. Anger, rage, jealousy, fury, despair and every burden of the heart lies in its sphere.

B Minor

This is as it were the key of patience, of calm awaiting ones' fate and of submission to divine dispensation.

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ALICE MARY SMITH

The Complete Sacred Choral Music

edited by Leonard Sanderman

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& Humanities

Universities of Leeds, Sheffield & York

front cover: St Andrew's, Wells Street – George Hyde Pownall (oil on board)

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Introduction

Alice Mary Smith is well-known as the first English woman to write symphonies. Most of her orchestral output has been recorded and published, leading to a swift and necessary re-evaluation of her life and work. Her sacred choral music, however, remained almost completely ignored for a century and a half now.

In the process of researching Sir Joseph Barnby, I came across a paper which claimed that he performed two pieces by Alice Mary Smith within the context of the liturgies at St Andrew's, Wells Street in February 1864. St Andrew's had the best choir in London, and Barnby was one of the most famous conductors of his time. This project was in no small part inspired by the sad realisation that no major publication or textbooks yet mention the fact that Barnby performed liturgical music by a woman composer in the mid-nineteenth century. By publishing Smith's complete sacred choral music as freely available sheet music and recording this oeuvre, I hope to inspire musicians to get to know Smith's music and encourage musicologists to begin a reappraisal of Smith as a significant choral composer.

This collection of music is important in temporality, quality, and quantity. The performances of Alice Mary Smith's *By the waters of Babylon* and *Whoso hath this world's goods* are the earliest documented performances of liturgical music by a woman composer in the Church of England I have been able to verify. In many ways, including the academic, emotional, and structural, this is music of a quality that meets and exceeds many of her contemporaries. Furthermore this it is one of the largest oeuvres of sacred music by a woman composer in known existence.

Smith wrote a short sacred cantata, six anthems, and three canticles (as well as the beginning of a fourth). The canticles and *O Praise the Lord* are the earliest, which appear to have been written when she was only in her late teens or very early twenties. The verse anthem *O Praise the Lord* already betrays the Handelian and Mendelssohnian influences which come to fuller development in her anthems *Out of the deep*, and *By the waters of Babylon*. Here, she shows her familiarity with the oratorio-style of choral composition. In miniature, this can also be seen in *Whoso hath this world's goods*. Smith demonstrates a more lyrical and advanced style in *Come unto Him* and *The Soul's Longings*. These pieces show the influence of Schubert (and to a lesser degree, Gounod) in their lyrical melodies, pianistic accompaniments, tonal structures, and their exciting harmonic content. Composed around 1864-5, these works were nothing less than cutting edge, especially in terms of their structure and affective content. In this sacred repertoire, Smith approaches the operatic and salon styles with a boldness and liberty unfamiliar to many of her contemporaries. The Sacred Cantata *Exile* uses her command of these diverse styles and structures to dramatic effect; after a relatively peaceful opening section, she generates a huge

amount of momentum throughout the central sections to drive the narrative forward with a great sense of 'drive', gathering up enough pace to allow a long and expansive finale.

Smith's music has only recently resurfaced. Her manuscripts were passed down through the family and were eventually archived at the Royal Academy of Music in London through the work of Ian Graham-Jones. However, in his book *Alice Mary Smith*, he only makes a cursory note of five of the anthems, omitting *O Praise the Lord*, as well as the canticles and cantata. Dr Christopher Ellis submitted performance editions of three of Smith's anthems for his DMus at Ball State University (USA). He kindly provided his performance editions of five anthems (all but *O Praise the Lord*), which helped to inform these scholarly editions.

Why Smith stopped composing sacred music after approximately 1867 is as yet unclear. However, this issue will be extensively researched in my doctoral thesis. For now, I will note that she married in 1867, and that her husband wrote an extensive obituary for the *Musical Times* in 1884, including an attempt at a full list of her compositions with significant performances. Despite the volume of sacred pieces, or their performance at St Andrew's under the (then) famous Barnby, he chose to completely omit his late wife's sacred oeuvre.

The purpose of this publication is to rectify that omission in history, and shine a light on that a prolific, gifted, and unjustly neglected female composer of sacred music. It is my hope that by making her music freely and readily available in an edition which both represents her manuscripts clearly and meets contemporary performance demands, this unique collection will be reappraised.

This project would not have been possible without the time and effort of a great many people. My thanks go out to all who have made this project possible at the University of York and The White Rose College of the Arts and Humanities who helped to organise the funding of this project: Gem, Caryn, Clare, David, and Sarah.

I am very grateful to Professor Jonathan Wainwright, whose trust and flexibility enabled me to take on this project alongside my doctoral research.

The music in this publication may also be freely downloaded from my website. The CD which was recorded with this project is also freely available online. For more information, please see www.leonardsanderman.com/alicesmarysmith

Leonard Sanderman,
York, August 2019

Notes on the accompanying recordings

This book is accompanied by a CD with recordings of all the compositions in the book. While this is by no means an accurate 'historical' recreation, it can certainly be said to be historically informed.

The recordings were made at St Saviour's Church, Richmond Hill, Leeds, which has very similar acoustics to St Andrew's, Wells Street, London: the church in which the music was originally performed. Both were significant newly built Anglo-Catholic churches, designed (in part) by Benjamin Webb, a leader of the Ecclesiological Society and the vicar of St Andrew's. Both buildings were also later beautified by Bodley and Pugin.

The choir composition has also been based on St Andrew's: all sources point to a set up with eight trebles, and around four altos, tenors, and basses. For this recording, the soprano parts were sung by eight sopranos instead of trebles, and the alto part by both men and women. This is not only out of practical considerations: the Cantata "Exile" specifically calls for sopranos and contraltos. Furthermore, these deeply vocal lines are the voice of a woman composer. In short, the case for female upper voices on this recording is more than compelling.

Barnby had strong views on organ building: he wrote that the technical advancements of the nineteenth century were an inhibition to a musical performance, saying that the 'fine [Father Smith] instrument for the Temple Church in 1687 [inspired the] organist of the time [to make] himself a sound musician in the first place, and then an organist.' The organ at St Saviour's is a small, simple, and beautiful tracker organ, conforming to Anglo-Catholic convention of the time and to the ideals of Barnby. Furthermore, an 1880 Mustel harmonium was used for the more advanced anthems, which feature a more salon-like or even pianistic accompaniment. The use of a harmonium was commonplace in churches in the second half of the nineteenth century. When St Andrew's became the first choir in the world to record in 1902, the accompaniment was played on the harmonium. Taking into account the style of Smith's accompaniments, the St Andrew's recording, and the tradition of using harmoniums in church, the case for using a harmonium for a part of this recording can be argued with conviction.

Finally, the 1902 recording also gives us some insights into historical vocal technique. The conductor, Frederick Docker was Barnby's chorister, student, and successor: he was one of the choristers in the period this music was first performed. One of the most notable features of this recording is that in *Onward Christian Soldiers*, the trebles create a glissando between the two syllables of *Jesus* in the penultimate line. Other contemporary sources also suggest that it was not uncommon to use

glissandi between slow notes spanning larger intervals within one word. A small number of glissandi that conform to those parameters were also included on these recordings, most notably in *The Soul's Longings*.

While some compromises always have to be made, also in these recordings, the historically informed performance practices used in the process have added a valuable layer of depth and beauty to the music recorded.

These recordings would not exist without the amazing production team: Pedro Acker Caetano was responsible for mixing, engineering and mastering. During the recording sessions, he was ably assisted by Pál Kerekes and Haruna Higa.

Great gratitude is also expressed to the wonderful Robert Smith, who played the organ with his usual joviality and kindness.

Especial thanks go out to Fr Darren Percival, who kindly permitted us to use St Saviour's Church, Richmond Hill, Leeds as our recording venue, and to Fr Gordon Newton, who helped enormously in the logistics of this project.

Above and beyond all, I am grateful to the singers of The Eoferwic Consort, who corporeally brought this music back to life. They were an absolute delight in cooperation.

Notes on the instruments

The specifications of the 1913 Walker organ at Saviour's Church, Richmond Hill are as follows.

Pedal (C-f1)

Bourdon	16
<i>Great to Pedal</i>	
<i>Swell to Pedal</i>	

Great (C-a3)

Open Diapason	8
Wald Flute	8
Dulciana	8
Harmonic Flute	4
<i>Swell to Great</i>	

Swell (C-a3)

Horn Diapason	8
Stopped Diapason	8
Gamba	8
Voix Celeste	8
Principal	4
Fifteenth	2
Closed Horn	8

The 1880 Mustel harmonium that was used on this recording was kindly provided by Phil and Pam Fluke of Saltaire. Its specifications are as follows.

www.harmoniumhire.co.uk

Basse (C-e1)

<i>Forté-Fixe</i>	
<i>Métaphone</i>	
<i>Genouillère d'expression</i>	
<i>(O) Forté Expressif</i>	
(5) Harpe Eolienne	2
(4) Clairon	4
(3) Basson	8
(2) Bourdon	16
(1) Cor Anglais	8
<i>(1P) Percussion et Cor Anglais</i>	8
<i>(G) Grand-Jeu</i>	
<i>(E) Expression</i>	

Dessus (f1-c4)

<i>Forté-Fixe</i>	
<i>Métaphone</i>	
<i>Genouillère d'expression</i>	
<i>(O) Forté Expressif</i>	
(7) Baryton	32
(6) Musette	16
(5) Voix Céleste	16
(4) Fifre	4
(3) Hautbois	8
(2) Clarinette	16
(1) Flûte	8
<i>(1P) Percussion et Flûte</i>	8

Editorial Practice

The primary source material was procured from the Royal Academy of Music. My thanks go out to Kathryn Adamson and the entire library staff for their support in this project. The manuscripts of Alice Mary Smith's sacred choral music are catalogued at the RAM as MS 1613-1617 and MS 1770-1774, as well as MS 1790.

Details of the manuscripts used in this edition can be found in the comments below.

These scores attempt to represent the manuscripts as directly and faithfully as possible. Even details such as beaming and cautionary accidentals have all been copied exactly, where possible. The original score layout has also been preserved, where possible. However, a few compromises had to be made to make performance from this scholarly edition possible:

- alto and tenor clefs were rewritten in treble clef (with octave transposition for the tenor), where relevant.
- dots (which elongate note values) have been added without further remark, where required to complete bars.
- lines were added in the lyrics to indicate melismas where this was not clear through beams or slurs. As a rule, no additional beams or slurs were added.

All other editorial markings and additions have been given in

- brackets for dynamics, technique, etc.
- small print for notes, rests, accidentals, etc.
- cursive for lyrics.

Further deviations from the original score are given below in detail.

Out of the deep

Comments

This piece exists in two manuscripts, MS 1617A and MS 1617B. B seems to be the later version. The main differences are that A begins in D major and is incomplete at the end. This edition is based on B, using input from A as marked.

Divergences from the manuscript

Bar 1, 50

Markings from A

Bar 9-12

This section is not in the pencil draft in A, only the pen version over the pencil draft. In B, the composer strikes through the top F in bar 9, clearly dismissing the A version, and began composing a new connective section. This has been reconstructed here. The bar lines had to be somewhat altered. MS A is also given, for information.

Bar 18, 22-24, 27

The minims on the third beat of the bar in the accompaniment in bar 18 and 22 are in a different hand but are included in this edition. In the same hand there are baritone crotchets F on beat 2, 3, and 4 of bar 23, and a minim f at the beginning of bar 24. Furthermore, it gives an additional tenor F and A crotchet in the left hand of the piano in bar 24, beat 1, followed by an additional F and Ab on beat 2, and two sets of G and B quavers in the right hand on beat 4. It also adds a natural in the piano part on bar 27 beat 1. All of these are ignored in this edition.

Bar 39-40

These bars are not present in A. B was written in pen. An improvement of this line was begun in pencil but left unfinished. This has been completed and the discarded version is also given for information.

Bar 74-75

The composer writes in the top notes here in a slightly smaller hand. They are given here in the same font, so as not to make them appear editorial.

Bar 123-126, 128-130, 132-135

Accompanimental bass line from A

Bar 140-141

The chorus parts contain various corrections in pencil, revoicing the chords. Only the corrections are given.

O praise the Lord

Comments

This piece exists in one manuscript, MS 1774. In the outer sections, no (space for an) accompaniment is provided in this manuscript, but it is likely a *colla parte* organ part was intended. The thinness of the chord in bar 26 could be seen as evidence for this. Furthermore, space for an accompaniment is provided in the middle sections, and substantial parts of it were completed. Therefore, accompaniments are also provided in the outer sections.

Parts of the manuscript are in pencil, and parts in pen. They are presented here without distinction.

Divergences from the manuscript:

Bar 12

Soprano, beat 1, was a minim: reduced to a crotchet to fit in the bar.

Bar 22

The soprano G# on beat 4 is only in pencil. The melody is written in pen, harmonies in pencil. The G# seems to have been an elaboration added during harmonisation.

Bar 24

Crotchets B-A, in pen, in the soprano replaced in pencil by minim B and minim A tied over to a minim A into an additional bar. The crotchets in pen were presumably replaced while the harmonisation was added in pencil.

Bar 35

The first chord in the left hand was written as semibreve. Reduced to a dotted crotchet.

Bar 42, 57, 59, 72, and 126

Clef changes in the accompaniment were missing and added.

Bar 46

The start of the 8va marking was at the beginning of bar 46 and was brought forward a crotchet.

Bar 56

The tenor A of the accompaniment was written as a minim and was reduced to a crotchet to avoid a clash on the second crotchet beat with the bass Bb.

Bar 78

The F in the accompaniment was a minim, but later replaced by a decorated version, as printed.

Bar 84

On the third crotchet, the accompaniment bass was F, and is corrected in pencil to an E, leading into the next bars, which are also composed in pencil.

Bar 97

The first note in the alto is here written as a minim, the following alto notes are closed noteheads only. These were rewritten as three crotchets, so as to keep them in their place vis-a-vis the other parts.

Bar 123

After this bar, the manuscript has an empty space, before the next section, which is not unusual. After the organ part of the Soprano Solo section finishes, there is a d minor chord pencilled in (tenor D, A, middle D, F) for one bar, written as a minim, presumably dotted. Below this a stave which was written in as a continuation of the previous (two treble clefs and a bass clef) and changed to a stave consisting of an alto clef, a tenor clef, and a bass clef, in 3/4, with a key signature of one flat. This pencilled in chord has been omitted from this edition.

