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Nicholas Temperley
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The Music of the English Parish Church

NICHOLAS TEMPERLEY
PROFESSOR OF MUSIC, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Volume 1

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- 1 **Fifteenth-century rood-loft at South Warnborough (Hants)**
 The loft, surmounting the screen dividing the nave from the chancel, would have supported an organ and housed the lay singers. The rood-screen with its painting of the crucifixion was removed at the Reformation.
 Photo: Ray and Gillian Harris, 1977.
- 2 **Fifteenth-century chancel stalls at Fressingfield (Suffolk)**
 Minor orders of clergy, including chantry priests and parish clerks, occupied these stalls, possibly with boy choristers in the front rows. On the patronal festival and other great occasions, polyphony was sung with the help of a portative organ.
 Photo: Ray and Gillian Harris, 1977.
- 3 **Carmelite friars at mass in about 1395**
 A choir of four monks is shown singing as the priest begins to celebrate Holy Saturday Mass. (This is not a parochial service; no representation of parish church worship in England before the Reformation has been identified.)
 For discussion see Mc Kinnon: 30–1.
 Source: A missal from Whitefriars, London (British Library Add. 29704): fol. 6v. Original size.
- 4 **The Puritan concept of baptism and communion, 1578**
 In baptism the minister wears a Geneva gown and reads from a book. At communion the people gather round a plain table rather than an altar, and the minister distributes bread to them standing.
 Source: [Richard Day], *A booke of Christian prayers*, [2nd edn], London, 1578 (STC 6429): fol. R1v(61v), R2r(62r). Original size.
- 5 **A high-church ideal of communion in Queen Anne's time**
 The congregation once more kneels in front of an altar, enclosed by communion rails in a sanctuary, where the surpliced priest is blessing the elements. The apparition of Christ above, and the biblical texts cited, tend to support the doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the communion elements. But the tablet containing the ten commandments on the east wall serves as a reminder that this is a reformed protestant church.
 Source: Wheatly: frontispiece. Original size.
- 6 **Communion at an Oxford church in late Georgian times**
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Plates

- responses and amens, with little support from the people. A communion hymn may have been sung during the ceremony.
 Source: John P. Neale & John Le Keux, *Views of the most interesting . . . churches in Great Britain*, II, London, 1825: St Peter-in-the-East, Oxford, plate 2. (Original: 121 × 93 mm.)
- 7 John Day (1522–84), aged 39–40
 Source: *The worckes of Thomas Becon*, III, London, 1563 (STC 1710): colophon. (Original: 180 × 131 mm.)
- 8 John Playford (1623–86/7), aged 40
 Source: PC 23/4: frontispiece. (Original: 110 × 78 mm.)
- 9 William Tans'ur (c. 1700–83), aged 72
 Source: PC 210: frontispiece. (Original: 75 × 90 mm.)
- 10 Dr Edward Miller (1735–1807), aged about 59
 Source: Portrait painted and engraved by Thomas Hardy, from a copy at Doncaster parish church, undated, reproduced by kind permission of the vicar and churchwardens. The painting, which has not been heard of since 1855, may have been exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1794 as 'Portrait of a gentleman'. (Original: 168 × 138 mm.)
- 11 St James's square and church, Westminster, about 1720
 Built in the 1680s to provide suburban dwellings for the nobility and wealthy gentry, the square was a planned community with the church as its centrepiece. The double row of houses behind the church is Piccadilly.
 Source: Engraving by Sutton Nicholls, London, [c. 1720]. Original 178 × 128 mm.
- 12 St James's church, Westminster, looking west
 The church, built in 1684, is shown before its partial destruction by bombing in 1940. It appears much as it was after erection of the organ presented by Queen Mary II in 1691, though the sides of the pews in the galleries were originally higher. The charity children sat on either side of the organ in the upper level of the west gallery.
 Source: Print from a drawing by Leslie Wilkinson, 1904, reproduced in *The Builder*, 24 December 1904 (Greater London Council Print Collection: Westminster DD25488, here reduced to about half size).
- 13 The charity school of St John, Wapping
 The school was founded in 1695 for 60 boys and 60 girls. This building, which is still standing, was erected in 1760 with separate entrances for girls and boys, each surmounted by a statue of a child in charity uniform.
 Source: J. Burford & J. D. M. Harvey, *Some lesser known architecture of London*, New York, 1926: plate 20.
- 14 A service at St Martin-in-the-Fields in 1747
 The church was rebuilt in 1724. Hogarth's print shows it in reverse, with the three-decker pulpit on the south side of the nave instead of the north, as it really was. A metrical psalm before or after sermon is in progress, with the

Plates

preacher in the pulpit, the rector or curate in the middle-level reading desk, and the parish clerk at least nominally leading the psalm singing from the lower level. The figures in the west gallery are probably charity children.

