

Anglican architecture through the middle decades of the nineteenth century and launch the next major season of Anglican church design.⁶⁷

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⁶⁷ Alex Bremner, *Imperial Gothic: Religious Architecture and High Anglican Culture in the British Empire, 1840–1870* (New Haven, CT, 2013); Phoebe Stanton, *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste, 1840–1856* (Baltimore, MD, 1968); Megan Aldrich, *The Gothic Revival* (New York, 1994).

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Anglicanism and Music

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THE MUSIC OF WORSHIP (1): ENGLISH CATHEDRALS AND CHORAL FOUNDATIONS

In music as in other forms, the prevailing sentiment guiding the Church of England has been the maintenance of tradition, especially in the face of movements towards Catholicism, Protestant Dissent, or rationalism. The grand, immemorial custom of daily choral services symbolized permanence and stability, as it still does for many people today, and offered reassurance in times of religious change. In terms of musical history, the choral foundations have preserved a unique body of music with an almost continuous performing record from long before the Reformation.

The Georgian period was not the most distinguished in the long history of English cathedral music. Waning financial and moral support for the institutions led to a decline in standards of performance and in the creative energy that was needed to maintain its vitality. Indeed Edmund Fellowes, a leading historian of cathedral music, considered that 'after the very lean period, extending over a hundred years, a great revival took place in the early years of Victoria'.¹ Before that lean period, however, there was a time of high achievement, when the overall conservatism was tempered by an exciting strain of innovation and creativity centred on the Chapel Royal.

Veneration of tradition was especially strong when the Established Church was reinstated in 1660, because of the fierce desire to counteract and obliterate the recent interruption. Just as Gothic churches and black-letter type enjoyed a brief revival, so also was there a vigorous effort to recover the ancient forms of church music. Unlike buildings and bibles, music ultimately depends on regular performance for survival, and a generation was growing

¹ Edmund H. Fellowes, *English Cathedral Music from Edward VI to Edward VII* (London, 1941), p. 203.

up that had never heard the music of the cathedral service or the sound of trained choirs and organs. Energetic action was needed to bring them back to life.

The 1662 Act of Uniformity, overruling puritan objections, fully restored the stately language and ritual of earlier times. Like its predecessors, the revised Prayer Book had few direct references to music, but it did contain a new rubric after the collects in Morning and Evening Prayer: 'In quires and places where they sing, here followeth the anthem.' This often quoted rubric did not represent an actual innovation. Anthems had been sung after the third collect ever since the royal Injunctions of 1559 authorized 'in the beginnyng, or thend of common prayers, eyther at mornynge or evenynge, . . . an hymne, or suche lyke songe, to the prayse of almyghte God, in the best sort of melodye and musicke that maye be convenientlye devysed'.² It was the addition of closing prayers in 1662 that made it necessary to reauthorize the custom by means of a rubric. 'Quires and places where they sing' were those foundations that had endowments to support choral music: the Chapel Royal; the royal peculiars of Westminster Abbey and St George's Chapel, Windsor; twenty-two English cathedrals; four collegiate parish churches; six colleges at Oxford and Cambridge; and the colleges of Winchester and Eton. In most of these places, urgent steps were taken to restore the choral service.³ One of the greatest difficulties was to find and educate an adequate body of choirboys. They had to be trained from scratch, and to learn the entire musical repertoire. Captain Henry Cooke (c.1616–72), Master of the children at the Chapel Royal, had been authorized to conscript boys with good voices from anywhere in England and bring them to Whitehall, which certainly added to the difficulties at some provincial foundations.

Publications of a kind never previously thought necessary were now issued to describe and explain fully the music of choral worship, forestalling any attempts to take advantage of the Prayer Book's vagueness in musical matters. Edward Lowe, one of the organists of the Chapel Royal, published *A Short Direction for the Performance of Cathedrall Service* (1661), to inform 'Persons as are Ignorant of it, And shall be call'd to officiate in Cathedrall, or Collegiate Churches'. A second edition (*A Review of Some Short Directions*, 1664) incorporated the changes found in the 1662 Prayer Book. This was complemented by James Clifford's *The Divine Services and Anthems usually Sung in His Majesties Chappell, and in all Cathedral and Collegiate Choirs in England and Ireland* (1663), which included the words of 172 anthems; in a second edition (1664) the number was increased to 406.