Bar 131

The second crotchet in the Alto is a C# in pen, corrected to a D in pencil. Only the correction is given.

Bar 135-136

These two entire bars written were it in 3/4 minim crotchet. Judging from markings in bar 123, this was how this section was first conceived. All note values were doubled in these bars.

Bar 144

Missing note in tenor part added. It could be argued that this should be a Bb or an A. The former was chosen to move in similar motion to the upper voices.

Bar 162

The soprano has both a semibreve F# and minims G-F# in the soprano. The F# seems to be a later correction. This edition only gives the minim movement for consistency with bar 170.

Bar 164

The triplet figure in the soprano is written as three quavers. It is represented here as a more conventional three crotchets with a triplet marking.

Bar 171

The first note in the soprano is written as a minim and has been elongated here to fill the bar and for consistency with the lower voices.

Bar 180

The final minim beat of the Alto part also contains a G# minim, which may be a correction. It is not given in this edition.

Bar 181

There is no final barline here. It could be argued that this section should continue as the opening section did, in which case, the performer may wish to recapitulate page 4, to balance the ending with the opening. However, the presence of the top A already gives a sense of closure which may be considered satisfactory. A final barline was added to this bar.

By the waters of Babylon

Comments

This piece exists in two manuscripts, MS 1615 and MS 1790. This edition is based on MS1615.

Divergences from the manuscript**Bar 2**

The manuscript also contains a tie between the second and third beat of the Organ right hand, added in pencil. It is not shown in this edition.

Bar 20

The alto part here is difficult to read and may also be read as C and A.

Bar 40, 47

In these bars between sections, with pauses, rests have not been added, as the pauses themselves act as rests.

Bar 100

The rall. here is added in pencil, spelled 'Ral'. On the third beat the G in the treble of the organ part has been crossed out violently in pen. It is not given here.

Bar 117

The final quaver in the right hand of the accompaniment is notated as a crotchet. It is reduced to a quaver to fill the bar.

Bar 122

The second crotchet of this bar was written as a crotchet but was elongated by the composer to a minim. The resulting crotchet rest in the voice part on the third bar remains in the MS. It is not given in this edition.

Bar 128

The alto parts in the accompaniment are an elaboration in pencil. The original was given as plain minim.

Bar 137-140

Bar 137 contains *rall.* p and pp dynamic markings in a different hand to the composer. The pp marking in bar 140 is the composers. The pp marking from bar 137 is not given in this edition, for clarity.

Bar 181

The same different hand corrected soprano ab to a§. If this were to be implemented, the organ part should be adapted accordingly and the tenor eb should probably also be e§. The correction is omitted in this edition.

Bar 255-256

Between these two bars, there is an empty bar in the MS for Tenor and organ. This might imply a repetition of the previous bar, but it is more likely that the composer left it blank because the next bar required seven staves for the chorus entry. The spare bar is deleted from this edition.

Whoso hath this world's goods

Comments

This piece exists in one manuscript, MS 1616. This edition is non-divergent from the manuscript.

The Soul's Longings

Comments

This piece exists in two manuscripts, MS 1613A and MS 1613B. A is the later version. This edition is based on A, using input from B as marked. Neither explicitly states for which voice part the solo is written, but the solo part merges into the Tenor in bar 101 in both versions. It is sometimes written in the soprano part, after a choral section, i.e. in bar 67. However, with the other staves left blank, this does not necessarily mean it is written for soprano. The transition in bar 101 is the most compelling evidence, so the solo is marked as Tenor in this edition.

MS A is bound with "Come unto Him all ye that labour" under the title page

2. Anthems
The Souls Longings
"Come unto Him".

A handwritten copy of the sonnet is pasted onto the inside cover.

The Soul's Longings

O gracious God & Lord of mercy's might,
Why do I live amid this world of woe?
When every day doth seem to me as night,
While sorrows seek my spirits' overthrow.

I hear thy word, & would obey thy will,
But want the power that might perform thy due;
I know the good, & fain would leave the ill,
And fear the sorrows that doth sin ensue

And yet I fall into that depth of sin
That makes me fear the judgement of thy wrath,
until thy grace doth all my help begin
To know what comfort faith in mercy hath.

O Blessed Light that shows in mercy's eye!
While faith doth live, that love can never die.

Sir Nicholas Breton

Divergences from the manuscript

Bar 10

The alto part of the accompaniment on the second dotted crotchet is smudged beyond recognition. MS B gives E and F#. The smudge seems to have arisen from crossing out the F#. Only E is given in this edition.

Bar 142

The sixth crotchet of the right hand is smudged beyond recognition.

Come unto Him

Comments

This piece exists in two manuscripts, MS 1614A and MS 1614B. B is the later version. This edition is based on B, using input from A as marked.

Divergences from the manuscript

Octave transposition added to the Tenor part.

Bar 10

An additional "all ye" was added to the underlay of this bar in a different hand. It is not given in this edition.

Bar 29-31

The Bass and Tenor have a surplus slur in bar 29, beat 1-4, and bar 31, beat 4-6, respectively. These are not given in this edition.

Bar 52

Accompaniment, beat 4, has a B in pen, corrected to a G (# implied) in pencil. Only the correction is given.

Bar 93

The Bass note has a redundant tie to bar 94, probably due to a change in underlay. This tie is not given in this edition.

Bar 107-114

MS A differs significantly from MS B in these bars. MS A is printed above MS B (omitting the empty Soprano, Tenor, and Bass staves in MS A), as there is much to recommend each version. MS B is more stable, both structurally and harmonically, while MS A is more dramatic.

Bar 153

On beat 4, the right hand of the accompaniment has a b and d above the given notes. These appear to be a later addition and are not given in this edition.

Bar 157

The Soprano, Alto, and Bass feature redundant slurs between beats 1 and 4, probably due to a change in underlay. These are not given in this edition.

Te Deum Laudamus in A

Comments

This piece exists in one manuscript, MS 1771. No (space for an) accompaniment is provided in this manuscript, but it is likely a *colla voce* organ part was intended for most sections, potentially providing additional harmonies in places such as bar 9-12. However, this is not essential. An editorial tenor part is provided as an option in bar 18-20. For diversity in a *cappella* performance, antiphony may be used, as suggested in the editorial directions throughout the score.

Parts of the manuscript are in pencil, and parts in pen. They are presented here without distinction.

Divergences from the manuscript

Cut common time signature added.

Bar 3

This entire bar is written in pencil whilst the surrounding music is in pen. The tenor part is written as A-B in tenor clef or B-C# in treble clef. It is presumed this draft was thought out in treble clef.

Bar 7-8

Various corrections in this area have been erased. Bar 7 still contains a minim G# in the soprano, however, which was considered to be a remnant of the otherwise erased line. The divided E in the Alto, bar 8, also seems to be a remnant of this older version.

Bar 74

Bass, beat 2 gives an E in pencil, with a G# in pencil, which seems to be a later improvement.

Bar 87

Tenor, beat 1 gives both a bottom D# and a top E#. The former is not given in this edition. The crotchet that follows seems to contain both a top D# and E#. Only the D# is given.

Bar 89

On beat 2, a Tenor E is crossed out and replaced with a C#. Only the correction is given.

Bar 95

Beat 1, Alto A and Tenor E changed in pencil (to connect to the preceding section, left blank in pen and completed in pencil) to Alto E and Tenor A. Only the pencil version is given.

Bar 107

The soprano copies the Alto for this bar alone. These three notes have been removed.

Te Deum Laudamus in E-flat

Comments

This piece exists in one manuscript, MS 1773. Only the first 28 bars of this piece (still) exist. Considering that this inhibits performance, the fragment is given with minimal editing.

In this edition, the Te Deum Laudamus is bound into one booklet with the Jubilate Deo and Nunc Dimittis, as they are clearly related. In the manuscripts, the Jubilate Deo and Nunc Dimittis are given in one score. The Te Deum exists in a separate score.

Jubilate Deo in E-flat

Comments

This piece exists in one manuscript, MS 1772. This manuscript contains both the Jubilate Deo and the Nunc Dimittis. On occasion, minims need to be divided into crotchets to fit in the words (i.e. bar 4). These notes have been left undivided in the edition.

No (space for an) accompaniment is provided in this manuscript, but it is likely a *colla voce* organ part was intended throughout, as in the Te Deum. For diversity in a *cappella* performance, antiphony may be used, as suggested in the editorial directions throughout the score.

Divergences from the manuscript

Cut Common Time Signature added, in line with the Te Deum.

Bar 4-5, 9

Parallels maintained.

Bar 27

The Tenor **D^b** on beat 1 is crossed out and an F is pencilled in. This creates a parallel fifth. Original maintained.

Bars 91-104

An alternative underlay has been suggested in bars 91-104 where the underlay complicates the phrasing.

Nunc Dimittis in E-flat

Comments

This piece exists in one manuscript, MS 1772. This manuscript contains both the Jubilate Deo and the Nunc Dimittis.

No (space for an) accompaniment is provided in this manuscript, but it is likely a *colla voce* organ part was intended throughout, as in the Te Deum. The lack of respectively the fifth and third in the last two chords could be seen as indication of this. Editorial additions have been provided for the final cadence so the piece may also be performed *a cappella*. For diversity in a *cappella* performance, antiphony may be used, as suggested in the editorial directions throughout the score.

Divergences from the manuscript

Cut Common Time Signature added, following the Te Deum.

Bar 11, beat 1-2

Tenor has both B(b) and D. The D causes a parallel with the bass and was crossed out. The B(b) appears to be a later correction by the composer, but clashes with the Soprano. The D was retained, but the Alto and Tenor parts for the second minim beat of the bar swapped (and the original tenor transposed up an octave), as a compromise.

Bar 15, 37-39

Parallels maintained.

Bars 14-17

An alternative underlay has been suggested in bars 14-17 as the underlay complicates phrasing.

Bar 16, beat 1-2

The Ab minim in the bass was reduced to a crotchet to fit into the bar.

Bar 20

Tenor has a minim G followed by a minim of both Bb and G. The Bb would give a parallel with the soprano and was crossed out. As in Bar 11, the G seems to be a later correction, but clashes, here with the Bass. The tenor part in this bar was altered to crotchets G-Bb-Ab-G, as a compromise.

Bar 23, beat 4

Alto could be read as Db or Eb. It is given as Eb in this edition.

Bar 25-26

Audible parallels arise. As these were corrected in bar 11 and 20, a correction has been offered in the score.

Exile

No. 1: Unhappy Sion

Comments

This piece exists in one manuscript, MS 1770. This manuscript contains sections written in pen and pencil (parts of which are rubbed out but legible). This edition represents all of the notes written by the composer without distinction, as to do so would make it difficult to perform from this edition. However, notes on areas of particular interest are given below.

The manuscripts of the various sections of this Cantata are bound together. It consists of four broadly equal sections which contain diverse sections, woven together through repeated material, usually with a degree of development in the second iteration: hymn-like choruses in parts 1, 3, and 4, and a fugal chorus in part 2. The composer only gives headings for No. 1 and No. 2. Therefore, editorial comments are only given in the same places, although the other sections are editorially outlined to help performers understand the structure of the work. The title *Exile* and the classification as Sacred Cantata are editorial. The text is a selection from Jean Racine's *Esther*, adapted from multiple translations. However, *Esther* would be a misnomer for a Cantata that does not once feature her name or narrative, but rather focuses on the timeless issues, which are better covered by the overarching name *Exile*. Further comments are given overleaf. A full analysis of this work will feature in my doctoral thesis.

Divergences from the manuscript

Bar 23, beat 2

The Soprano has 'Hills where miracles have wrought', which is later consistently given as 'Hills where miracles were wrought'. The lyrics in bar 23 were adapted for internal consistency.

Bar 26, beat 2

The Tenor has a B in the MS. This B is too dissonant for the idiom. The same cadence in bars 98, 106, and 114 consistently contains an A in place of the B. The B in bar 26 was replaced with an A.

Bar 99-110

In the MS, the Soprano Solo joins the chorus Soprano staff. In this edition, it retains its own staff.

Bar 113

On the second beat, the right hand in the accompaniment is given as a quaver. It is elongated to a dotted crotchet in this edition.

Bar 132-135

The underlay in this line was altered (by the composer, it seems). However, remnants of the old underlay remain in the MS. The repetition of the word 'end' in bar 135 has been maintained but elimination in performance is suggested. Slurs between beat 1 and 2 of bars 132 and 133 are present in the MS but have been eliminated from this edition.

No. 2 - Weep, sisters, let your sorrows flow

Comments

It seems that the accompaniment was composed at the piano but intended for later orchestration. The marking *Flute* in bar 208 is evidence that the composer was writing for orchestra or organ. Furthermore, there are occasional bass notes which exceed the lower range of most pedalboards. Taking into account her other cantatas were orchestrated, it can be said with relative certainty the accompaniment here is a compact sketch for an orchestral accompaniment, probably composed at the piano.

Divergences from the manuscript

Bar 35-44

In the MS, the Contralto stave disappears for these bars, and the notes are written onto the short score chorus. In this edition, the Contralto line retains its own stave.

Bar 50

The contrasubjective material for this fugue echoes the scalic motif in bar 14-16, and the rhythmic motif with suspension from bar 44-45. It was decided to not use the scoring motif in bar 133 and onward, as this has a different function: it only works in the reprise, as both the motif and the reprise are short and radical, unlike the more expansive first iteration of the fugue. Therefore, it was attempted to integrate the fugue even more fully into the first section instead.

Bar 79

The Alto entry is here written in the Tenor part but marked "Alto" in pencil. It is given in the Alto part without further remark in this edition.

Bar 84-87

The vocal parts in these bars are written in short score in the MS but have been given in full score in this edition.

Bar 88

The accompanimental pattern here is based on a minim pulse as suggested in bars 99-101 and 104-106. The harmonic language prefaces the many implicit and explicit diminished seventh chords of the two and four-part sections that follow. The strong rhythmic element of the motif was introduced for *affekt* and work contrapuntally to the melody: the accompaniment is silent on the downbeats and leads away from it while the vocal parts feature anacrusis which lead into strong downbeats. This motif of semiquavers and quavers precurses and contextualises the composer's semiquaver-only patterns in bar 211 and onward.