Source: Engraving by William Hogarth, *The Industrious 'Prentice performing the duty of a Christian*, [London], 30 September 1747. (Original: 113 × 155 mm.)

15 A northern parish choir in 1700

A choir of about ten singers, including two women, sing a metrical psalm under the direction of the parish clerk, while the sexually segregated congregation sits on facing benches. The parson is not to be seen, probably because he is changing vestments. (For further discussion see p. 154.)

Source: Engraving by F. H. van Hove, PC 47: frontispiece. Original size.

16 A village choir in about 1770

In this satirical picture, eight men and youths sing from a single book in a singers' pew or gallery, the leader holding a pitchpipe. The man with a white wig is possibly the parish clerk or singing teacher. The mouths are distorted to suggest uncouth singing.

Source: Print by Samuel H. Grimm; London, [c. 1770]. (Original: 178 × d136 mm.)

17 Sunday matins in a village church in 1790

The chaotic scene, including the cleaner's ladder and mop, may be a product of satirical exaggeration. It shows the parson standing inert in his reading desk while the clerk just below him leads a metrical psalm. A few members of the congregation are singing, but the music is evidently dominated by the singers in the gallery to the accompaniment of a flute, violin and bassoon.

Source: Print by J. Wright, 1790. (Original: 101 × 161 mm.)

18 A country choir in 1823

The choir, made up of young men and girls and a row of Sunday school children, is under observation by Mrs Read (at left), who notes some flirtation and a tendency for the choir director to use his baton to discipline the children.

Source: Cameron: frontispiece. (Original: 49 × 73 mm.)

19 The church at Puddletown (Dorset), looking down from the west gallery

The combined pulpit and reading desk, pews, and west gallery were built in 1635, probably under pressure from Archbishop Laud. Later the gallery was used by the choir and band, including Thomas Hardy's grandfather who played the cello (Puddletown is the 'Weatherbury' of Hardy's Wessex novels). The music desks can be seen. In 1845 the band, consisting of piccolo, 2 clarinets, bassoon, and 2 'bass viols' (cellos), was replaced by a barrel organ.

Photo: Ray and Gillian Harris, 1977.

20 Morning service at St John the Evangelist, Westminster, about 1830

The church, now known as St John the Evangelist, Smith Square, was built in 1728 for a new parish carved out of St Margaret's, Westminster. It had no organ until 1750. In this undated engraving it is probable that the sermon is in progress, while a gowned verger shows a latecomer to her seat. Charity

Plates

children fill the organ gallery under the watchful eyes of male and female governors.

Source: Engraving by E. Page, Holborn, [c. 1830] (Westminster City Library, Box 51, no. 41B). (Original width 241 mm.)

21 Charity children going to St Paul's cathedral, about 1840

Escorted by beades the children are walking westward along Cheapside towards the cathedral, where five or six thousand children from the city parishes met on a day in June each year from 1801 to 1877 to sing and chant the music of a special service. The church of St Mary-le-Bow, rebuilt by Wren, is prominent.

Source: Wood engraving, [c. 1840] (Guildhall Library, London: Noble C.49). Original size.

22 The choir at Bow Brickhill (Bucks), about 1840

The parish choirmaster conducts from a large book, while the children sing the metrical psalm or hymn, probably from the backs of their prayer books. Men and women singers are supported by a clarinet, bassoon and 'bass viol'. The painting, 'A village choir' by Thomas Webster, was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1847.

Source: Photographic reproduction in Macdermott (1948): facing p. 7.

23 A village choir rehearsal in 1863

The choir is rehearsing the Christmas anthem in the imaginary village church of 'Layndon'. There are five instruments (flute, clarinet, bassoon, violin and cello), all played by men; the church has no organ or harmonium. The anthem is rehearsed for three weeks by Mr Screebes, the parish clerk. The curate, with top hat in hand, is taking part; the seated figure in the foreground is the local doctor.

Source: Drawing by A. Hunt, *Illustrated London News*, 19 December 1863.

24 Singing galleries and barrel organ at Wissington (Suffolk)

The organ, made by John Gray of London in 1839, was acquired by subscription and placed between two small musicians' galleries. It had 4 stops, 27 notes, and 3 barrels with ten tunes on each, and was hand blown by a separate mechanism.

Source: Boston & Langwill: Plate 4. Reproduced by kind permission of Mr Langwill.

25 Barrel organ at Shelland (Suffolk)

The player is Robert Armstrong, who was parish clerk at Shelland from 1885 to 1935, and was succeeded by his son; the barrel organ is still used for church services, after restoration in 1956 by Noel Mander. It has 6 stops, 31 notes, and 3 barrels with twelve tunes on each.