² *Injunctions given by the Quenes Majestic* (London, 1559), article 49.

³ See Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music 1660–1714*, Oxford Studies in British Church Music (Oxford, 1995), part 3.

These publications served to re-establish the music of Elizabethan times. Services⁴ by Thomas Tallis and William Byrd were recommended, and most of the anthems in Clifford's wordbook were from that period or the early seventeenth century; very few were from Charles I's time. They included some magnificent music in a well-developed polyphonic style, but by the 1660s they were conservative to the point of archaism.

At the Chapel Royal, however, there was a strong modernizing force. The king, whose musical tastes had been formed during his long exile at the court of Louis XIV, did not hide his impatience with the older styles.⁵ A consort of viols was introduced, which both accompanied the voices and played a 'symphony' between the verses of the anthem—'and very fine it is', as Pepys wrote in his diary on 14 September 1662. By 1670 there were fifteen instruments of the violin family, and from 1673 until the end of the reign a total of twenty instrumentalists were involved, obviously on the model of Louis's '24 violons du roi'. Their annual cost of £400 is an indication of the level of Charles's interest in the music of the chapel.⁶

With the new accompaniments came a new style, partly influenced by French and Italian models, but with a strong native element as well. Charles liked to tap his foot to a lively rhythm. Triple time, dance-like dotted rhythms, passages of vocal display, and sprightly closing alleluias became the fashion, and there was increasing use of the solo voice. The verse anthem, in which a group of soloists alternate with the full choir, had been developed in late Elizabethan times, but it was now taken to a point where the full choir was often relegated to an insignificant closing section. A further departure was the development of the solo anthem, where a single singer carried the lion's share of the music, which he could ornament at will. Some remarkable soloists were available in the chapel choir, above all John Gostling (1644–1733), a bass of extraordinary range and power, or later the star countertenor Richard Elford (d. 1714). Soloists were encouraged to show off their voices in a manner that some described as theatrical.

What is often called the 'Restoration style', as developed in these stimulating conditions, combined continental fashions with a vivid new manner of setting English words and a daring extension of accepted harmonic conventions. The result was a second golden age of English cathedral music. Matthew Locke (c.1621–77), the leading English composer at the time of the Restoration, was

⁴ A 'service', as a musical composition, was a choral setting of at least the morning and evening canticles (usually *Te Deum*, *Jubilate*, *Magnificat*, and *Nunc Dimittis*) and three texts from the ante-communion service: the Responses to the Commandments (sometimes misnamed the *Kyrie*), *Credo*, and *Sanctus*. Some included the alternative canticles. All the movements were in the same key.

⁵ Fellowes, *English Cathedral Music*, p. 133.

⁶ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, p. 102; Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540–1690* (Oxford, 1995 edn.), esp. p. 398.

a Roman Catholic who was appointed organist of the Queen's Chapel, but he also wrote English anthems for the Chapel Royal. Described by Spink as 'a genius—though of a peculiar and almost perverse kind',⁷ he, more than any other composer, was the chief source of the singular flavour of much music of the period, with its harsh dissonances, its bold melodic and rhythmic surprises, and its intensity of word setting. A group of Cooke's students, led by Pelham Humfrey (1647–74), John Blow (1649–1708), and William Turner (1651–1740), eagerly developed the new style. 'This, his Majesty greatly encourag'd, by indulging their youthful fancies... In a few years more, several others, Educated in the Chappell, produc'd their Compositions in this style, for otherwise, it was in vain to hope to please his Majesty.'⁸ Finally, Henry Purcell (1659–95), still today regarded by many as England's greatest composer, brought these brilliant developments to their summit.