Bar 92, beat 2

The melody moves from onto the lower of two vocal staves here, before the MS reduces to one voice with accompaniment in bar 94. This melody then re-emerges in the upper of two vocal staves in bar 98. This change of staff has been omitted from this edition.

Bar 138-139

The Pedal part here was written in crotchets and quavers in the MS. In this edition, each note is doubled in length to fill the bars and align with the other voices.

Bar 145

The Alto and Bass have quavers on the second and third beats of this bar. In this edition, these notes are doubled in length to fill the bar and align with the accompaniment.

Bar 157

The chorus parts for this bar are given in short score in the MS. In this edition, they are given in full score.

Bar 164

The accompaniment has an Eb and a Bb on the downbeat, in pencil. The following notes are in pencil and pen. As the notes on this downbeat were not copied in pen also, they are omitted from this edition.

Bar 168

The Alto and Bass notes of the accompaniment are given as crotchets in the MS. They are elongated to minims in this edition, following the bass in the next bar.

Bar 216

This bar was written in Gb in pencil but is marked F#. The following bars are in pen, in F#. In this edition, bar 216 has been rewritten in F#, and a key signature has been added in place of the marking F#.

Bar 229

This section has been marked 'semichorus' for four reasons: firstly, it makes more structural sense to keep the first iteration of this chorus quiet and intimate in the context, allowing its louder reprise to develop into the next chorus; secondly, it was conventional to have a chorale-like section for quartet in the nineteenth century cantata (*cf* *God is a Spirit* - Sterndale Bennett, *God so loved the World* - Stainer, etc.); thirdly, it reflects the fragility implied in the tragedy, where this section is sung by the 'youngest virgin'; and, finally, it creates an effective contrast with the preceding aria and the following recit.

Bar 235

The MS gives a minim A followed by crotchets B A (faint C#) A in the organ part. This edition gives the first A as a crotchet and the next as a C#, following the bass line.

Bar 241, 243

The accompanimental patterns are written in the MS as semiquaver tremolos between dotted minims. In this edition, these have been reduced to minims, in line with convention.

Bar 246-256

This section is marked "Alto" in pencil. However, the voice goes onto the Soprano staff in bar 256. For clarity, this bar has been split in this edition, leaving the voice marked "Alto" on a solo staff throughout. However, it could be argued that this section should be sung by the Soprano Solo.

Bar 256

The reprise of the Quartet material has been realised with an accompaniment in triplets, following the vein of the immediately preceding section. This accompanimental pattern is implied by the rhythmic pattern of the "it is he" material, which here is changed to a triplet rhythm. This also helps structurally as it distinguishes this chorus more clearly from the following chorus, which contains much similar melodic material.

Bar 284

A double bar line and new key signature were added.

Bar 287-288

Pencil markings show suspensions in both the Alto and Tenor. The pen version shows neither, leaving an unidiomatic open fifth on the downbeat of bar 288. The Alto pencil version has been used in this edition, effectively copying bar 300.

Bar 289

The Tenor, in tenor clef, has an E on both the second and third beat. This might be read as an F in treble clef. This edition gives two Fs.

Bar 292

The Soprano Solo starts on its own staff, but then moves back to the chorus soprano staff after three bars. This edition gives the whole section on the chorus soprano staff.

Bar 318

The accompanimental pattern in the accompaniment follows in the footsteps of the other area with militant words and a semiquaver accompaniment, in 211. The broken chords preface the accompaniment given by the composer in 334 and contextualise this. Both accompanimental themes are reprised in the final chorus.

Bar 326-327

The notes scribbled into the Bass part were used as the accompanimental bass.

Bar 356

The accompaniment is here given as a line in the tenor (signifying a repeat from the previous bar) above a bass part with a minim D, minim E, and crotchet D. The latter two have been reduced to a dotted crotchet and a quaver in this edition, aligning them with the Solo voice.

Bar 359-360

In the accompanimental bass, bar 359 and the first note of bar 360 are given with a semiquaver tremolo. Tremolos were read as shorthand for "add figuration", conform bar 206-207. In this edition, the tremolos were deleted, and a quaver pattern was added.

Bar 366

The accompanimental bass is given as a semibreve in the MS. It is here shortened to a dotted crotchet, aligning it with the voices.

Anthem "Out of the deep"

Baritone Solo with Chorus

Alice Mary Smith

[trans. Christopher Ellis
ed. Leonard Sanderman]

Recit.

Out of the deep have I call - ed have I call - ed un - to thee O

[Ped.]

4
Lord Lord hear my voice Lord hear my

[Man.]

8 MSA (tranposed from D)

voice have I call - ed un - to thee O Lord.

[Ped.] [Man.]

voice, out of the depth have I cal-led un-to thee O Lord
have I

[Ped.]

2
13 Andante

O let thine ears let thine ears con-si - der_ well

Andante

[Man.]



let thine ears con-si-der well the voice of my com - plaint O



let thine ears con-si-der well the voice of my com - plaint If



thou Lord wilt be ex - treme to mark what is done a - miss O

29

Lord who may a - bide it? O Lord if thou wilt be ex -



33

treme to mark what is done a - miss O Lord who may a - bide it?



MS B, pen

bide it Lord, who may a - bide it I

Lord who may a - bide it O Lord, who may a - bide it? I

41

look for the Lord my soul doth wait for him in

[Ped.]



45

his word is my trust my soul doth wait for him in



49

Allegretto

his word is my trust

1st Sop

Chorus Is - ra - el trust in the Lord For with

2nd Sop

Is - ra - el trust in the Lord For with

Alto

Is - ra - el trust in the Lord For with

[Man.]

54

O let thine ears con - sid - er
him with the Lord there is mer - cy
him with the Lord there is mer - cy
him with the Lord there is mer - cy



60

well the voice the voice of my com - plaint

O Is - ra - el trust in the Lord for with the

O Is - ra - el trust in the Lord for with the

O Is - ra - el trust in the Lord for with the

[Piano accompaniment with chords and bass line]

[Ped.]

My soul fle - eth be - fore the

Lord is plen-teous re - demp - - tion

Lord is plen-teous re - demp - - tion

Lord is plen-teous re - demp - - tion

[Piano accompaniment with chords and bass line]

Lord be - fore the morn - ing watch I say be-

[Piano accompaniment with chords and bass line]

80

fore the morn - ing watch my soul fle-eth be

86

fore the morn - ing watch, I say, be - fore the_ morn - ing

92

watch.

Treble

Is - ra - el trust in the Lord for with him, with the Lord there is

Treble

Is - ra - el trust in the Lord for with him, with the Lord there is

Alto

Is - ra - el trust in the Lord for with him, with the Lord there is

Tenore

Is - ra - el trust in the Lord for with him, with the Lord there is

Bassi

Is - ra - el trust in the Lord for with him, with the Lord there is

mer - cy O
 mer - cy O
 mer - cy O
 mer - cy And with Him is plent - eous re - demp - tion
 mer - cy



trust, trust in the Lord. O Is - ra - el trust in the
 trust, trust in the Lord. O Is - ra - el trust in the
 trust, trust in the Lord. O Is - ra - el trust in the
 O Is - ra - el trust in the
 O Is - ra - el trust in the

look _____ for the Lord my God. my

demp - tion O Is - ra - el trust in the

demp - tion O Is - ra - el trust in the

demp - tion O Is - ra - el trust in the

demp - tion O Is - ra - el trust in the

demp - tion O Is - ra - el trust in the

demp - tion O Is - ra - el trust in the

The musical score consists of seven staves. The top staff is a bass clef line with a melodic line and lyrics. The next five staves are vocal parts, each with a treble clef and lyrics. The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The music is in a key with one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature. The lyrics are: 'look _____ for the Lord my God. my demp - tion O Is - ra - el trust in the demp - tion O Is - ra - el trust in the demp - tion O Is - ra - el trust in the demp - tion O Is - ra - el trust in the demp - tion O Is - ra - el trust in the demp - tion O Is - ra - el trust in the demp - tion O Is - ra - el trust in the'. There are some blank lines in the lyrics, likely indicating a long note or a breath mark.

The musical score consists of seven staves. The top staff is a bass clef line with a melodic line and a long slur over the first two measures. The second through sixth staves are vocal parts in a soprano, alto, tenor, and bass clef, respectively. Each vocal staff has the lyrics: "soul doth wait for Him. my soul doth Lord O Is - rael trust in the Lord". The piano accompaniment is on the bottom staff, featuring a treble and bass clef with chords and a melodic line.

soul doth wait for Him. my soul doth
 Lord O Is - rael trust in the Lord
 Lord O Is - rael trust in the Lord
 Lord O Is - rael trust in the Lord
 Lord O Is - rael trust in the Lord
 Lord O Is - rael trust in the Lord

140

doth wait for Him.

Lord, O trust in Him. Is - rael

Lord, O trust in Him.

140-145: This section of the score contains five vocal staves and a piano accompaniment. The vocal parts are in a B-flat major key with a common time signature. The lyrics are: "doth wait for Him." followed by "Lord, O trust in Him. Is - rael" on the next line. The piano accompaniment features a steady bass line and chords in the right hand.

146

trust, O trust in the Lord.

146-151: This section of the score contains five vocal staves and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "trust, O trust in the Lord." The vocal parts feature a melodic line with a long note on "trust" and a slur over "in the Lord." The piano accompaniment continues with a steady bass line and chords in the right hand.

O Is - rael trust O Is - rael trust O

O Is - rael trust O Is - rael trust O

O Is - rael trust O Is - rael trust O



O trust in the Lord

Is - rael trust in the Lord

[O praise the Lord]

[Alice Mary Smith
trans. & ed. Leonard Sanderman]

Soli

Sop: O praise the Lord o ye heath - en praise him all ye nat - ions

Alto O praise the Lord o ye heath - en praise him all ye nat - ions

Tenor O praise the Lord o ye heath - en praise him all ye nat - ions

Bass O praise the Lord o ye heath - en praise him all ye nat - ions

Chorus

f Praise the Lord *f* praise the Lord *Soli* all ye nat - - ions

Praise the Lord praise the Lord all ye nat - - ions

Praise the Lord praise the Lord all ye nat - - ions

Praise the Lord praise the Lord all ye nat - - ions

Chorus

Praise the Lord all ye heath - en praise him all ye nat - ions praise the

Praise the Lord all ye heath - en praise him all ye nat - ions praise the

Praise the Lord all ye heath - en praise him all ye nat - ions praise the

Praise the Lord all ye heath - en praise him all ye nat - ions praise the

Lord praise the Lord all ye nat - - ions

Lord praise the Lord all ye nat - - ions

Lord praise the Lord all ye nat - - ions

Lord praise the Lord all ye nat - - ions

18
26

Musical score for measures 18-26. The system consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line is mostly rests. The piano accompaniment features a treble clef with a melodic line marked *8va* and a bass clef with chordal accompaniment. The key signature has one flat and the time signature is 3/4.

32

Musical score for measures 32-37. The system consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line is mostly rests. The piano accompaniment features a treble clef with a melodic line marked *8va* and a bass clef with chordal accompaniment. The key signature has one flat and the time signature is 3/4.

38

Musical score for measures 38-43. The system consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line includes the lyrics "He shall bless them that" and is marked [Sop: Solo]. The piano accompaniment features a treble clef with trills (*tr*) and a bass clef with chordal accompaniment. The key signature has one flat and the time signature is 3/4.

44

Musical score for measures 44-49. The system consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line includes the lyrics "fear the Lord". The piano accompaniment features a treble clef with a melodic line marked *8va* and a bass clef with chordal accompaniment. The key signature has one flat and the time signature is 3/4.

50

He shall bless them that fear the Lord that fear the Lord

[Ped.]

56

he bless them both small and great he shall bless

he shall bless them

62

them.

69

Ye are the blessed the

75

bles-sed of the Lord ye are the blest the blest of the Lord

81

blest of the Lord Who made heavn and earth who

87

made hea-ven hea-ven and earth.

93

All the whole hea-vens the hea-vens are the Lords

99

All the hea- vens are the Lords the earth hath he given to the

105

chil- dren of men hath he given to the

111

child- ren of men.

117

The dead praise not thee O Lord neith - er all they that go down in - to

The dead praise not thee O Lord neith - er all they that go down in - to

The dead praise not thee O Lord neith - er all they that go down in - to

The dead praise not thee O Lord neith - er all they that go down in - to

si - lence si - lence si - lence that go down in - to

si - lence si - lence si - lence that go down in - to

si - lence si - lence si - lence that go down in - to

si - lence si - lence si - lence that go down in - to

8^{va}

135

si - lence. The

si - lence. The

si - lence. The

si - lence. The

141

dead praise not thee O Lord neith - er all they that go down down go

dead praise not thee O Lord neith - er all they that go down down go

dead praise not thee O Lord neith - er all they that go down down go

dead praise not thee O Lord neith - er all they that go down down go

down in - to si - lence.

But we will praise wil praise the Lord from this time

But we will praise wil praise the Lord from this time

But we will praise wil praise the Lord from this time

But we will praise wil praise the Lord from this time

164

Musical score for measures 164-168. It features five staves: four vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and one piano accompaniment staff. The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#). The lyrics are: "forth for ev - er - more We will praise will". A triplet of eighth notes is marked above the first vocal line in measure 164.

169

Musical score for measures 169-173. It features five staves: four vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and one piano accompaniment staff. The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#). The lyrics are: "praise the Lord from this time forth for e - ver -". The piano accompaniment includes chords and melodic lines in both hands.

Praise more. the Lord O ye heath - en praise him all ye na - tions praise the

Praise more. the Lord O ye heath - en praise him all ye na - tions praise the

Praise more. the Lord O ye heath - en praise him all ye na - tions praise the

Praise more. the Lord O ye heath - en praise him all ye na - tions praise the

The musical score for measures 174-177 consists of four vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a piano accompaniment. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are: "Praise more. the Lord O ye heath - en praise him all ye na - tions praise the". The piano accompaniment features a steady bass line and chords in the right hand.

Lord praise the Lord all ye na - - - tions.

Lord praise the Lord all ye na - - - tions.

Lord praise the Lord all ye na - - - tions.

Lord praise the Lord all ye na - - - tions.