Source: Boston & Langwill: Plate 11. Reproduced by kind permission of Mr Langwill.

26 Halifax parish church looking west, 1840

The medieval church was provided with galleries early in the seventeenth century to accommodate the growing population. The gallery between the

Plates

nave and the long chancel housed first the singers and then the organ, erected in 1764 by public subscription, at the instigation of Henry and Joah Bates, sons of Henry Bates, parish clerk of Halifax. It is seen here in 1840, with the three-decker pulpit also still in place; the organ was not moved to the chancel until 1878.

Source: Engraving by P. Ganci after William Moore jun. of York, Halifax, 1840. Reproduced by permission of Calderdale Central Library. Original size.

- 27 A choral procession in a London suburban church, 1865
 The church of St Peter, Vauxhall was newly built when this engraving was prepared; this is one of the very few representations of a surpliced choir from the first half of Victoria's reign. A choir of 30 men and boys sang fully choral services with Gregorian chants in 1867 (Mackeson, 1866–95: 1867) but no organ was installed until 1870 (:1873, p. 90). It is probable that a processional hymn was sung as the choir entered the chancel. The church is a typical Victorian modification of the medieval plan, with a chancel wide enough to accommodate choir stalls without lessening the visibility of the altar.
 Source: *The Builder* 23 (1865): 627. Original size.
- 28 Opposition to Tractarian innovations, 1866
 The engraving, 'Parishioners astonished at the appearance of their restored parish church', is from a scarce book of anti-Tractarian propaganda. The design of the altar resembles that of Plate 27. It is difficult to say what liturgical moment is represented: the priest and his assistant have turned eastward, but the choir, apparently of young men in surplices and bands, is singing and facing inwards.
 Source: *St Dorothy's home: A tale for the times*, London: English Protestant Printing & Publishing Society, 1866. Reproduced by kind permission of Dr Bernarr Rainbow, Richmond, Surrey. Original size.
- 29 The Reverend Thomas Helmore (1811–70)
 Source: Oil portrait by an unknown artist, at the College of S. Mark and S. John, Plymouth. Copied here from Rainbow, 1970, by kind permission of Dr Rainbow.
- 30 The Reverend Dr John Bacchus Dykes (1823–76)
 Source: Fowler: frontispiece.
- 31 The Reverend Percy Dearmer (1867–1936)
 The photograph was taken while he was incumbent of St Mary-the-Virgin, Primrose Hill, Hampstead.
 Source: A photograph in the archives of St Mary-the-Virgin, Primrose Hill, reproduced by kind permission of the vicar and churchwardens.
- 32 Sir Sydney H. Nicholson (1875–1947)
 Source: A photograph in the possession of the Royal School of Church Music, reproduced by kind permission.
- 33 The church of St Mary Summerstown, Wandsworth, in about 1910
 The church was built in 1903–4 to an open modern design by Godfrey Pinderton (architect), and is a typical low-church interior of its date. The east

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wall still has boards on which the Lord's prayer and commandments are inscribed, and there is little ornament of any sort. Nevertheless, there are choir stalls in the chancel, communion rails, and an organ in the south chancel which (in this case) is also the base of the church tower.

Source: Sir C. Nicholson & C. Spooner, *Recent ecclesiastical architecture*, London, [1910/11]: 232.

- 34 The church of St Mary-the-Virgin, Primrose Hill, Hampstead, in 1937
 This church has been Anglo-Catholic throughout its history. It was built in 1872 as a chapel of ease in the parish of St Saviour, Eton Road, and consecrated as a parish church in 1885. Percy Dearmer, vicar from 1901 to 1915, made a number of alterations, including the whitening of the interior walls and the erection of the reredos (1914). When this photograph was taken, on Easter Day (March 28) 1937, Dearmer's alterations and ceremonial innovations were intact. It depicts the censuring of oblations while a deacon steadies the stem of the chalice. Easter hymns indicated on the hymn board are from *The English hymnal*, which grew from the practice at this church.
 Photo: J. & A. Ducrow, Hampstead, reproduced by kind permission of the Reverend Francis Stephens.
- 35 Chalfont St Giles and District Choirs Festival meeting at Amersham (Bucks), 1934
 The representatives of thirteen choirs are shown here in front of Amersham parish church on 2 June 1934. About 150 are present, including clergy, men and boys (all surpliced), and women (some surpliced, others in day dress). It was the 4th annual gathering of the association, which was formed under the auspices of the Society for English Church Music. The music sung on this occasion was that of the S.E.C.M. Choirbook no. 2.
 Source: *English Church Music IV* (1934): facing p. 79; reproduced by kind permission of the Royal School of Church Music.
- 36 The choir of Badwell Ash (Suffolk) in 1972
 Photo: West Suffolk Newspapers Ltd., reproduced by permission.
- 37 A service at St Luke, Brighton in 1978
 A group of instruments is regularly used to accompany the hymns at this church: shown here are an electric guitar (with speakers on a shelf above), piano, cornet, trumpet, trombone, two flutes, and electronic organ.
 Photo: Ray and Gillian Harris, 1978.
- 38 The church of Holy Trinity, Twydall (Kent)
 The church was built in 1964 in a suburb of Gillingham. It seats just over 300 including 30 choir members, who sit in the front rows of the four bays of seats. The congregation is brought close to the altar, pulpit, reading desk and organ, which are all in one corner of the square-shaped building. A small 'lady chapel' is behind the altar, and at times when the church is full the congregation completely surrounds the altar.
 Photo: Ray and Gillian Harris, 1978.