Not everyone shared Charles's tastes, and the Chapel Royal composers also produced more conservative work, probably for use when the king was not in attendance. The provincial cathedrals, with few exceptions, kept to a conservative repertoire and style. Neither James II nor William III took much interest in the Chapel Royal. The choir was reduced in size, and in 1689 the string orchestra was disbanded. Spink sees a decisive change in Purcell's church music after the death of Charles II: 'The anthems he wrote for the chapel up to 1685, for all their extravagance, have an intimacy, warmth, and even good humour that is lacking in those he wrote for James or William. There is something haughty and less human about them.'⁹ Anne was the last monarch who took a personal interest in the services, and there was a brief revival of standards at the chapel to go with her High Church predilections. The anthems of William Croft (1678–1727) and John Weldon (1676–1736) suggest that active royal patronage was once again encouraging innovation and self-confidence.

The arrival of the Hanoverian kings initiated more than a century of slowly declining standards of performance in choral foundations. They and their German entourage attended the Lutheran chapel at the Court of St James, founded by Prince George of Denmark in 1702. Naturally George I and II, as Lutherans, paid little attention to the Chapel Royal, while cathedral choirs were also losing support, for reasons already outlined. The sorry state of things in the late eighteenth century was recorded by Lord Torrington, a connoisseur of cathedral music who toured the country and reported on what he heard.¹⁰

⁷ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, p. 111.

⁸ Thomas Tudway, introduction to 'A Collection of the Most Celebrated Services and Anthems both Ancient and Modern used in the Church of England beginning at the Restoration of K. Charles II', vol. 2 (1716?), British Library, Harleian MS 7338; quoted in Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, pp. 115, 437.

⁹ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, p. 166.

¹⁰ John Byng, 5th Viscount Torrington, *The Torrington Diaries (1781–94)*, ed. C. Bruyn Andrews, 4 vols. (London, 1934–8); Nicholas Temperley, 'Music in Church', in H. Black

Deans and chapters diverted funds intended to support the choral services, and absenteeism of both clergy and choir members, not to mention frequent drunkenness among the latter, made it impossible to maintain proper musical standards. These disgraceful conditions prevailed in many cathedrals well into the Victorian period.¹¹ Increasingly, the organ took on the duty (once fulfilled by cornetts and sackbuts) of covering up gaps in the choral texture. Theodore Aylward, organist of St George's Chapel, Windsor, from 1788 to 1801, one day received a message from the choir that they were unable to sing the anthem he had selected, 'because Mr. — had a cold'. He returned the answer that 'they could do as they liked about singing it, but he intended to play it'.¹² Attendance at cathedral services also sank to its lowest historical levels. Torrington thought he might 'live to see when none will be present at a cathedral service, but a reader, a verger, and 2 singing boys, who will gallop it over in a few minutes'.¹³

In spite of these lapses, continuity was maintained to a surprising degree. The wordbooks of the Chapel Royal and several cathedrals show that all earlier periods continued to be represented in the music of the daily services, while the output of new music was quite impressive. Some encouragement was provided by annual charity meetings centred on the cathedrals (to be discussed later). In the composition of anthems and services, the period after 1700 saw a growing Italian influence. Anthems were now subdivided into recitatives and arias or duets, adopting the forms of Italian opera as well as its developing conventions of tonality; the role of the chorus was gradually reduced. Styles of performance moved in the same direction, with a growing use of ornamentation, cadenzas, and other devices serving to display the solo voice.¹⁴ Nevertheless, 'full' anthems (for the whole choir) were never entirely abandoned. In general the English anthem retained its distinctive character in the work of many soundly trained composers and a few exceptionally gifted ones such as Maurice Greene (1696–1755) and William Boyce (1711–79). Services were necessarily more stereotyped than anthems. The long texts of most of the canticles, which could not legally be abridged, placed limits on the possibility of any form of expansive music, whether soloistic or contrapuntal; and they had been set to music so many times that true originality was difficult to achieve.

An important feature that developed in this period was the Anglican chant, derived ultimately from Gregorian chant but now taking on the form of a miniature piece of classical music, consisting of ten or twenty chords, to which

Johnstone and Roger Fiske (eds.), *Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century*, Blackwell History of Music in Britain 4 (Oxford, 1990), p. 364.

¹¹ See Nicholas Temperley, 'Cathedral Music', in Nicholas Temperley (ed.), *Music in Britain: The Romantic Age 1800–1914*, Blackwell History of Music in Britain (Oxford, 1990), V, pp. 172–3.