The musical score for measures 178-181 consists of four vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a piano accompaniment. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are: "Lord praise the Lord all ye na - - - tions.". The piano accompaniment features a steady bass line and chords in the right hand.

By the waters of Babylon

Alice Mary Smith
[trans. Cristopher Ellis
ed. Leonard Sanderman]

Treble

Alto

Tenor
8ve lower

Bass

Organ

Slow

The first system of the score consists of five staves. From top to bottom: Treble, Alto, Tenor (8ve lower), Bass, and Organ. The vocal staves (Treble, Alto, Tenor, Bass) are currently empty, showing only the 3/4 time signature and key signature (B-flat major). The Organ part begins with a 'Slow' tempo marking. It features a right-hand melody with a descending line and a left-hand accompaniment of eighth notes.

7

Chorus

By the wa - ters of Ba - by-lon we sat down and wept

By the wa - ters of Ba - by-lon we sat down and wept

By the wa - ters of Ba - by-lon we sat down and wept By the

The second system begins with a double bar line and a measure rest labeled '7'. It contains four staves. The top staff is empty. The second staff is the vocal line with lyrics: "By the wa - ters of Ba - by-lon we sat down and wept". The third staff is a second vocal line with the same lyrics. The fourth staff is the organ accompaniment, which continues from the first system. The organ part includes trills (tr) in the right hand.

We wept when we re -
 we sat down we sat down & wept
 we sat down we sat down & wept
 wa - ters of Ba - by-lon we sat down & wept



mem-bered thee O Si - on Si - on
 O Si - on Si - on
 O Si - on, Si - on As for our
 O Si - on Si - on

23

As for our harps we hanged we hanged them up on the trees that

As for our harps we hanged them up on the trees that

8 harps we hanged them up we hanged them up on the trees that

As for our harps we hanged them up on the trees that

Detailed description: This block contains the musical score for measures 23 through 28. It features four vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "As for our harps we hanged we hanged them up on the trees that". The piano part consists of chords and moving lines in both hands.



29

were there - in we sat down & wept and wept when

were there - in we sat down and wept_ & wept & wept when

8 were there - in we sat down and wept_ & wept & wept when

were there - in we sat down and wept when

Detailed description: This block contains the musical score for measures 29 through 34. It features four vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "were there - in we sat down & wept and wept when". The piano part continues with chords and moving lines.

we re-mem-bered thee O Si - - on O Si -

we re-mem-bered thee O Si - - on O Si -

we re-mem-bered thee O Si - - on O Si -

we re-mem-bered thee O Si - - on O Si -



on

on

on

on Solo Bass Recit:
For they that led us a-way cap-tive re-quir-ed of us then a

43

song and me - lo - dy in our hea - vi ness and me - lo - dy



46

Soprano Solo Allegretto

Sing us one of the songs of
in our hea - vi ness



49

Si - on. Sing us
2nd Soprano [Solo]
Sing us one of the songs of Si - on Sing us

52

one of the songs Sing us one of the songs of the songs of Si - on.

one of the songs sing us one of the songs of the songs of Si - on.

Solo Bass

How shall we

Tempo Primo



56

sing How shall we sing sing the Lord's song in a



61

Soprano [Solo] **Allegretto**

Sing us one of the songs of Si - on,

2do [Sop: Solo]

strange land? Sing us

65

Sing us one of the songs sing us one of the songs of the
 one of the songs of Si - on Sing us one of the songs sing us one of the songs of the

==

69

songs of Si - on
 songs of Si - on

Tempo 1mo

Tenor
 1st Bass
 How shall we sing How shall we sing

2nd Bass
 How shall we sing How shall we sing

Musical score for measures 34-74. It features two vocal staves (Soprano and Bass) and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "sing the Lord's song in a strange land". The piano part includes a prominent bass line and chordal accompaniment.



80 Tenor Solo

If I for - get thee O Je - ru - sa - lem

Andante

Musical score for measures 80-85. It features a Tenor Solo and piano accompaniment. The tempo is marked "Andante". The piano part includes a prominent bass line and chordal accompaniment.



86

let my right hand for - get her cun - ning If I

Musical score for measures 86-91. It features a vocal staff and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "let my right hand for - get her cun - ning If I". The piano part includes a prominent bass line and chordal accompaniment.

91

do not re-mem - ber_ thee, — let my tongue cleave to the roof of my

97

mouth Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my

101

mouth If I pre - fer not If I pre - fer not

106

yea if I pre - fer not Je - ru - sa - lem in my mirth.

111

Je - ru - sa - lem in my

116

pp

mirth If I for - get thee! O Je - ru - sa lem

pp

121

cres[c.]

ff

If I for - get thee! Let my right hand for - get for - get her

colla voce *ff* *a tem:* *f*

126

cun - ning my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth If

131

I for - get thee O Je - ru - sa - lem!

136

O Je - ru - sa - lem!

rall:
p

pp

142 Bassi *f*

Re - mem - ber the chil - dren of E - dom O Lord in the day of Je -

grave

146

ru - sa - lem how they said,

Treble

Alto

Tenor

Bass

Down with it down with it

Down with it Down with it down with it to the ground to the ground— down



154

down with it to the ground down with it down down with it ev'n un - to the

ev'n un - to the ground ev - en down with it down with it

Down with it down with it down with it to the

158

ground ev'n un - to un - to the ground Down down to the ground.
 Down down, down with it down down to the
 Down with it down with it down with it to the ground down
 ground down down with it down with it to the ground down to the



162

down to the ground Down with it down with it down with it to the
 ground down down with it to the ground ev - en to the ground down to the
 down down down with it to the ground down down un - to the
 ground down down with it to the ground to the ground down to the

ground down down with it to the ground ev - en down ev - en ev'n un-to the
 ground to the ground down down with it to the ground ev - en down ev - en ev'n un - to the
 ground the ground Down with it down with it down with it to the
 ground down down with it to the ground the



ground with it with it to the ground down with it ev'n un - to the
 ground with it with it to the ground with it down with it ev'n un - to the
 ground with it with it to the ground down ev - en
 ground to the ground Down with it down with it down with it to the

177

ground un - to the ground Down with it ev'n un -
 ground un - to the ground. Down un - to the
 to the ground. Down with it down with it
 ground to the ground Down with it down un - to the



181

-to un - to the ground Down with it
 ground un - to the ground to the ground with it
 down with it to the ground down with it down to the ground
 ground down down ev - en with it Down with it

Down with it down with it to the ground with it down with it
 down with it down with it to the ground. Down with it
 down down down down with it to the ground
 down with it down down down with it to the ground



down with it down with it to the ground down down with it to the
 down with it down with it to the ground down down with it to the
 down with it down with it to the ground down down with it to the
 down with it to the ground down down with it to the

193

ground down down with it to the ground Down with it Down with it

ground down down with it to the ground Down with it Down with it

ground down down with it to the ground Down with it Down with it

ground Down with it Down with it



197

rit.
Down with it down with it Down with it to the

Down with it Down with it down with it Down with it to the

Down with it Down with it down with it Down with it to the

Down with it Down with it down with it Down with it to the

rit.

Tempo primo

ground Daugh - ter of Ba - by - lon was - ted with

ground Daugh - ter of Ba - by - lon was - ted with

ground Daugh - ter of Ba - by - lon was - ted with

ground Daugh - ter of Ba - by - lon was - ted with



mi - se - ry O daugh - ter of Ba - by - lon was - ted

mi - se - ry O daugh - ter of Ba - by - lon was - ted

mi - se - ry O daugh - ter of Ba - by - lon was - ted

mi - se - ry O daugh - ter of Ba - by - lon was - ted

209

was - ted was - ted with mi - se - ry

was - ted was - ted with mi - se - ry

was - ted was - ted with mi - se - ry Yea hap - py shall he be

was - ted was - ted with mi - se - ry

Solo (Tenor)

Allegretto



214

hap - py shall he be hap - py shall he be that re - ward - eth

Chorus *p*

Yea hap - py shall he be hap - py shall he be that re -

Yea hap - py shall he be yea hap - py shall he be that re -

Chorus
thee Yea hap - py shall he be yea hap - py shall he be that re -

Yea hap - py shall he be yea hap - py shall he be that re -

p



ward - eth thee as thou hast serv - ed us re - ward - eth

ward - eth thee as thou hast serv - ed us re - ward - eth

ward - eth thee as thou hast serv - ed us re - ward - eth

ward - eth thee as thou hast serv - ed us re - ward - eth

229

thee as thou hast serv - ed us. Hap - py

thee as thou hast serv - ed us

thee as thou hast serv - ed us

thee as thou hast serv - ed us



234

Hap - py Hap - py shall he be that re - ward - eth

[f]
Hap - py shall he be that re - ward - eth

f
Hap - py shall he be that re - ward - eth

f
Hap - py shall he be that re - ward - eth

239 Tenor Solo

Hap - py Hap - py

thee that re - ward - eth thee that re - ward - eth thee

thee that re - ward - eth thee that re - ward - eth thee

thee that re - ward - eth thee that re - ward - eth thee

thee that re - ward - eth thee that re - ward - eth thee

244

Yea hap - py shall he

Hap - py Hap - py Hap - py Hap - py

Hap - py Hap - py Hap - py Hap - py

Hap - py Hap - py Hap - py Hap - py

Hap - py Hap - py Hap - py Hap - py

249

be Hap - py shall he be Hap - py shall he

253

be that re - ward - - eth thee

256

Solo

Yea hap - py shall he be yea hap - py shall he

Hap - py shall he be hap - py shall he be

Hap - py shall he be hap - py shall he be

Hap - py shall he be hap - py shall he be

Hap - py shall he be hap - py shall he be

The image shows a musical score for five staves. The top four staves are vocal parts, each starting with a half note followed by a whole rest for the remainder of the measure. The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment. The right hand has a melodic line of quarter notes, and the left hand has a bass line of quarter notes. A dashed line with the marking "8va" indicates an octave shift in the right hand starting from the second measure. The score concludes with a double bar line.

Offertory "Whoso hath"

(written for St Andrew's Wells Street)

Alice Mary Smith

Feb 4th 1864

[trans. Christopher Ellis
ed. Leonard Sanderman]

5

Treble

Alto

Tenor

Bass

Organ

p

6

Who-so hath this world's goods and

Who-so hath this world's goods and

Who-so hath this world's goods hath this world's

Who-so hath this world's goods and

11

see-eth his bro-ther have need and shut-teth up shut-teth up his com-pas-sion

see-eth his bro-ther have need and shut-teth up and shut-teth up his com-pas-sion

goods and his bro-ther have need & he shut-teth up he shut-teth shut-teth up his com-pas-sion

see-eth his bro-ther have need and shut-teth up, shut-teth up his com-pas-sion



16

from him Who see-eth his bro-ther need and

from him Who see-eth his bro-ther need and

from him Who see-eth his bro-ther's need Who see-eth his bro-ther need and

from him who see-eth his bro-ther's need Who see-eth his bro-ther need

shut-teth up and shut-teth up his com-pas sion from him,

shut-teth up and shut-teth up his com-pas-sion from him, How dwell-eth the

shut-teth up and shut-teth up his com-pas - sion from him, Love of

and shut-teth up his com-pas-sion from him How dwell-eth the love of God in



Love of God in him in him Who-so hath this world's

love of God the love of God in him Who-so hath this world's

God How dwelleth the love of God in him Who-so hath this world's

him How dwelleth the love of God in him how dwelleth the love of God in him? the

31

goods and see-eth his bro-ther's need

goods and see-eth his bro-ther's need

goods and see-eth his bro-ther's need Dwell - eth the love of God in

love of God in him?

Solo

f



36

Who-so hath this world's goods and see-eth his bro-ther hath

Who-so hath this world's goods and see-eth his bro-ther hath

him Who-so hath this world's goods hath this world's goods & his bro-ther hath

Who-so hath this world's goods and see-eth his bro-ther hath

Full *pp*

f

need and shut-teth up and shut-teth up his com-pas-sion from him

need and shut-teth up and shut-teth up his com-pas-sion from him How dwells the

need and shut-teth up and shut-teth up his com-pas-sion from him How dwells the

need and shut-teth up his com-pas-sion from him How dwells the



How dwells the love of God of God *dim.*

love of God in him How dwells the love of God

love of God in him How dwells the love of God the love

love of God in him How dwells How dwells the love of

51

in him
in him
of God in him
God in him

8^{va}

Detailed description: This is a musical score for voice and piano. It consists of five staves. The top four staves are for the voice, and the bottom staff is for the piano. The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are: 'in him of God in him God in him'. The piano accompaniment features a melodic line in the right hand and a harmonic line in the left hand. A dynamic marking of *8^{va}* is present above the piano staff. The score ends with a double bar line.

The Souls Longings

Alice Mary Smith.
4 Sussex Place Regents Park
[trans. Christopher Ellis
ed. Leonard Sanderman]

Andante

[Tenor Solo]

O gra-cious God and Lord of mer - cy's might

Why do I live a - mid this world of woe When eve - ry day doth

23

seem to me as night While sor - rows seek my spi-rit's ov - er- throw

29

Why do I live_____ Why do I live_____ Why do I

34

live a- mid_ this world_ of woe? When eve - ry day doth

39

seem to me to me as night When sor-rows seek my spi - rits ov - er-throw.

45 *pp*

O Bles - sed light that shows in mer - cy's eye While Faith doth

O Bles - sed light that shows in mer - cy's eye While faith, while Faith doth

O Bles - sed light that shows in mer - cy's eye While Faith while Faith doth

O Bles - sed light that shows in mer - cy's eye While Faith doth



50

live that love can nev - er die. O Bles - sed light

live that love can nev - er die O Bles - sed light O Bles - sed

live that love can nev - er nev - er die O Bles - sed light O Bles - sed

live that love can nev - er die O Bles - sed light

55

O Bles-sed light while Faith doth live that love can nev - er die While faith doth live,
 light While Faith doth live *that love can nev - er die.* can nev - er
 light While Faith doth live *that love can nev - er die.* can nev - er
 While Faith doth live *that love can nev - er die.* can nev - er



61

While Faith doth live that love can nev - er die.
 die While Faith doth live *that love can nev - er die*
 die While Faith doth live *that love can nev - er die*
 die While Faith doth live *that love can nev - er die*

62

67

I hear thy word and would o - bey thy will But want the

This system contains measures 62 through 67. It features a vocal line in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower staff. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 8/8. The vocal line begins with a rest in measure 62, followed by the lyrics. The piano accompaniment consists of chords and single notes.