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Preface

In 1967 Andrew Porter asked me to review Ralph Daniel's book, *The anthem in New England before 1800*, for *The Musical Times*. I was astonished to learn that the early American music of the Billings school was founded on a flourishing tradition in English parish churches whose very existence I had never suspected, and could never suspect from reading any book on English music then in print. The more I looked, the more surprised and fascinated I became. One thing led to another; I could not resist exploring parish church music further, following the trail back to the middle ages, and forward to the present age.

This book is the outcome. It is offered not as an apologia for neglected gems of English art, still less as a plea for their revival, but simply as a work of musical history. It tells what the music was like in English parish churches of different kinds at each period; traces the many changes in this music; and tries to explain why they occurred. The reader is likely to find that large parts of the book describe music and musical practices that are entirely unfamiliar: they have long ago disappeared, and have not been described in any recent writing. Indeed, by far the greatest part of my research has been concerned with establishing facts. Because these facts may excite surprise and even doubt, I have provided full documentation for them; to support generalisations I have given statistical information in tables and appendices. In addition, the music volume provides complete pieces or movements to illustrate the practice of each period. But I do not pretend to discuss, evaluate, or represent the contributions of the individual composers who, particularly during the last hundred and fifty years, have provided original music for parish church use. Some pieces in the music volume may be found suitable for revival; I hope they will; but this is incidental to their purpose. Others are already well known.

Perhaps it is surprising that the music of the English parish church has never been fully chronicled, when we recall that until recently it was the only regular, formal musical experience for perhaps half the population of England. But most books on music, especially those published in England, are about great works of art; the history of music is presented only as a setting for these. So we find that cathedral music has been treated extensively by many authors over the last century, while parish church music, which has a low output of musical masterpieces, has attracted few writers. No general history of English music gives more than passing attention to the parish church; only one history of English church music, Kenneth Long's, does so; only one general history of English worship, Horton Davies's, gives more than passing attention to music. For scholars who are not English, the Anglican Church is an insular aberration, deserving little notice. It found no place in the standard general history of

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protestant church music, by Friedrich Blume, until this was translated into English, when a short chapter was allotted to Anglican cathedral and parochial music combined: even then, nothing like Blume's comprehensive and detailed treatment of Lutheran music could be provided in the space available. Some recent books devoted to particular periods (le Huray; Dearnley) have looked into parish church music in some detail, and one book-length study of the music in one period has been published (Rainbow), written from the point of view of a particular party in the Church. Much attention has been lavished on the English hymn and hymn tune, but its purpose has been either to trace the origin of particular texts and tunes (Frere & Frost), to provide the bibliographical tools for such a task (Julian; Frost), or to make a critical assessment of hymns and their tunes (L. Benson; Routley, 1957). Such studies have generally concentrated on the printed sources of hymn texts and tunes, rarely going beyond them for evidence of how, where, and when hymns were sung.

The choice of the *parish* church may seem arbitrary: there was of course no absolute musical barrier separating parish churches from other Anglican churches on one side, or from nonconformist churches on the other. But the field had to be limited in some way. I soon found that the music of parish churches alone was vast enough, and varied enough, to tax my powers of organisation and description to their limits. And the distinction is convenient. It is at least relatively easy to decide what is and what is not a parish church, even though it is not always easy to decide what is or is not parish church music. Parish churches have had a certain function, well defined by law and custom, from time immemorial; this is not true of nonconformist chapels. Cathedral music has already been thoroughly investigated and described. I have therefore considered the music of cathedrals, private chapels, and nonconformist chapels only when it has a bearing on the main subject, though I have treated chapels of ease and other subordinate Anglican churches within a parish as if they were parish churches.