¹² George Job Elvey, *Life & Reminiscences*, ed. Lady Elvey (London, 1894), p. 37.

¹³ Torrington, *Diaries*, I, p. 55. ¹⁴ Temperley, 'Music in Church', pp. 363–4.

the daily psalms were sung. There was considerable variation in the way the syllables were distributed among the notes. In 1834 a study was published recording different modes of chanting that had evolved in the cathedrals of Lincoln, York, Canterbury, and Bangor.¹⁵

The Church of England was the only religious body that allowed organs in its worship, and so became the chief patron of the voluntary, another form that flourished in Georgian times. Voluntaries, as their name implies, had traditionally been improvised; but as more and more parish churches acquired organs, it began to be worthwhile for publishers to print sets by leading organists. The first, by Thomas Roseingrave (1690/1–1766), organist of St George, Hanover Square, was published in 1725. English organs at this time lacked pedals, and possessed only a modest range of stops compared with those of North Germany and the Netherlands, but a distinctive type of voluntary in several movements was developed, making use of solo stops imitating orchestral instruments. There were two outstanding composers of voluntaries: John Stanley (1712–86) and Samuel Wesley (1766–1837).

THE MUSIC OF WORSHIP (2): ENGLISH PARISH CHURCHES

Unlike choral foundations, most parish churches had no endowments for their music. At the time of the Restoration and for many decades after, very few had organs,¹⁶ let alone choirs. The Prayer Book services were therefore spoken throughout. The only music was congregational, and consisted of metrical psalms and a few hymns, gathered in *The Whole Book of Psalms, Collected into English Meter*, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, which was first published in complete form in 1562 and went into hundreds of editions over the next three centuries.¹⁷ It was widely believed that 'Sternhold and Hopkins', also known as the 'Old Version', contained the only psalms and hymns that could legally be sung in Anglican worship, and it was not until 1820 that this theory was successfully challenged in the Consistory Court of York.¹⁸

¹⁵ Jonathan Gray, *Twenty-Four Chants: To which are prefixed, Remarks on Chanting* (London and York, 1834); Ruth M. Wilson, *Anglican Chant and Chanting in England, Scotland, and America, 1660 to 1820* (Oxford, 1996).

¹⁶ See Nicholas Temperley, 'Organs in English Parish Churches, 1660–1830', in Nicholas Temperley, *Studies in English Church Music, 1550–1900* (Farnham, 2009), pp. 175–92.

¹⁷ See Beth Quitslund and Nicholas Temperley (eds.), *The Whole Book of Psalms: A Critical Edition of the Texts and Tunes*, Renaissance English Text Society Publications, 36 (Tucson, AZ, forthcoming).

¹⁸ Thomas K. McCart, *The Matter and Manner of Praise: The Controversial Evolution of Hymnody in the Church of England 1760–1820*, Drew Studies in Liturgy 8 (Lanham, MD and London, 1998), pp. 93–103.

Earlier attempts to dislodge the collection, including those made by Parliament in the 1640s, were largely unsuccessful. In 1696 *A New Version of the Psalms* by Nahum Tate and Nicholas Brady was published by authority of the king in council, but it was another century before it overtook the Old Version in popularity.¹⁹

Psalms were generally sung before and after the sermon. The priest would retire to the vestry to change from a surplice to a Geneva gown (before sermon) or back into a surplice (after sermon). Meanwhile the parish clerk, usually an uneducated man with little or no musical training, would 'line out' the psalm by reading the first line or pair of lines in a loud voice, for the benefit of those who could not read or had no book, and then lead the seated congregation in the singing of that line, choosing one of a dozen well-known tunes, and setting the pitch at whatever level he thought convenient. In this fashion some six to ten stanzas would usually be sung. By the later seventeenth century the singing had reached an almost unbelievably slow tempo, perhaps two to three seconds per note, and it could take as long as an hour to get through the singing of a long psalm, as Pepys recorded at St Olave, Hart Street, in his diary for 6 January 1661.