72

power that might per-form thy due I know the good and

This system contains measures 72 through 77. It features a vocal line in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower staff. The key signature has two flats, and the time signature is 8/8. The vocal line continues with the lyrics. The piano accompaniment includes chords and moving lines in both hands.

77

fain would leave the ill And fear the sor - row that doth sin en -

This system contains measures 77 through 82. It features a vocal line in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower staff. The key signature has two flats, and the time signature is 8/8. The vocal line continues with the lyrics. The piano accompaniment includes chords and moving lines in both hands.

82

sue. I hear thy word and would o - bey thy will I

This system contains measures 82 through 87. It features a vocal line in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower staff. The key signature has two flats, and the time signature is 8/8. The vocal line continues with the lyrics. The piano accompaniment includes chords and moving lines in both hands.

87

know the good And fain would leave the ill And fear the sor - row

92

that doth sin en sue fear the sor - row the sor - row that doth

99

pp

O Bles - sed light that shows in mer - cy's eye

O Bles - sed light that shows in mer - cy's eye While

sin en - sue O Bles - sed light that shows in mer - cy's eye While

O Bles - sed light that shows in mer - cy's eye

While Faith doth live that love can nev - er die_

Faith while Faith doth live that love can nev - er die O

Faith while Faith doth live that love can nev - er nev - er die O

While Faith doth live that love can nev - er die. O

p.



O Bles - sed light O Bles - sed light while Faith doth

Bles - sed light O Bles - sed light while Faith doth

Bles - sed light O Bles - sed light while Faith doth

Bles - sed light while Faith doth

p.

113

live that love can nev - er die While Faith doth live While Faith doth
 live that love can nev - er die can nev - er die While Faith doth
 live that love can nev - er die can nev - er die While Faith doth
 live that love can nev - er die can nev - er die While Faith doth



118

live that love can nev - er die
 live that love can nev - er die
 live that love can nev - er die
 live that love can nev - er die

Musical score for measures 123-126. The vocal line is mostly rests. The piano accompaniment features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes in the right hand and quarter notes in the left hand.

And yet I fall in-to that depth of sin that makes me fear the judg-ments of thy

wrath un-til thy grace doth all my help be-gin to know what com-fort faith in mer-cy

hath O Bles-sed light that shows in mer-cy's eye

139

While Faith doth live that love can nev - er die

143

O Bles - sed light O Bles - sed light while Faith doth

147

live that love can nev - er die While Faith doth live

151

While Faith doth live that love can nev - - er

die.

Bles - sed light that shows in mer - cy's eye While

Bles - sed light that shows in mer - cy's eye While

Bles - sed light that shows in mer - cy's eye While

Bles - sed light that shows in mer - cy's eye While

Faith doth live that love can nev - er die O

Faith doth live that love can nev - er die O

Faith doth live that love can nev - er die O

Faith doth live that love can nev - er die O

163

Bles - sed light that shows in mer - cys eye While

Bles - sed light that shows in mer - cys eye While

Bles - sed light that shows in mer - cys eye While

Bles - sed light that shows in mer - cys eye While

The musical score for measures 163-166 consists of four vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "Bles - sed light that shows in mer - cys eye While". The piano part features a steady accompaniment with chords and moving lines in both hands.



167

Faith doth live While Faith doth live that love can

Faith doth live While Faith doth live that love can

Faith doth live While Faith doth live that love can

Faith doth live While Faith doth live that love can

The musical score for measures 167-170 consists of four vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "Faith doth live While Faith doth live that love can". The piano part continues with a similar accompaniment style to the previous section.

[Tenor] Solo

nev - er die. O Bles - sed light that shows in mer - cys
 nev - er die. O Bles - sed light that
 nev - er die. O Bles - sed light that
 nev - er die. O Bles - sed light that
 nev - er die. O Bles - sed light that



eye While Faith doth live,
 shows in mer - cys eye While Faith doth live that love can
 shows in mer - cys eye While Faith doth live that love can
 shows in mer - cys eye While Faith doth live that love can
 shows in mer - cys eye While Faith doth live that love can

180

O ble - sed light O ble - sed
nev - er nev - er die Bles - - ed light
nev - er die Bles - - ed light
nev - er die Bles - - ed light
nev - er die Bles - - ed light

184

light O Bles - sed light
Bles - - ed light While Faith doth live that love can
Bles - - ed light that love can nev - er
Bles - - ed light While Faith doth live that love can
Bles - - ed light that love can nev - er

O ble - ed light While Faith While Faith doth
nev - er die Bles - sed light Bles - sed
nev - er die Bles - sed light Bles - sed
nev - er die Bles - sed light Bles - sed
nev - er die Bles - ed light Bles - sed



live that love nev - er nev - er can die
light O Bles - sed Bles - - sed light O
light O Bles - sed Bles - - - sed light
light O Bles - sed Bles - - - sed light O
light O Bles - sed Bles - - - sed light

198

nev - er nev - er can die.

Bles - sed Bles - - sed light O bles - sed

Bles - - sed light O bles - sed

Bles - sed Bles - - sed light O bles - sed

Bles - - sed light O bles - sed

203

light O bles - sed light

"Come unto Him all ye that labour"

Alice Mary Smith
4 Sussex Place
Regents Park
[trans. Christopher Ellis
ed. Leonard Sanderman]
5

Andante Sostenuto

6
Come un-to Him all ye that

11

la - bour Come un - to Him and He will give you rest



16

Come come un - to Him all ye that are hea - vy la - den

Come come un - to Him ye that are hea - vy la - den

Come come un - to Him ye that are hea - vy la - den

Come come un - to Him ye that are hea - vy la - den

Come un - to Him & He will give you rest

Come un - to Him & He will give you rest

Come un - to Him & He will give you rest & He will

Come un - to Him & He will give you rest & He will

The musical score for measures 20-23 features four vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a piano accompaniment. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are: "Come un - to Him & He will give you rest & He will".



He will give you rest

He will give you rest Come un - to

give will give you rest Come un - to Him, all

give will give you rest Come un - to Him, all

The musical score for measures 24-27 continues with four vocal staves and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "He will give you rest", "He will give you rest Come un - to", "give will give you rest Come un - to Him, all", and "give will give you rest Come un - to Him, all".

28

Come un - to Him all ye all ye that la - bour
 Him come un - to Him all ye that la - bour
 ye all ye that la - bour Come un - to Him all ye all
 ye that la - bour Come un - to Him



32

ye that are hea - vy la - den Come come un - to Him
 Come un - to Him Come come un - to Him,
 ye that are hea - vy la - den Come un - to Him Come un - to
 Come un - to Him Come un - to Him

Come come un - to Him_____ Come un - to Him and He will give you
 un - to Him_____ Come un - to Him and He will give you
 Him_____ to Him_____ un - to Him un - to Him and He will give you
 un - to Him_____ Come un - to Him He will give you



rest_____ O come un - to Him & He will give you rest.
 rest_____ Come un - to Him He will give you rest.
 rest_____ O come un - to Him & He will give you rest.
 rest_____ O come un - to Him, He will give you rest.

46

Musical score for measures 46-50. The score includes four vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a piano accompaniment. The vocal parts are mostly rests, while the piano accompaniment provides a harmonic foundation with chords and moving lines in both hands.



51

Musical score for measures 51-55. The score includes four vocal staves and a piano accompaniment. The vocal parts have lyrics: "Take His yoke up - on you & learn of Him Take His yoke up - on you & learn of". The piano accompaniment continues with chords and moving lines.

66

on you Take His yoke up - on you & learn of
 learn of Him Take His yoke up - on you
 Take His yoke up - on you, up - on you Take His yoke up - on you &
 on you and learn of Him, of



71

Him
 Take His yoke up - on you & learn of Him & learn of Him
 learn, & learn of Him & learn of Him
 Him, & learn of Him & learn of Him

[*rall.*]

Take His yoke up - on you & learn & learn of Him.

Take His yoke up - on you & learn & learn of Him.

Take His yoke up - on you & learn & learn of Him.

[*rall.*]

Accompanying piano part for the first system, featuring chords and a melodic line in the bass.



For He is meek and low - ly of heart and

Accompanying piano part for the second system, featuring chords and a melodic line in the bass.

87

ye shall find rest un - to your souls &



91

ye shall find rest un - to your souls Take His yoke up -
 un - to your souls

ye shall find rest un - to un - to your souls

un - - to your souls

on you & learn of Him Take His yoke up - on you

Take His yoke up - on you & learn of Him learn of

Take His yoke up - on you & learn of

Take His yoke up-



learn of Him Take His yoke up - on you & learn of

Him Take His yoke up - on you & learn of
Alto, MS A: learn of

Him Take His yoke up - on you & learn of

on you Take His yoke up - on you & learn of

107 MS A

him For He is meek & low - ly of heart &

Him.

For He is meek and low - ly of heart &

Him.

Him.

111

ye shall find rest un - - to un - - to your

ye shall find rest un - - to un - - to your

115

Take His yoke up - on you & learn of Him_____

souls Take His yoke up - on you

Take His yoke up - on you up - on you

Take His yoke up - on you,



119

Take His yoke up - on you and learn of Him

Take His yoke up - on you and learn of Him_____

Take His yoke up - on you and learn of Him_____

Take His yoke up - on you and learn of Him

123

Solo

Tutti



His yoke is ea - sy and his bur - then is light
Take His yoke up -

Solo

[Tutti]



His yoke is ea - sy and His bur - then is light
Take His yoke up -

Solo

[Tutti]



His yoke is ea - sy and His bur - then is light
Take His yoke up -

Solo

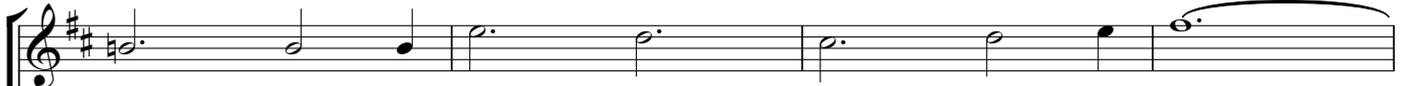
[Tutti]



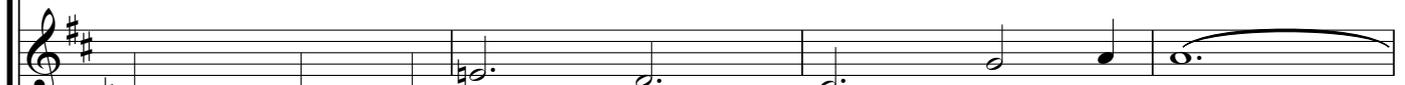
His yoke is ea - sy and His bur - then is light
Take His yoke up -



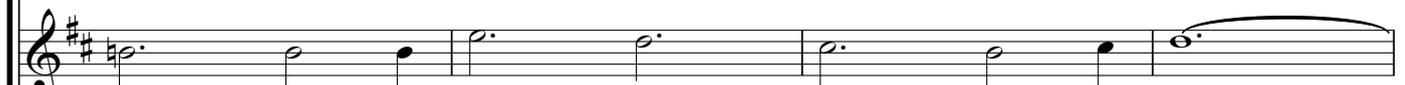
128



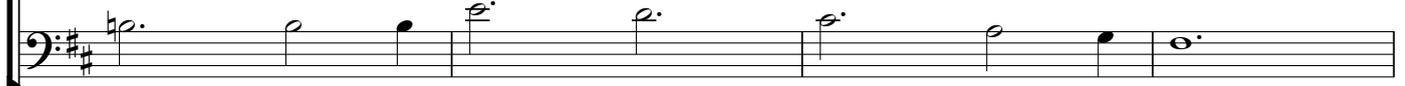
on you and learn of Him For His yoke



on you and learn of Him For His yoke



on you and learn of Him For His yoke



on you and learn of Him For His yoke



132

— is ea - - sy & His bur - then is

— is ea - - sy & His bur - then is

— is ea - - sy & His bur - then is

— is ea - - sy & His bur - then is



137

Solo

light Come un - to Him all ye all ye that la - bour
[Solo]

light Come un - to Him all ye all ye that la - bour
[Solo]

light Come un - to Him all ye all ye that la - bour
[Solo]

light Come un - to Him all ye all ye that la - bour

Come un - to Him & He will give you rest

Come un - to Him & He will give you rest

Come un - to Him & He will give you rest

Come un - to Him & He will give you rest



Tutti

Come come un - to Him all ye that are hea - vy la - den
[Tutti]

Come come un - to Him ye that are hea - vy la - den
[Tutti]

Come come un - to Him ye that are hea - vy la - den
[Tutti]

Come come un - to Him ye that are hea - vy la - den

149

Come un - to Him & He will give you rest

Come un - to Him & He will give you rest

Come un - to Him & He will give you rest

Come un - to Him & He will give you rest



153

p Come un - to Him *pp* Come un - to Him

Come un - to Him Come un - to Him

Come un - to Him Come un - to Him

Come un - to Him Come un - to Him

For His yoke is ea - sy and His bur - then His

For His yoke is ea - sy and His bur - - -

For His yoke is ea - sy and His bur - then His

For His yoke is ea - sy and His bur - - -



bur - then is light.

- - then is light.

bur - then is light.

- - then is light.