The heart of this book deals with the period from 1549 to 1965, when (with two interruptions) the law required the celebration in parish churches of the services set forth in the Book of Common Prayer. For the period before the Reformation, the evidence is very limited, and cannot easily be extended: Frank Harrison has said about all that can be said on the subject in seven pages. As for the present time, it would be impractical to attempt to judge or even summarise the use of experimental liturgies. It may be thought that the history of parish church music offers valuable hints about what is advisable today. But such conclusions are not for me to draw.

Although I hoped to discover every important or widespread phenomenon in the history of parish church music, I could not investigate the musical history of every parish church. For archival work I chose four contrasting regions: the West Riding of Yorkshire, which was hit by early industrialisation and changed rapidly from the eighteenth century onwards; the county of Dorset, which has changed relatively little over the centuries; central London, which has had its own unique history; and the cathedral city of York. In these areas I tried to build a complete picture by

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consulting as many original documents as possible. For Sussex I was able to benefit from the archival work of Canon K. H. Macdermott, and for Norfolk from that of Dr A. H. Mann and Canon Noel Boston. Many other areas await further researches, which may, for all I know, uncover local movements in parish church music that differ from anything described in this book. However, I have been able to use a fair sample of published transcriptions of archives from parishes all over the country; and the printed collections of church music, especially in the eighteenth century, come from many localities.

In dealing with the large quantity of parish church music between the Reformation and 1800 I have made use of two thematic indexes now in progress at the University of Illinois, one of psalm tunes, the other of parochial anthems. It is hoped eventually to make these indexes complete for English parish church music up to 1800, then to incorporate American sources.

In a book which is mainly designed to establish a factual record, there is a danger of clogging the narrative with so many facts and references that it becomes unreadable. I have tried to keep up the flow of the text with as few interruptions as possible, while still giving the reader easy access to the sources. Footnotes have been kept to a minimum. All source citations are given in parentheses in the text; I should explain that (:88) indicates a page number in a source just referred to, or in the only listed work by an author just mentioned. Readers who do not want to refer to the sources should quickly form the habit of skipping over these references. The bibliography is in three sections: (1) manuscript sources (MS); (2) printed collections of music (PC); (3) other sources, including dissertations and gramophone records.

To avoid cluttering the text with the dates of birth and death of persons mentioned, I have supplied these in the index, with a brief identification of each person. All printed collections of music listed chronologically in the 'PC' section of the bibliography are listed under the compiler's name in the index, which also gives the counties (pre-1972) of all English places listed, other than large cities. In addition, it includes a glossary of technical terms. Because some readers may be more familiar with musical terms than with ecclesiastical ones, and others *vice versa*, I have thought it best in general not to define ordinary technical terms in the text, but to provide definitions in the index.

In quoting from sources I have modernised spelling and capitalisation everywhere, but have usually left punctuation intact: where the punctuation has been altered (for the sake of clarity), the fact is noted. Italics and other differentiated types have been retained unless they appear to have been purely decorative in the source. The spelling of surnames has been consistently modernised (Marbeck, East, Beacon rather than Merbecke, Est(e), Becon). But in the titles of books, both in the text and the bibliography, original spellings and abbreviation marks (but not capitalisation or letter forms) have been retained. No distinctions of churchmanship are implied by the use of the words 'priest', 'clergyman',

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'minister', or 'parson'. The English canticles (*Te deum*, *Magnificat*) are distinguished by type from their Latin equivalents (*Te deum*, *Magnificat*).

It is a pleasure to record the generous co-operation and advice I have had from colleagues and from scholars working in related fields. In particular I should like to thank Dr Hugh Baillie, Professor Ian Bent, Mrs Betty Birkby, Dr Magnus Black, Dr Bertrand Bronson, Dr Alan Buechner, Dr Bunker Clark, Dr Richard Crawford, Mr Brian Crosby, the late Dr Charles Cudworth, Dr Ralph Daniel, Dr Yvonne Davies, Miss Margaret Dean-Smith, Dr Robert Illing, Dr Harry Diack Johnstone, Dr Gerald Knight, Dr Karl Kroeger, Dr Donald Krummel, Mr Lyndesay G. Langwill, Dr Peter le Huray, Mr Irving Lowens, Dr James Mc Kinnon, Mr Mason Martens, Mr Oliver Neighbour, Dr Bernarr Rainbow, Mr Derek Shute, Dr Alan Smith, Dr Watkins Shaw, Mr William Tallmadge, Mr Norman Tildesley, Professor Michael Tilmouth, Dr Tom Ward, Mr Roger Wilkes, Mrs Ruth Wilson, and Mr Paul Yeats-Edwards. Of the many books on which I have relied for ideas and opinions as well as information, Dr Horton Davies's masterly five-volume survey, *Worship and theology in England*, is second to none. I have also, as the reader will discover, made heavy use of Peter le Huray's *Music and the Reformation in England*, the late Louis F. Benson's *The English hymn*, and the works of the Reverend Erik Routley; while several bibliographical works have been virtually indispensable, especially A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave's *Short title catalogue*, Maurice Frost's *English and Scottish psalm and hymn tunes* and his revision of Bishop Frere's *Historical edition of Hymns ancient and modern*, and Edith Schnapper's *British union-catalogue of early music*. Paul Yeats-Edwards's *English church music: a bibliography*, though it appeared too late for me to make the fullest use of it, is invaluable as the first comprehensive bibliography of this subject.