This kind of singing was truly the music of the people. With few exceptions the gentry, and even the clergy, openly dissociated themselves from the proceedings, while both literary and musical critics, as well as the church hierarchy, were ever more scornful of the psalm paraphrases and tunes, and of the way they were sung, often called the 'Old Way of Singing' and characterized by dragging, scooping, and the addition of subsidiary notes between the proper notes of the tune.²⁰

Efforts to reform the Old Way began almost immediately after the Restoration. The most efficient tool of reform was an organ, and organs were gradually acquired by the more affluent parishes in London and many provincial cities, usually from an individual donor or by subscription. Meanwhile some High Church clergy were forming religious societies to regulate the lives of the young men of their parishes.²¹ They practised the psalms and their tunes at their meetings, and were encouraged to spread themselves around the church to lead the congregation in song.

These reforms gave birth to two distinct traditions, which can be roughly categorized as urban and rural.²² In town parishes that could afford an organ

¹⁹ Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1979), I, p. 122.

²⁰ Nicholas Temperley, 'The Old Way of Singing: Its Origins and Development', in Temperley, *Studies*, pp. 69–102.

²¹ Garnet V. Portus, *Caritas Anglicana, or an historical Inquiry into those Religious and Philanthropical Societies that flourished in England between the Years 1676 and 1740* (London, 1912).

²² Temperley, *Parish Church*, I, chs. 5, 6.

and a charity school, the clerk and congregation were essentially displaced by a treble-dominated choir, supported by young men if there was a religious society. The most successful tune-book catering for this development was John Playford's *The Whole Book of Psalms... Composed in Three Parts* (20 edns., 1677–1757). Each psalm and hymn from the Old Version was provided with a tune set out in a way that allowed for performance by either boys or men, with an optional second voice part and a bass for either vocal or instrumental use. As time went on, the tenors and basses gradually dropped out of urban choirs, leaving the children to sing alone with the organ, unless they were joined by a few brave voices from the congregation.

From time to time efforts were made to restore hearty communal singing. With the publication of Henry Playford's *Divine Companion* (1701) and *A Supplement to the New Version of Psalms* (6th edn., 1708) began a new tradition of commissioning leading composers to create new tunes, such as Croft's ST ANNE'S and HANOVER, both of which have remained among the most esteemed hymn tunes until the present time. At its best the union of an organ with 'the voices of a well-instructed congregation' could form 'one of the grandest scenes of unaffected piety that human nature can afford'.²³

The rural model started with the same premise: a rehearsed choir to lead the congregation in singing metrical psalms. But without an organ or a qualified schoolmaster to teach the children, it was the adult male volunteers, mostly farmers and artisans and their families, who came to dominate the singing. It was soon found expedient to assemble them in a special gallery or pew. A new breed of country singing teachers arose, who earned a living by visiting many parishes in a neighbourhood to instruct the voluntary choirs. The most successful ones published and sold their own collections, encouraging the choirs to perform more and more elaborate music. Ornate tunes were developed, varied by solos and duets, and eventually 'fuguing' tunes, in which the different voices sang overlapping texts. Many country choirs aspired to anthems, and even, in some northern parishes, chanted the canticles and responses. Naturally these developments discouraged congregations from taking part, and this was a cause of strong objection from both parishioners and church authorities. Edmund Gibson, bishop of London, issued a stern warning to his clergy in 1724:

But when I recommend the bringing your people, whether old or young, to a decent and orderly way of singing, I do by no means recommend to you or them the inviting or encouraging those idle instructors, who of late years have gone about the several counties to teach tunes uncommon and out of the way (which very often are as ridiculous as they are new: and the consequence of which is, that

the greatest part of the congregation being unaccustomed to them, are silenced, and do not join in this exercise at all), but my meaning is that you should endeavour to bring your whole congregation, men and women, old and young, or at least as many as you can, to sing five or six of the best known tunes in a decent, regular, and uniform manner, so as to be able to bear their part in them in the public service of the church.²⁴