[Te Deum Laudamus in A]

[Alice Mary Smith
trans. & ed. Leonard Sanderman]

We praise thee O God we ac-know- ledge thee to be the Lord, All the earth doth
 We praise thee O God we ac - know- ledge thee to be the Lord,
 We praise thee O God we ac - know- ledge thee to be the Lord,
 We praise thee O God we ac - know- ledge thee to be the Lord,

11 [Cantoris]

wor-ship thee All the earth doth wor-ship thee the Fa- ther e - ver - las - ting.
 All the earth doth wor-ship thee the Fa- ther e - ver - las - ting. To
 All the earth doth wor-ship thee the Fa- ther e - ver - las - ting. To
 All the earth doth wor-ship thee the Fa- ther e - ver - las - ting. To

21

To thee Che-ru-bim and Se-ra-
 thee all Angels cry a - loud the Heavns and all the Powrs there-in To thee Che-ru-bim and Se-ra-
 thee all Angels cry a - loud the Heavns and all the Powrs there-in
 thee all Angels cry a - loud the Heavns and all the Powrs there-in

[Full]

phin: con - tin-u - al - ly do cry Ho - ly Ho - ly Ho - ly Lord

phin: con - tin-u - al - ly do cry Ho - ly Ho - ly Ho - ly Lord

Ho - ly Ho - ly Ho - ly Lord

Ho - ly Ho - ly Ho - ly Lord

God of Sa - ba - oth Ma - jes - ty

God of Sa - ba - oth Ma - jes - ty

God of Sa - ba - oth Heav'n and earth are full of thy Ma - jes - ty

God of Sa - ba - oth Heav'n and earth are full of thy Ma - jes - ty of thy

Heavn and earth are full of thy Ma - jes - ty of thy Glo - - ry

Heavn and earth are full of thy Ma - jes - ty of thy Glo - - ry The glo - rious

Heavn and earth are full of thy Ma - jes - ty of thy Glo - - ry

Ma - - jes - ty of thy Glo - - ry

59

praise_ thee. The good - ly fel - low - ship of_ the_

com - pa - ny of_ the A - pos - tles praise_ thee.

praise_ thee.

praise_ thee.

67

Pro - phets praise_ thee praise_ thee. The

praise_ thee praise_ thee. The

praise_ thee The no - ble ar - my of Mar - tyrs praise_ thee. The

praise_ thee praise_ thee. The

[Decani]

75

ho - ly Church through - out all the world doth ac - know ledge thee_ doth ac - know ledge

ho - ly Church through - out all the world doth ac - know - ledge_

ho - ly Church through - out all the world doth ac - know - ledge_

ho - ly Church through - out all the world doth ac - know - ledge_

thee doth ac-know-ledge thee; The Fat-her of an in-fi-nite Ma-jes-ty thine ho-nour-ab-le

thee doth ac-know-ledge thee; The Fat-her of an in-fi-nite Ma-jes-ty thine ho-nour-ab-le

thee doth ac-know-ledge thee; The Fat-her of an in-fi-nite Ma-jes-ty thine ho-nour-ab-le

thee doth ac-know-ledge thee; The Fat-her of an in-fi-nite Ma-jes-ty thine ho-nour-ab-le

true and on-ly Son Al- so the Ho-ly Ghost the Com-for-ter

true and on-ly Son Al- so the Ho-ly Ghost the Com-for-ter

true and on-ly Son the Ho-ly Ghost the Com-for-ter

true and on-ly Son Ho ly Ghost the Com-for-ter

[Full]

Thou art the King of Glo-ry O Christ thou art the e-ver-las-ting Son of the Fa-ther.

Thou art the King of Glo-ry O Christ thou art the e-ver-las-ting Son of the Fa-ther.

Thou art the King of Glo-ry O Christ thou art the e-ver-las-ting Son of the Fa-ther.

Thou art the King of Glo-ry O Christ thou art the e-ver-las-ting Son of the Fa-ther.

[Cantoris]

When thou tookst up-on thee to de - li - ver man thou didst not ab - hor thou didst not ab -

When thou tookst up-on thee to de - li - ver man didst not ab - hor not ab - hor not ab -

When thou tookst up-on thee to de - li - ver man didst not ab - hor not ab - hor not ab -

114

When thou hadst ov - er come the sharp - ness of death thou dist

hor the Vir - gin's womb When thou hadst ov - er come the sharp - ness of death thou dist

hor the Vir - gin's womb When thou hadst ov - er come the sharp - ness of death thou dist

hor the Vir - gin's womb When thou hadst ov - er come the sharp - ness of death thou dist

121

[Full]

o - pen the King - dom of Heavn to all be - lie - vers thou didst o - pen the King - dom of

o - pen the King - dom of Heavn to all be - lie - vers thou didst o - pen the King - dom of

o - pen the King - dom of Heavn to all be - lie - vers thou didst o - pen the King - dom of

o - pen the King - dom of Heavn to all be - lie - vers thou didst o - pen the King - dom of

Heav'n to all be - lie - vers. Thou sit-test at the right hand of God in the

Heav'n to all be - lie - vers. Thou sit-test at the right hand of God

Heav'n to all be - lie - vers. Thou sit-test at the right hand of God

Heav'n to all be - lie - vers. Thou sit-test at the right hand of God in the

Glo - ry of the Fa - ther in the Glo - ry of the Fa - ther:

in the Glo - ry of the Fa - ther the Glo - ry of the Fa - ther:

in the Glo - ry of the Glo - ry of the Fa - ther:

Glo - ry of the Fa - ther the Glo - ry of the Fa - ther:

[Decani]

We be - lieve that thou shalt come to be our Judge to be our Judge

We be - lieve that thou shalt come to be our Judge to be our Judge

We be - lieve that thou shalt come to be our Judge to be our Judge

We be - lieve that thou shalt come to be our Judge to be our Judge

[Cantoris] [Full]

we be - lieve that thou shalt come to be our Judge. We there - fore_

we be - lieve that thou shalt come to be our Judge. We there - fore_

we be - lieve that thou shalt come to be our Judge.

we be - lieve that thou shalt come to be our Judge.

156

pray thee help thy ser - vants we there - fore_ pray thee help thy ser - vants

pray thee help thy ser - vants we there - fore_ pray thee help thy ser - vants

help thy ser - vants we there - fore pray thee help thy ser - vants

help thy ser - vants we there - fore pray thee help thy ser - vants

whom thou hast re - deemed with thy pre - cious blood_ wih thy pre - cious blood

whom thou hast re - deemed with thy pre - cious blood_ wih thy pre - cious blood

whom thou hast re - deemed with thy pre - cious blood_ wih thy pre - cious blood

whom thou hast re - deemed with thy pre - cious blood_ wih thy pre - cious blood

Make them to be num - ber'd with thy Saints in Glo - ry

Make them to be num-ber'd make them to be num-ber'd with thy Saints in Glo - ry

Make them to be num - ber'd with thy Saints in Glo - ry

Make them to be num - ber'd with thy *make them to be num-ber'd with thy Saints in Glo - ry*

e - ver - last - ting with thy Saints in Glo - ry e - ver - las - ting

e - ver - last - ting with thy Saints in Glo - ry e - ver - las - ting

e - ver - last - ting with thy Saints in Glo - ry e - ver - las - ting

e - ver - last - ting with thy Saints in Glo - ry e - ver - las - ting

[Soli]

O Lord save thy peo - ple and bless thy he - ri - tage and bless thy he - ri - tage

O Lord save thy peo - ple and bless thy he - ri - tage and bless thy he - ri - tage

O Lord save thy peo - ple and bless thy he - ri - tage and bless thy he - ri - tage

O Lord save thy peo - ple and bless thy he - ri - tage and bless thy he - ri - tage

[Full]

Go - vern them and lift them up for e - ver Day by day we mag-ni-fy

Go-vern_ them and lift them up for e - ver Day by day we mag-ni-fy

Go-vern_ them and lift them up for e - ver Day by day we mag-ni-fy

Go-vern_ them and lift them up for e - ver Day by day we mag-ni-fy

201

thee and we wor - ship thyName e-ver world with-out end we wor-ship thy Name e-ver

thee we worship thy Name e - ver world with-out end we wor - ship thy Name e-ver

thee we worship thy Name e - ver world with-out end we wor - ship thy

thee we worship thy Name e - ver world with-out end we

208

[Soli]

world with-out end world with - out en - d. Vouch - safe O Lord to keep us this

world with-out end world with - out end. Vouch - safe O Lord to keep us this

Name thy Name e ver world with-out end Vouch - safe O Lord to keep us this

wor - ship thy Name e ver world with-out end Vouch - safe O Lord to keep us this

day — this day with-out sin O Lord O Lord have mer - cy — u - pon us

day — this day with-out sin O Lord O Lord have mer - cy u - pon us

day — this day with-out sin O Lord O Lord have mer - cy — u - pon us

day — this day with-out sin O Lord O Lord have mer - cy — u - pon us

O Lord let thy mer - cy — light - en up - on — us as our trust is in

O Lord let thy mer - cy — light - en up - on — us as our trust is in

O Lord let thy mer - cy — light - en up - on — us as our trust is in

O Lord let thy mer - cy — light - en up - on — us as our trust is in

thee — is in thee O Lord in thee have I trus - ted

thee is in thee is in thee O Lord in thee have I trus - ted

thee is in thee is in thee O Lord in thee have I trus - ted

thee is in thee is in thee O Lord in thee have I trus - ted

242

let me never be confounded

Detailed description: This is a musical score for four voices: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The music is written in a key with three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and a common time signature. The lyrics are 'let me never be confounded'. The Soprano part features a melodic line with a long note on 'be' and a slur over the final notes. The Alto part has a similar melodic line but with a sharp sign on the notes for 'foun' and 'ded'. The Tenor and Bass parts provide harmonic support with a steady, rhythmic accompaniment. The lyrics are printed below each staff, with some words underlined to indicate syllable placement.

[Te Deum Laudamus in E-flat]

[Alice Mary Smith
trans. & ed. Leonard Sanderman]

First system of the musical score. It consists of five staves. The top four staves are vocal parts: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The bottom staff is the piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "We praise thee O God We ac-know-ledge". The music is in E-flat major and common time.

7

Second system of the musical score, starting at measure 7. It consists of five staves: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass, and Piano. The lyrics are: "thee to be the Lord All the earth doth wor-ship thee the". The music continues in E-flat major and common time.

14

Fath - er ev - er - last - ing To thee all An- gels cry a -

Fath - er ev - er - last - ing To thee all An- gels cry a -

Fath - er ev - er - last - ing To thee all An - gels cry a -

Fath - er ev - er - last - ing

21

loud the Heavn's and all the Powr's there - in To thee Che - ru - bin and Se - ra -

loud the Heavn's and all the Powr's there - in

loud the Heavn's and all the Powr's there - in

the Heavn's and all the Powr's there - in

[Jubilate Deo in E-flat]

[Alice Mary Smith
trans. & ed. Leonard Sanderman]

O be joy - ful in the Lord all ye lands: serve the Lord with glad - ness and come be -

O be joy - ful in the Lord all ye lands: serve the Lord with glad - ness and come be -

O be joy - ful in the Lord all ye lands: serve the Lord with glad - ness and come be -

O be joy - ful in the Lord all ye lands: serve the Lord with glad - ness and come be -

9 [Cantoris]

fore his pre - sence with a song. Be ye sure that the Lord he is God: it is

fore his pre - sence with a song. Be ye sure that the Lord he is God: it is

fore his pre - sence with a song. Be ye sure that the Lord he is God: it is

fore his pre - sence with a song. Be ye sure that the Lord he is God: it is

17

he that hath made us and not we ourselves we are his peo - ple and the sheep of his pas -

he that hath made us and not we ourselves we are his peo - ple and the sheep of his pas -

he that hath made us and not we ourselves we are his peo - ple and the sheep of his pas -

he that hath made us and not we ourselves we are his peo - ple and the sheep of his pas -

25

[Decani]

ture. O go your way in - to his gates with thanks - gi - ving,

ture. O go your way in - to his gates with thanks - gi - ving,

ture. O go your way in - to his gates with thanks - gi - ving,

ture. O go your way in - to his gates with thanks - gi - ving,

32

[Cantoris]

and in - to his courts his courts with praise his courts with praise. Be thank -

and in - to his courts his courts with praise his courts with praise. Be thank -

and in - to his courts his courts with praise his courts with praise. Be thank -

and in - to his courts his courts with praise his courts with praise. Be thank -

39

- ful un - to him and speak good of his Name be thank-ful un-to

- ful un - to him and speak good of his Name be thank-ful un-to

- ful un - to him and speak good of his Name be thank-ful un-to

- ful un - to him and speak good of his Name be thank-ful un-to

[Decani Soli]

him_ and speak good of his Name. For the Lord is gra - cious his mer - cy is ev - er -

him_ and speak good of his Name. For the Lord is gra - cious his mer - cy is ev - er -

him_ and speak good of his Name.

him_ and speak good of his Name. For the Lord is gra - cious his mer - cy is ev - er -

las - ting and his truth en - dur - eth from gen - e - ra - tion to gen - e - ra - tion

las - ting and his truth en - dur - eth from gen - e - ra - tion to gen - e - ra - tion

and his truth en - dur - eth from gen - e - ra - tion to gen - e - ra - tion

las - ting and his truth en - dur - eth from gen - e - ra - tion to gen - e - ra - tion

[Full Decani]

and his truth_ en - dur - eth from gen - e - ra - tion to ge - ne - ra - tion.

and his truth en - dur - eth from gen - e - ra - tion to ge - ne - ra - tion.

and his truth en - dur - eth from gen - e - ra - tion to ge - ne - ra - tion.

and his truth_ en - dur - eth from gen - e - ra - tion to ge - ne - ra - tion.

68 [Full]

Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther and to the Son and to the

Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther and to the Son and to the

Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther and to the Son and to the

Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther and to the Son and to the

76 [Cantoris]

Ho - ly Ho - ly Ghost. As it was in the be -

Ho - ly Ho - ly Ghost. As it was in the be -

Ho - ly Ho - ly Ghost. As it was in the be -

Ho - ly Ho - ly Ghost. As it was in the be -

gin - ning is now and e - ver shall be is now is now and

gin - ning is now and e - ver shall be is now is now and

gin - ning is now and e - ver shall be is now is now and

gin - ning is now and e - ver shall be is now is now and

[Full]

ever shall be. World with out end world world with - out
 World with - out end A - - men With - out

ever shall be. World with - out end A - - men With - out

ever shall be. World with - out end A - - men With - out

ever shall be. World with - out end A - - men With - out

ff
 end world with - out end. A - men.
 end A - - - - men. A - men.

end A - - men. World with - out end. A - men.

end A - - men. World with - out end. A - men.