I cannot hope to thank individually the countless members of library staffs who have patiently dealt with my demanding enquiries, but the following must be singled out for help beyond the call of duty: Canon Ashworth, Ripon Minster Library; Mr Bernard Barr, York Minster Library; Mr R. M. Beaumont, Southwell Minster Library; Mr A. Betteridge, Halifax Central Library; Mr Carey S. Bliss, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino (California); Miss G. E. Coldham, British and Foreign Bible Society; Miss V. H. Cummings, British Library; Miss Cole, New York Public Library; Mr Donovan Dawe, Guildhall Library, London; Mr Roger Duce, National Library of Scotland; Mr A. R. B. Fuller, St Paul's Cathedral Library; Miss Jean Geil, University of Illinois Music Library; Miss M. E. Holmes, Dorset Record Office; Mr Trevor Kaye, Wren Library, Trinity College, Cambridge; Mr Alfred Kuhn, Yale University Music Library; Mr William McClellan, University of Illinois Music Library; Miss Dorothy McCulla, Birmingham Public Library; Mr D. J. McKitterick, Cambridge University Library; Mr W. R. Macdonald, Aberdeen University Library; Mr Frederick Nash, and his assistants, Mrs Mary Ceibert and Miss Louise Fitton, University of Illinois Rare Book Room; Mr Oliver Neighbour, British Library; Dr Watkins

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Shaw, Parry Library, Royal College of Music; Dr D. M. Smith, Borthwick Institute, York; Mr W. J. Smith, Greater London Record Office; Mr N. V. Tilley, Bradford Central Library; Mr Malcolm Turner, British Library; Mr Peter A. Ward-Jones, Bodleian Library, Oxford; Mr H. J. R. Wing, Christ Church, Oxford; Mr Thomas Wright, Clark Memorial Library, University of California at Los Angeles.

With one exception I have received courteous co-operation from private collectors of books and music. Mr Theodore Finney and Mr James J. Fuld have been especially helpful. I much appreciated the facilities offered me to work in the private archives or collections of the Dorset County Museum, the Royal School of Church Music, the Sussex Archaeological Society, and the Worshipful Company of Stationers and Newspaper Makers. For the study of church records I feel particularly grateful for assistance, since parish clergy and officials are burdened with many responsibilities more immediate than the satisfying of antiquarian researchers. In this connection I would mention especially the Reverend Donald Collins, rector of Middleham; the Reverend W. H. Gibb, vicar of Winterbourne Abbas; the Reverend Canon Livermore, rector of Poole; the Reverend James Richardson, assistant curate of St Peter's collegiate church, Wolverhampton; the Reverend Francis Stephens, curate of St Mary-the-Virgin, Primrose Hill; the Reverend Charles Williams, vicar of Ifield; Mr J. E. Dunhill, vergier of Leeds Parish Church; Mr Roger Job, precentor of Manchester Cathedral; Mr A. J. Roberts, churchwarden of St Dunstan, Stepney. Special thanks go to some twenty incumbents of churches in Sussex, whose replies to my questionnaire are the basis of the tables in Appendix 2, and one of whom, the Reverend G. H. Paton, rector of Ripe and Chalvington, helped me further in correspondence; and to Mrs S. E. Graney, who undertook the distribution of the questionnaires from the diocesan church office.

I have twice enjoyed the hospitality of the Royal School of Church Music, and the kind assistance of its successive directors, Dr Gerald Knight and Dr Lionel Dakers. I owe a special debt to Miss Katharine Pantzer, who generously placed her notes on the early Sternhold and Hopkins editions at my disposal, thus allowing me an advance look at her meticulous revision of the *Short title catalogue*, and also helped me with several thorny bibliographical problems. Mr Neely Bruce, by his enthusiastic and inspiring performances of some of the examples in the music supplement, first with the American Music Group and then with the Wesleyan Singers, has brought dead traditions to life and revealed unsuspected qualities in early English psalmody. Dr Wendell Williams brought his expertise as an engineer to bear on the problem of recovering the music of barrel organs from tune barrels detached from their organs, and made valiant efforts to transfer such information on to graph paper. Mr and Mrs Tucker, of Winterbourne Abbas, talked to me for many hours of their memories of Mrs Tucker's father, John Dunford, last survivor of the last of the Dorset church bands. The Reverend Jonathan Boston, vicar of Horsford (Norfolk), allowed me to play barrel organs in his father's collection and to make tape recordings. The Reverend William Oswald helped me to understand the nature of eighteenth-century parochial worship. Mr Denys