But this was a difficult goal to attain without professional direction. The amateur choirs persisted, often without resistance from the local parson, and soon became an immovable part of parish life. To maintain pitch and rhythmic order, a bass viol, cello, or bassoon was often employed, and after 1750 a band of several instruments could be heard in many churches. A distinct style of country psalmody flourished well into the Victorian era, only loosely based on established principles of harmony, musical form, and choral performance.²⁵ (It has recently been treated with more respect on its own terms, and revived with success by the West Gallery Music Association, whose journal, *West Gallery*, carries many articles reporting on the history of country psalmody in individual parishes and regions.) Out of this tradition came a number of fine psalm tunes that still have a permanent place in modern hymnals, including John Chetham's BURFORD (1718), Francis Timbrell's BUDFORD (c.1725), William Knapp's WAREHAM (1738), and Aaron Williams's ROCKINGHAM (1778) (the personal names and dates refer to first printings; there is little certainty as to authorship). The more elaborate compositions, along with the country choirs themselves, would succumb to various reform movements, and to the nearly universal introduction of organs and harmoniums during the nineteenth century.

'Gallery' music, as this kind of psalmody has been labelled in recent times, was criticized by John Wesley, who attacked 'complex tunes which it is impossible to sing with devotion' and 'the repeating the same words so often (but especially while another repeats different words—the horrid abuse which runs through the modern church music) as it shocks common sense, so it necessarily brings in dead formality and has no more of religion in it than a Lancashire hornpipe'.²⁶ Wesley, though he had little opportunity to initiate musical reforms within the Church, conducted a lifelong effort to improve and inspire the singing at Methodist meetings. Metrical psalms were replaced by hymns, above all those of his brother Charles, which combined immediate personal appeal with Arminian principles of rebirth in Christ. New types of

²⁴ *Directions given by Edmund Lord Bishop of London to the Clergy of the Diocese, in... 1724* (London, 1724).

²⁵ Nicholas Temperley and Sally Drage (eds.), *Eighteenth-Century Psalmody*, Musica Britannica 85 (London, 2007).

²⁶ At the Bristol Conference, 1768; cited by J. T. Lightwood, *Methodist Music of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1927), pp. 35–6. A Lancashire hornpipe was a type of folk dance.

²³ John Brown, *A Dissertation on... Poetry and Music* (London, 1763), p. 213; see also Temperley, *Parish Church*, I, pp. 141–51.

tune were introduced, based on the most fashionable secular music (and in some cases parodies of actual secular songs). New modes of singing were enforced, with all standing up and taking part, in strict time, 'lustily and with a good Courage', and above all 'spiritually'.²⁷ Though Wesley's ideas were long resisted by most Anglican authorities, they were highly successful in attracting supporters. In the opinion of William Vincent, later dean of Westminster, 'for one who has been drawn from the Established Church by preaching, ten have been induced by music'.²⁸

There was clearly a need for improvement, but there was no consensus on what forms it should take. Beilby Porteus, the reform-minded bishop of London from 1787 to 1809, rebuked his clergy for neglecting psalmody and charged them to improve it, primarily by recruiting children from the newly opened Sunday schools. He was by no means in favour of parish choirs' imitating cathedral music with chanting or anthems, and urged a return to the old simple psalm tunes, sung by all.²⁹ Evangelicals also aimed to restore the people's part in the song of praise, but many, like Wesley, wanted to draw on the riches of secular music. Some believed that the whole service should be performed congregationally, a truly revolutionary notion. Vincent reported in 1790 that he had heard the doxology successfully chanted at one church.³⁰ Next came the canticles and responses, which were sufficiently familiar for a reasonable degree of uniformity to be achieved without rehearsal. Ultimately, in 1831, the first fully pointed psalter was published.³¹ At York in particular, a sustained effort had been made to introduce congregational chanting in several churches under the inspiration of an evangelistic High Church layman, Jonathan Gray.³²

Because of the still prevalent resistance in the Church to the singing of hymns of human composition, pioneering efforts in that direction were often made in licensed proprietary chapels not subject to episcopal supervision.³³ These included London hospital chapels (to be considered later). A desire for more tasteful and artistic church music was felt by many who were not in sympathy with the Evangelical movement, and it could only be attained by

²⁷ Isabel Rivers and David L. Wykes (eds.), *Dissenting Praise* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 211–12.