[Nunc Dimittis in E-flat]

[Alice Mary Smith
trans. & ed. Leonard Sanderman]

Lord now let-test thou thy Ser-vant de-part in peace ac - cor - ding to ac - cor-ding to thy

Lord now let-test thou thy Ser-vant de-part in peace ac - cor - ding to ac - cor-ding to thy

Lord now let-test thou thy Ser-vant de-part in peace ac - cor - ding to ac - cor-ding to thy

Lord now let-test thou thy Ser-vant de-part in peace ac - cor - ding to ac - cor-ding to thy

9 [Decani]

Word. For mine eyes for mine eyes have seen have seen
have seen thy sal -

Word. For mine eyes for mine eyes have seen thy sal -

Word. For mine eyes for mine eyes have seen thy sal -

Word. For mine eyes for mine eyes have seen thy sal -

16 [Cantoris]

thy sal - va - tion. Which thou hast hast pre - pa - red be - fore the face be - fore the
va - tion. Which thou hast hast pre - pa red be - fore the face be - fore the

va - tion. Which thou hast hast pre - pa red be - fore the face be - fore the

va - tion. Which thou hast hast pre - pa red be - fore the face be - fore the

[Decani]

face of all peo - ple. To be a light to be a light to light -

face of all peo - ple. To be a light to be a light to light -

face of all peo - ple. To be a light to be a light to light -

face of all peo - ple. To be a light to be a light to light -

[Cantoris]

-en the Gen - tiles to light - en the Gen - tiles and to be the glo - ry the

-en the Gen - tiles light - en the Gen - tiles and to be the glo - ry the

-en the Gen - tiles light - en the Gen - tiles and to be the glo - ry the

-en the Gen - tiles to light - en the Gen - tiles and to be the glo - ry the

[Full]

glo - ry of thy peo - ple Is - ra - el. Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther

glo - ry of thy peo - ple Is - ra - el. Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther

glo - ry of thy peo - ple Is - ra - el. Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther

glo - ry of thy peo - ple Is - ra - el. Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther

49

and_ to the Son and to the Ho - ly Ho - ly Ghost. As_ it_ was_ in_

and to the Son and to the Ho - ly Ho - ly Ghost. As it was in

and to the Son and to the Ho - ly Ho - ly Ghost. As it was in

and to the Son and to the Ho - ly Ho - ly Ghost. As it was in

57

the_ be - gin-ning is now is now and ev - er shall be world_____ with-out

the be - gin-ning is now is now and e - ver shall be world_____ with - out

the be - gin-ning is now and e - ver shall be world_____ with - out

the be - gin-ning is now and e - ver shall be world_____ with - out

65

end_____ World_____ with - out_____ end._____ A - men.

end_____ World with - out_____ end._____ A - men.

end_____ World with - out_____ end._____ A - men.

end_____ World with - out_____ end._____ A - men.

[Exile: a Sacred Cantata]

No 1 Soprano Solo & Chorus

[Unhappy Sion]

[Alice Mary Smith
trans. & ed. Leonard Sanderman]

The first system consists of a vocal line (Soprano) and piano accompaniment. The key signature is G major (one sharp) and the time signature is common time (C). The vocal line is mostly rests, while the piano accompaniment features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and quarter notes in the bass clef and chords in the treble clef.

6 Sop: Recit.
Un-hap-py Si - on now no more For pomp and splen-dour known

The second system begins at measure 6. The vocal line is marked 'Sop: Recit.' and contains the lyrics 'Un-hap-py Si - on now no more For pomp and splen-dour known'. The piano accompaniment continues with chords and a bass line.

10
Where is that sway Thy prin-ces bore whose tri-umphs

The third system begins at measure 10. The vocal line contains the lyrics 'Where is that sway Thy prin-ces bore whose tri-umphs'. The piano accompaniment features a steady bass line and chords.

14
now are kept in store By me - mo - ry a - lone.

The fourth system begins at measure 14. The vocal line contains the lyrics 'now are kept in store By me - mo - ry a - lone.'. The piano accompaniment concludes the piece with a final chord and a bass line.

Allegretto
Chorus

18

Banks of Jor - dan dear to God ye hills_ ye val - lies of peace.

Banks of Jor - dan dear to God ye hills_ ye val - lies of peace.

Banks of Jor - dan dear to God ye hills ye val - lies of peace.

Banks of Jor - dan dear to God ye hills_ ye val - lies of peace.



22

Hills where mi - ra - cles were wrought Val - lies where our par - ents trod___

Hills where mi - ra - cles were wrought Val - lies where our par - ents trod

Hills where mi - ra - cles were wrought Val - lies where our par - ents trod

Hills where mi - ra - cles were wrought Val - lies where our par - ents trod

When shall our e - xile end. When shall our e - xile end.
When shall our e - xile end. When shall our e - xile end.
When shall our e - xile end. When shall our e - xile end.
When shall our e - xile end. When shall our e - xile end.

30

Smoothly
[Soprano] Solo

33

Si - on once to Heav'n up - rais - ed

37

Now in - to Jo - - phet cast

41

Still shalt thou in song be prais - ed And



45

ne - ver ne - ver from my mouth e - rased While



49

speech or mo - tion last While speech or



54

mo - tion last

Still O Si - on shall thy Tem - ple lie All

The musical score for measures 59-62 features a vocal line in G major with a key signature of one flat. The melody is: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), B4-A4 (beamed eighth notes), G4 (quarter), F#4 (quarter), E4 (quarter), D4 (quarter), C4 (half). The piano accompaniment consists of chords in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand.



de - so - late and waste No more in - flamed with

The musical score for measures 63-67 continues the vocal line: D4 (quarter), C4 (quarter), B3 (quarter), A3 (quarter), G3 (quarter), F#3 (quarter), E3 (quarter), D3 (quarter), C3 (half). The piano accompaniment continues with chords and a bass line.



ho - ly Joy Thy chan - ting Tribes re - stor'd draw

The musical score for measures 68-72 continues the vocal line: D3 (quarter), C3 (quarter), B2 (quarter), A2 (quarter), G2 (quarter), F#2 (quarter), E2 (quarter), D2 (quarter), C2 (half). The piano accompaniment continues with chords and a bass line.



nigh Thy chan - ting Tribes re - stored

The musical score for measures 73-76 continues the vocal line: D2 (quarter), C2 (quarter), B1 (quarter), A1 (quarter), G1 (quarter), F#1 (quarter), E1 (quarter), D1 (quarter), C1 (half). The piano accompaniment continues with chords and a bass line.

78

Draw nigh to ce - le - brate thy feast No more

84

No more to ce - le - brate thy feast.

MS

90 **Chorus Come 1mo**

Banks of Jor - dan dear to God ye hills_ ye val-lies of peace. Hills where mi - ra -

Banks of Jor - dan dear to God ye hills_ ye val-lies of peace. Hills where mi - ra -

Banks of Jor - dan dear to God ye hills ye val-lies of peace. Hills where mi - ra -

Banks of Jor - dan dear to God ye hills_ ye val-lies of peace. Hills where mi - ra -

Sop: Solo

cles were wrought Val-lies where our par-ents trod When shall our e-xile end.

cles were wrought Val-lies where our par-ents trod When shall our e-xile end.

cles were wrought Val-lies where our par-ents trod When shall our e-xile end.

cles were wrought Val-lies where our par-ents trod When shall our e-xile end.



once to Heav'n up-raised Now in-to Jo-phet

106

cast Still shalt thou in song be prais - ed

When shall our e - xile end.



111

ne - ver from my thought_ mythought e - rased

When shall our e - xile end.

[Soprano] Solo

Still shalt thou in
 Si - on once to Heav'n up - rai - sed Now in - to
 Si - on once to Heav'n up - rai - sed Now in - to
 Si - on once to Heav'n up - rai - sed Now in - to
 Si - on once to Heav'n up - rai - sed Now in - to



song be prais - ed
 Jop - het cast. Still shalt thou in my songs be prais - ed
 Jop - het cast. Still shalt thou in my songs be prais - ed
 Jop - het cast. Still shalt thou in my songs be prais - ed
 Jop - het cast. Still shalt thou in my songs be prais - ed

128

Still shalt thou shalt thou be
 Ne - ver from thought from thought e - rased
 Ne - ver from thought from thought e - rased
 Ne - ver from thought from thought e - rased
 Ne - ver from thought from thought e - rased

132

praised.
 When shall our ex - ile end end end
 When shall our ex - ile end
 When shall our ex - ile end
 When shall our ex - ile end

No. 2. Sop: & Contralto Solos & Chorus [Weep, sisters, let your sorrows flow]

[Alice Mary Smith
trans. & ed. Leonard Sanderman]

Contralto

Weep sis - ters let your sor - rows flow Nor check the

tu - mult of your woe Lift up Lift

up Lift up your eyes to Heav'n a -

lone. Finds in - no-cence a

24

friend its own Is-raels last

Chorus How great cause for fear

How great cause for fear

30

day draws near ne'er did such sor-rows start th un-a-vai-ling tear.

How great

How great

35

suf-ficed it not for hos-tile arms to ra-vish

cause for fear

cause for fear

Si - on's ho - ly charms and lead her cap-tive sons a - way

How great

How great

This musical system contains five staves. The top staff is the vocal line with lyrics. The second and third staves are empty vocal staves. The bottom two staves are the piano accompaniment. The key signature has three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat) and the time signature is common time. The music features a mix of quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, with some rests.



44

De-fence-less lands to sa-vage wolves a prey Ah can our sighs a-lone a -

cause for fear

cause for fear

This musical system contains five staves. The top staff is the vocal line with lyrics. The second and third staves are empty vocal staves. The bottom two staves are the piano accompaniment. The key signature has three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat) and the time signature is common time. The music continues with similar rhythmic patterns and includes a fermata over the word 'fear'.

49

vert that fate-ful day

[Tenor]
How great

[Bass]
How great cause for fear great

[Gt.]



55

[Alto]
How great cause

cause for fear great cause

cause for fear How

[Soprano]

How great cause of
for fear great cause of
for fear great cause of
great cause for fear great

The musical score for measures 60-64 features a soprano line and a piano accompaniment. The soprano line consists of five measures of music, each with a single note: G4, A4, Bb4, C5, and Bb4. The piano accompaniment consists of five measures of music, each with a single note: G3, A3, Bb3, C4, and Bb3. The lyrics are: "How great cause of" (Soprano), "for fear great cause of" (Soprano), "for fear great cause of" (Soprano), "great cause for fear great" (Soprano), and "for fear great cause of" (Piano).



fear great cause of fear!
fear great cause of fear!
fear great cause of fear!
cause great cause of fear!

The musical score for measures 65-69 features a soprano line and a piano accompaniment. The soprano line consists of five measures of music, each with a single note: G4, A4, Bb4, C5, and Bb4. The piano accompaniment consists of five measures of music, each with a single note: G3, A3, Bb3, C4, and Bb3. The lyrics are: "fear great cause of fear!" (Soprano), "fear great cause of fear!" (Soprano), "fear great cause of fear!" (Soprano), "cause great cause of fear!" (Soprano), and "fear great cause of fear!" (Piano).

71

How great cause for

Ah can our sighs a - lone a - vert that fate - ful

Ah can our sighs a - lone a - vert that fate - ful day



75

fear

day av - ert that day av - ert that fate - ful day

Ah can our sighs a - lone av - ert that fate-ful a - vert that fate - ful

How great cause of

How great cause of
day Ah can our sighs a - lone a - vert that fate - ful fate - ful
fear cause of

This musical score block contains measures 79 through 82. It features a vocal line with lyrics, a bass line, and a piano accompaniment. The key signature is three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat) and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are: "How great cause of day Ah can our sighs a - lone a - vert that fate - ful fate - ful fear cause of".



83 [Soprano Solo]

Ah can our sighs a - lone a - vert the fa - tal day
fear
day
fear

This musical score block contains measures 83 through 86, marked as a [Soprano Solo]. It features a vocal line with lyrics, a bass line, and a piano accompaniment. The key signature is three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat) and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are: "Ah can our sighs a - lone a - vert the fa - tal day".

88

A-way a - way with all this pa-geant show a-way a -



91

way a-way with all this show Lets choose _____ lets choose a fit - ter garb of



94

woe lets choose lets choose a fit - ter garb of woe A-way A-



97

way a-way with all thisshow A-way A - way a-way with all this

show — Yes a - way a-way with all this show Let's choose lets

[Contralto Solo]

Yes a - way a-way with all this show Let's choose lets



choose a fit - ter garb of woe Lets choose lets choose a fit - ter garb of

choose a fit - ter garb of woe Lets choose lets choose a fit - ter garb of



woe A-way A - way a - way with all this pa-geant show A-way lets

woe A-way A - way a - way with all this pa-geant show A-way lets

109

choose a fit - ter fit - ter garb of woe

choose a fit - ter fit - ter garb of woe

[Soprano] Yes a - way a-way with all this

[Alto] Yes a - way a-way with all this

[Tenor] Yes a - way a-way with all this

[Bass] Yes a - way a-way with all this

ff

112

show Lets choose a fit - ter garb of woe

show Lets choose a fit - ter garb of woe To suit the

show Lets choose a fit - ter garb of woe To suit the

show Lets choose a fit - ter garb of woe A-way A-

A-way with all this show A-way with all this
 san - guin - a - ry feats Where soon we shall be Ha - man's
 san - guin - a - ry feats Where soon we shall be Ha - man's
 way a - way with all this show A - way A - way a way with all this



show! A-way with all this show A-way A-
 guests A-way A - way A - way with all this show A-way A-
 guests A-way A - way A - way with all this show A-way A-
 show A-way A - way A - way with all this show A-way A-

121

way A-way with all this show Yes A-way a-way with all this

way A-way with all this show Yes A-way a-way with all this

way A-way with all this show Yes A-way a-way with all this

way A-way with all this show Yes A-way a-way with all this

[ff]



124

show A-way A-way A-way with all this show A-way A-

show A-way A-way A-way with all this show A-way A-

show A-way A-way A-way with all this show A-way A-

show A-way A-way A-way with all this show

way with all this pa-geant show Yes a - way A - way A - way
way with all this pa-geant show A - way A - way A - way
way with all this pa-geant show A - way A - way A - way A - way
A - way A - way A - way A - way



[Soprano Solo]

[p]

Weep sis - ters let your sor - rows flow
A-way a - way A -
A-way a -
A-way a -
How great

136

Nor check your tear - ful woe

way with all this show A-way a -

way A-way a - way A-way a -

way A-way a - way How

cause of woe! A-way a -

Solo

141

Lift

way A-way a - way with all this show

way with all this show A-way a - way with all this show A-way a - way with all this

great cause of woe!

way with all this show A-way a - way with all this show A-way a - way with all this

up! Lift up Lift up your eyes to Heav'n to
 A-way a - way A-way a - way A-way a - way
 show How great cause
 A-way a - way A-way a - way with all this show A-way a - way with all this
 A-way a - way A-way a - way with all this

MS

Heav'n a - bove
 How great cause great cause of woe
 of woe cause great cause of woe
 How great cause great cause of woe
 How great cause great cause of woe

[No. 3 What horrid carnage stains the soil]

159

What hor-rid car-nage stains the soil How reeks the steel

163

with murd'ous toil Its bright-ness with the

167

blood de-fil'd of sis-ter bro-ther pa-rent child nor

171

in-fan-cy nor hoa-ry age es-cape the murd'-ers im-pious rage

140
175

What heaps of corpses strew the way

This block contains the musical notation for measures 140 to 175. It features a vocal line in a treble clef and a piano accompaniment in a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The key signature has four flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor). The vocal line begins with a rest, followed by a melodic phrase. The piano accompaniment provides harmonic support with chords and moving lines in both hands.