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Nicholas Temperley

Frontmatter

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Parsons was good enough to spend many hours looking things up for me at the British Library, and Dr Hugh Macdonald did the same at the Bodleian Library. Ray and Gillian Harris travelled to many remote parishes to photograph churches for me, and are responsible for five of the plates used in this book (Pl. 1, 2, 19, 37 and 38).

I owe a great deal to the help of my successive research assistants at the University of Illinois: James Smith, Lynn Trowbridge, Richard Green, Dale Cockrell, Rodney Patterson, Dalynne Shinneman, Thomas McGeary, and Carl Manns; to Mrs Ruth Burnham, who typed out the manuscript with uncanny accuracy and unfailing patience; and to Mrs Pat Madsen, Mrs Vera Vogel, and Miss Valerie Woodring, who also helped with the preparation of the book and with correspondence relating to it.

The following have generously made materials available for photographic reproduction: The Trustees of the British Library (Pl. 3, 15, 18, 23, 30, 35, Figs. 4, 7); Calderdale Public Library (Pl. 26); Cambridge University Library (Fig. 1); The College of S. Mark and S. John, Plymouth (Pl. 29); the vicar and churchwardens of Doncaster parish church (Pl. 10); Greater London Council (Pl. 12); Guildhall Library, London (Pl. 21); Mr Lyndesay G. Langwill (Pl. 24, 25); the vicar and churchwardens of St Mary-the-Virgin, Primrose Hill, Hampstead (Pl. 31, 34.); Dr Bernarr Rainbow (Pl. 28); the Royal School of Church Music (Pl. 32); the University of Illinois (Pl. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 27, 33, Figs. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8); Westminster Public Libraries (Pl. 20).

Lastly, I am deeply indebted for financial assistance in this project to the National Endowment for the Humanities, to the University of Illinois Research Board and Center for Advanced Studies, and to the President and Fellows of Clare Hall, Cambridge. The University of Illinois Library greatly assisted my work by acquiring large numbers of microfilms of materials in other libraries.

NICHOLAS TEMPERLEY

Urbana, Illinois

September, 1978

Preface to the first paperback edition

I have taken the opportunity to correct a few errors of fact. For pointing out some of these, I am grateful to the Reverend Robin A. Leaver, Dr H. Watkins Shaw, and Mr C. J. Sturman. It has not been possible to update the 'PC' list on pp. 364–90.

NICHOLAS TEMPERLEY

Urbana, Illinois

August, 1982

Preface to the current edition

Much has happened to parish church music since 1979. The authorization of the Alternative Service Book in 1980, the centralization of the communion service, and the proliferation of new hymns have between them transformed the texts most often used in Anglican worship, stimulating the composition of a great deal of new music. At the same time, instruments and idioms from the world of popular music have drastically changed the sounds heard in many churches. On the historical side, a vigorous movement to revive the music of Georgian and Victorian country psalmody has sprung up, giving rise to new research, performance, and recording. Its co-ordinating organization, the West Gallery Music Association, founded in 1990, now has 30 affiliated choirs, a web page (<http://www.wgma.org.uk>), and a newsletter, *West Gallery*.

Unfortunately, the method of reproduction used for this edition does not permit any changes in the text. As well as minor errors, there are many more important matters that need revising and updating. The best I can do is to mention other publications in which I have tried to keep up with the changes, and draw attention to important work of others.

In *The hymn tune index* (1998)—already adumbrated on p. xix—I indexed all tunes printed anywhere for use with English-language hymns or metrical psalms, up to the year 1820. The bibliography in the first volume of that work can be regarded as a revision of the ‘pc’ list in this volume, but covering all denominations and all parts of the world. It is periodically updated in an on-line version (<http://hymntune.music.uiuc.edu>). On the strictly Anglican side, my article ‘Anglican and Episcopalian church music’ in the revised *New Grove* (2001) carries the story into recent times and, to some extent, around the world. The first volume of *Musica Britannica* devoted to non-cathedral church music (vol. 85) is expected to appear in 2007: *Eighteenth-century psalmody*, edited by Sally Drage and myself.

The series Oxford Studies in British Church Music, which I edit, includes three masterly books relevant to parochial music: Robin Leaver’s *Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes* (1991), Ruth Mack Wilson’s *Anglican chant and chanting* (1996), and Peter Horton’s *Samuel Sebastian Wesley* (2004). Two conferences organized by the Colchester Institute gave rise to collections of essays on Georgian psalmody edited by Christopher Turner, *The gallery tradition* (1997) and *Georgian psalmody II* (1999). Two important studies of hymns,

Preface to the current edition

while mainly literary, paid some attention to the musical side of hymnody: Ian Bradley's *Abide with me: The world of Victorian hymns* (1997) and J. R. Watson's *The English hymn* (1997). Important special studies include D. Adelman's *The contribution of the Cambridge ecclesiologists to the revival of Anglican choral worship* (1997) and T. K. McCart's *The matter and manner of praise: The controversial evolution of hymnody in the Church of England* (1998). The church's own viewpoint is well summarized in a third report of the Archbishops' Commission on Church Music, *In tune with heaven* (1992).

NICHOLAS TEMPERLEY
Urbana, Illinois
May, 2005

Abbreviations

| | | | |
|------------|---|----------|---|
| A | alto; anthems | MSS. | manuscripts |
| a, a | alto | O | independent organ part (see p. 365) |
| B | bass | O | independent organ part (see p. 365) |
| b, b | bass | o. | organist of |
| BO | barrel organ | P, P | psalms, psalm tunes (see p. 365) |
| C | chants | PC | printed collection of church music (see pp. 364–90) |
| c | congregational part (see p. 365); crotchet; common time | p.c.m. | parish church music |
| c. | dotted crotchet | pst | psalmodist |
| C.M., CM | common metre (see p. 60) | q | quaver |
| DCM | double common metre (see p. 60) | q. | dotted quaver |
| DLM | double long metre (see p. 60) | R | responses to the ten commandments |
| <i>DNB</i> | <i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> (see p. 398) | r. | rector of |
| DSM | double short metre (see p. 60) | R.S.C.M. | Royal School of Church Music |
| F. | Frost (M. Frost, <i>English and Scottish psalm tunes</i> : see p. 400) | S | soprano; service settings |
| g, g | part in the G clef (see p. 365) | s | semibreve; soprano |
| H | hymn tunes (see p. 365) | s | soprano |
| I | independent instrumental part (see p. 365) | s. | dotted semibreve |
| i | optional instrumental part (see p. 365) | S.E.C.M. | School of English Church Music |
| L | liturgical settings (see p. 365) | S.M., SM | short metre (see p. 60) |
| L.M., LM | long metre (see p. 60) | S.P.C.K. | Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge |
| m | minim | sq | semiquaver |
| m. | dotted minim | sq. | dotted semiquaver |
| MS | manuscript source (see pp. 359–63) | STC | <i>Short Title Catalogue</i> number (see p. 410) |
| MS. | manuscript | T | tenor; set pieces (see p. 365) |
| | | t, t | tenor |
| | | v. | verse; vicar of |
| | | X | 10 (see p. 60) |
| | | Y | 11 (see p. 60) |
| | | Z | 12 (see p. 60) |

Abbreviations

Currency

Sums of money mentioned in the text are in terms of pounds, shillings, and pence

12 old pence (12d.) = 1 shilling (1s.)
 20 shillings (20s.) = 1 pound (£1)
 21 shillings (21s.) = 1 guinea (£1 1s.)
 half-a-crown = 2s 6d

Counties

| | | | |
|---------|-----------------|-----------|------------------|
| Beds | Bedfordshire | Middx | Middlesex |
| Berks | Berkshire | Norf. | Norfolk |
| Bucks | Buckinghamshire | Northants | Northamptonshire |
| Camb. | Cambridgeshire | Northumb. | Northumberland |
| Ches. | Cheshire | Notts | Nottinghamshire |
| Corn. | Cornwall | Oxon | Oxfordshire |
| Cumb. | Cumberland | Rut. | Rutland |
| Derbys. | Derbyshire | Salop | Shropshire |
| Devon | Devonshire | Som. | Somerset |
| Dorset | | Staffs | Staffordshire |
| Durham | | Suff. | Suffolk |
| Essex | | Surrey | |
| Glos | Gloucestershire | Sussex | |
| Hants | Hampshire | Warks | Warwickshire |
| Here. | Herefordshire | Westm. | Westmorland |
| Herts | Hertfordshire | Wilts | Wiltshire |
| Hunts | Huntingdonshire | Worcs | Worcestershire |
| Kent | | Yorks | Yorkshire |
| Lancs | Lancashire | E.R. | East Riding |
| Leics | Leicestershire | N.R. | North Riding |
| Lincs | Lincolnshire | W.R. | West Riding |