178

What mangled limbs of lifeless clay The foe a grave denying

This block contains the musical notation for measures 178 to 181. The vocal line continues with two phrases. The piano accompaniment features a more active texture with chords and moving lines in both hands.



182

Great God thy saints ex - posed are ly - ing To rav' nous beasts and birds a

This block contains the musical notation for measures 182 to 185. The vocal line continues with a phrase. The piano accompaniment features a more active texture with chords and moving lines in both hands.



186

prey

This block contains the musical notation for measures 186 to 189. The vocal line continues with a phrase. The piano accompaniment features a more active texture with chords and moving lines in both hands.

190

[mp]

What crime can on my in-fant head

194

Draw such a weight of woes Ev'n so be-fore her sweets are

197

spread Is nipt is nipt the bud-ding rose Long ere my

200

life shall have be - gun to bloom My harm - less

soul will meet an ear - ly doom What crime What

This system contains measures 202, 203, and 204. It features a vocal line in treble clef and a piano accompaniment in grand staff. The key signature has four flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor). The lyrics are: "soul will meet an ear - ly doom What crime What".

crime can on my in-fant head What crime What crime can draw such weight of
Faint pencil in MS

This system contains measures 205, 206, and 207. It features a vocal line in treble clef and a piano accompaniment in grand staff. The key signature has four flats. The lyrics are: "crime can on my in-fant head What crime What crime can draw such weight of Faint pencil in MS".

woes Draw can draw such a weight of woes

Flute

This system contains measures 208, 209, 210, and 211. It features a vocal line in treble clef and a piano accompaniment in grand staff. The key signature changes to three sharps (F# major or C# minor) starting in measure 211. The lyrics are: "woes Draw can draw such a weight of woes". A "Flute" part is indicated in the piano accompaniment.

Vic - tims of our fath - ers' crimes

This system contains measures 212, 213, and 214. It features a vocal line in treble clef and a piano accompaniment in grand staff. The key signature has three sharps. The lyrics are: "Vic - tims of our fath - ers' crimes".

214

Vain - ly these tears we shed Our fath - ers

216

sinn'd in o - ther times Our fath - ers now are_

219

dead Their crimes have fall'n their crimes have fall'n their crimes have fall'n_____ have

223

fall'n_____ have fall'n on our guilt-less head

[Semichorus]

pp 7

Ah no our God is our de-fence Tis he shall suc-cour

Ah no our God is our de-fence Tis he shall suc-cour

Ah no our God is our de-fence Tis he shall suc-cour

Ah no our God is our de-fence Tis he shall suc-cour

[pp]



in - no-cence It is he It is He The migh - ty God of

in - no-cence It is he It is He The migh - ty God of

in - no-cence It is he It is He The migh - ty God of

in - no-cence It is he It is He The migh - ty God of

237

Hosts It is He It is He The migh - ty God of

Hosts It is He It is He The migh - ty God of

Hosts It is He It is He The migh - ty God of

Hosts It is He It is He The migh - ty God of



241

[Soprano solo][f]

Me thinks I hear the Heath - en cry Where is this God so

Hosts

Hosts

Hosts

Hosts

[f]

great so high whom Is-rael, van-quist'd Is rael boasts This

[mp]

God so high this jea - lous God Ye na-tions tre-mble at his

Name Is he a - lone whose aw - ful nod Com -

mands the un - i - ver - sal frame Com-mands the un - i - ver - sal frame

[Soprano][f]
A God of war is our de - fence Tis He shall suc - cour

[Alto]
A God of war is our de - fence Tis He shall suc - cour

[Tenor]
A God of war is our de - fence Tis He shall suc - cour

[Bass]
A God of war is our de - fence Tis He shall suc - cour



260
In - no-cence It is He It is He The migh - ty God of

In - no-cence It is He It is He The migh - ty God of

In - no-cence It is He It is He The migh - ty God of

In - no-cence It is He It is He The migh - ty God of

His dread arm the proud o'er-throws His dread arm the
Hosts He the mighty God of Hosts
Hosts He the mighty God of Hosts
Hosts He the mighty God of Hosts
Hosts He the mighty God of Hosts

proud o'er-throws [p]
He the mighty God of Hosts With
He the mighty God of Hosts With
He the mighty God of Hosts With
He the mighty God of Hosts With

272

him the hum - ble find re - pose

him the hum - ble find re - pose

him the hum - ble find re - pose

him the hum - ble find re - pose

[p e cresc.]

Detailed description: This block contains the vocal and piano accompaniment for measures 272 through 275. It features four vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are "him the hum - ble find re - pose". The piano part begins with a dynamic marking of [p e cresc.] and includes some grace notes in the right hand.



276

[Ped.]

Detailed description: This block shows the piano accompaniment for measures 276 through 279. The right hand features a melodic line with grace notes, while the left hand provides harmonic support with chords and moving lines. A pedal point is indicated at the end of the section.



280

Detailed description: This block shows the piano accompaniment for measures 280 through 283. The right hand has a melodic line with grace notes, and the left hand features a bass line with a long note held across measures 281 and 282.

[No. 4 God of Gods, with glory crowned]

284 *[mf]*

God of Gods with glo - ry crowned_ God whom

God of Gods with glo - ry crowned_ God whom

God of Gods with glo - ry crowned God whom

God of Gods with glo - ry crowned God whom

287

light does still sur - round Who on wings of wind dost ride An - gels

light does still sur - round Who on wings of wind dost ride An - gels

light does still sur - round Who on wings of wind dost ride An - gels

light does still sur - round Who on wings of wind dost ride An - gels

291

[Soprano Solo][p]

chan - ting at thy side God who wouldst that in thy praise Ve - ry

chan - ting at thy side

chan - ting at thy side

chan - ting at thy side



295

Chorus[mf]

Babes their voic - es raise Since thou dost our dan - ger view give thy

Since thou dost our dan - ger view give thy

Since thou dost our dan - ger view give thy

Since thou dost our dan - ger view give thy

name the hon - our due Nor O per - mit that Gods un -

name the hon - our due Nor O per - mit that Gods un -

name the hon - our due Nor O per - mit that Gods un -

name the hon - our due Nor O per - mit that Gods un -

name the hon - our due Nor O per - mit that Gods un -



[Soprano Solo][f]

Arm thee then! Arm thee then!

known With-out the right u - surp the throne

known With-out the right u - surp the throne

known With-out the right u - surp the throne

known With-out the right u - surp the throne

known With-out the right u - surp the throne

[mf]

306

Sop

And us de - fen - ding Come come be -

[Alto Solo]

Alto

Arm thee then! Arm thee then And us de - fen - ding Come come be -

Detailed description: This block contains the first system of music, measures 306-309. It features a Soprano part, an Alto part with a [Alto Solo] marking, and a piano accompaniment. The Soprano part begins with a whole rest in measure 306, followed by a half note G4 in 307, and then a quarter note G4 in 308. The Alto part starts with a quarter note G4 in 306, followed by a quarter note F4 in 307, and then a quarter note G4 in 308. The piano accompaniment consists of chords in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand.

310

low As o - cean saw thee once de - scend ing Oc - ean saw thee once de -

low Oc - ean saw thee once de -

Detailed description: This block contains the second system of music, measures 310-313. It features a Soprano part, an Alto part, and a piano accompaniment. The Soprano part starts with a quarter note G4 in 310, followed by a quarter note F4 in 311, and then a quarter note G4 in 312. The Alto part has a whole rest in 310, followed by a quarter note G4 in 311, and then a quarter note F4 in 312. The piano accompaniment continues with chords and a bass line.

314

scend - ing Arm thee Lord Arm thee Lord and us de - fend - ing come be -

scend - ing Arm thee Lord Arm thee Lord and us de - fend - ing come be -

[f]

Detailed description: This block contains the third system of music, measures 314-317. It features a Soprano part, an Alto part, and a piano accompaniment. The Soprano part starts with a quarter note G4 in 314, followed by a quarter note F4 in 315, and then a quarter note G4 in 316. The Alto part starts with a quarter note G4 in 314, followed by a quarter note F4 in 315, and then a quarter note G4 in 316. The piano accompaniment includes a dynamic marking [f] in measure 315. The system ends with a double bar line in measure 317.

low Now let th'un-right - eous na - tions know At

low Now let th'un-right - eous na - tions know At

The piano accompaniment features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes in both hands, with a key signature of one flat (B-flat).



321

thy dread wrath to trem - ble May they con-found - ed con

thy dread wrath to trem - ble May they con-found - ed con

[Soprano] Arm thee Lord

[Alto] Arm thee Lord

[Tenor] Arm thee Lord

[Bass] Arm thee Lord

The piano accompaniment continues with the same rhythmic pattern as the previous section.

324

found - ed grow And dust and chaff re - sem - ble

found - ed grow And dust and chaff re - sem - ble

Arm thee Lord and

327

us de - fend - ing Come be - low _____ As

As

As

As

337

sem - ble And dust and chaff re - sem - ble Which light - est winds be -
 sem - ble And dust and chaff re - sem - ble Which



341

fore them blow Which light - est winds do blow Which
 light - est winds light - est winds do blow Which light - est winds be



345

light - est winds be - fore them blow Which light - est winds do blow
 fore them blow light - est winds do blow do blow do blow

light est winds do blow

light est winds do blow



Cont[ralto Solo]

Arm thee then Arm thee then And us de-fend-ing



Come be-low As o-cean saw thee once des-cend-ing Now, let th'un-right-eous

362

na - tions know At thy dread name to trem - ble At thy dread n

[Soprano] *[f]*
Arm thee then

[Alto]
Arm thee then

[Tenor]
Arm thee then

[Bass]
Arm thee then



366

Silence

trem - ble

[ff]
Arm thee then Arm thee then

[f]

God of Gods with glo - ry crown'd God whom light does still sur -

God of Gods with glo - ry crown'd God whom light does still sur -

God of Gods with glo - ry crown'd God whom light does still sur -

God of Gods with glo - ry crown'd God whom light does still sur -



round Who on wings of wind dost ride An - gels chan - ting at thy

round Who on wings of wind dost ride An - gels chan - ting at thy

round Who on wings of wind dost ride An - gels chan - ting at thy

round Who on wings of wind dost ride An - gels chan - ting at thy

378

side God who wouldst that in thy praise Ve - ry Babes their voic - es

side God who wouldst that in thy praise Ve - ry Babes their voic - es

side God who wouldst that in thy praise Ve - ry Babes their voic - es

side God who wouldst that in thy praise Ve - ry Babes their voic - es



382

[Solo]

raise Arm thee Lord Arm thee Lord and us de - fend - ing

raise

raise

raise

Come be-low As O - cean_ saw thee once des - cend - ing Now let th'un-right - eous

This block contains the musical notation for measures 162 to 165. It features a vocal line in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower staff. The vocal line begins with a dotted quarter note on 'Come', followed by eighth notes for 'be-low', and a quarter note on 'As'. The piano accompaniment consists of chords in the right hand and a simple bass line in the left hand.



na - tions know

[Soprano] [f] [mf e cresc.]
Arm thee then! Arm thee then! God of Gods with

[Alto]
Arm thee then! Arm thee then! God of Gods with

[Tenor]
Arm thee then! Arm thee then! God of Gods with

[Bass]
Arm thee then! Arm thee then! God of Gods with

This block contains the musical notation for measures 390 to 393. It features a vocal line in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower staff. The vocal line is divided into four parts: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The Soprano part begins with a rest, followed by a quarter note on 'Arm' with a forte dynamic marking. The piano accompaniment consists of chords in the right hand and a simple bass line in the left hand.

394

glo - ry crown'd God whom light does still sur-round Who on wings of

glo - ry crown'd God whom light does still sur-round Who on wings of

glo - ry crown'd God whom light does still sur-round Who on wings of

glo - ry crown'd God whom light does still sur-round Who on wings of



398

wind dost ride Come Come be - low Since thou dost the

wind dost ride Come Come be - low Since thou dost the

wind dost ride Come Come be - low Since thou dost the

wind dost ride Come Come be - low Since thou dost the

dan - ger view Give thy name the hon - our due Nor O per - mit that

dan - ger view Give thy name the hon - our due Nor O per - mit that

dan - ger view Give thy name the hon - our due Nor O per - mit that

dan - ger view Give thy name the hon - our due Nor O per - mit that

The musical score for measures 164-167 consists of four vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "dan - ger view Give thy name the hon - our due Nor O per - mit that". The piano accompaniment features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes in the right hand and a steady bass line in the left hand.



Gods un-known with - out a right u - surp thy throne

Gods un-known with - out a right u - surp thy throne

Gods un-known with - out a right u - surp thy throne

Gods un-known with - out a right u - surp thy throne

The musical score for measures 406-409 consists of four vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "Gods un-known with - out a right u - surp thy throne". The piano accompaniment features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes in the right hand and a steady bass line in the left hand.

410

[p]

God of Gods with glo - ry crown'd God whom light does still sur -

God of Gods with glo - ry crown'd. God whom light does still sur -

God of Gods with glo - ry crown'd. God whom light does still sur -

God of Gods with glo - ry crown'd. God whom light does still sur -



414

[Soprano Solo]

Arm thee then Arm thee then

round & Come be - low.

round & Come be - low.

round & Come be - low.

round & Come be - low.