²⁸ William Vincent, *Considerations on Parochial Music* (2nd edn., London, 1790), p. 15.

²⁹ Beilby Porteus, *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of London... in the Year MDCCXC* (London, 1790), pp. 16–21.

³⁰ Vincent, *Considerations*, p. 10.

³¹ J. E. Dibb, *Key to Chanting. The Psalter... and Portions of the Morning and Evening Services of the Church, appointed to be sung or chanted, with a peculiar Arrangement to facilitate the Practice* (London, 1831).

³² Nicholas Temperley, *Jonathan Gray and Church Music in York*, St Anthony's Hall Publications 51 (York, 1977), repr. in Temperley, *Studies*, pp. 287–318.

³³ Nicholas Temperley, assisted by Charles G. Manns and Joseph Herl, *The Hymn Tune Index: A Census of English-Language Hymn Tunes in Printed Sources from 1535 to 1820*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1998), 1, p. 13.

trained choirs with organ accompaniment. Dr Charles Burney, a leading figure in the musical and literary worlds, considered that 'the greatest blessing to lovers of music in a parish-church, is to have an organ that is sufficiently powerful to render the voices of the clerk and of those who join in his *out-cry*, inaudible'.³⁴ Several influential psalmody collections appeared in the 1790s, with new and elegant tunes, often adapted from secular music or commissioned from leading composers, and providing for harmony and organ accompaniment.³⁵ The ultimate stage in this development was reached by William Gardiner, a Leicester stocking manufacturer, who published *Sacred Melodies, from Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, adapted to the best English Poets, and appropriated to the Use of the British Church*.³⁶ Though the trend towards professional standards and styles was generally beyond the reach of country choirs and bands, it was spread more widely after 1800 by the increasing use of barrel organs, whereby correctly harmonized tunes were made available to any parish clerk who could turn a handle.³⁷ After the legal decision of 1820 there began the vast production of hymns that, within a few decades, would reduce the metrical psalms to a marginal position in the Church.

THE MUSIC OF WORSHIP (3): THE WIDER ANGLICAN COMMUNION

In Wales and Ireland the Church had inherited the medieval cathedrals, where it conducted English-language choral services; but in most cases the endowments were not sufficient to maintain daily services at an acceptable standard. In Wales, only St David's maintained a reasonably continuous choral tradition. At Dublin, the two cathedrals sometimes offered dual positions to lay clerks and organists, which allowed them to induce experienced English cathedral musicians to settle in Dublin, and a high standard of performance resulted.³⁸ Parish church music in both countries was largely congregational, with only a few wealthy churches able to afford organs. A selection of metrical

³⁴ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music*, 4 vols. (London, 1776–89), III, pp. 60, 64.

³⁵ Edward Miller, *The Psalms of David for the Use of Parish Churches* (London, [1790]); Samuel Arnold and John Wall Callcott, *The Psalms of David for the Use of Parish Churches* (London, 1791); William D. Tattersall, *Improved Psalmody, Vol. 1* (London, 1794); Temperley, *Parish Church*, 1, pp. 215–16, 228–9.

³⁶ 2 vols. (London, 1812, 1815).

³⁷ Noel Boston and L. G. Langwill, *Church and Chamber Barrel Organs* (Edinburgh, 1967); Temperley, *Parish Church*, 1, pp. 234–9.

³⁸ W. H. Grindle, *Irish Cathedral Music* (Belfast, 1989).

psalms with monophonic tunes was printed for St Michan's, Dublin, in 1752.³⁹ A more comprehensive collection was David Weyman's *Melodia Sacra... adapted to the Version of Nicholas Brady and Nahum Tate, as used in the United Churches of England and Ireland* (Dublin, [c.1816]).

In Scotland, renewed efforts by the Stuart kings to impose episcopal government and liturgy were at last abandoned with the Presbyterian settlement of 1691. After 1712 'qualified chapels' that accepted the English Prayer Book (with its prayer for Queen Anne, or later King George) were allowed to offer public worship, while others, especially in Aberdeenshire, quietly preserved the Scottish form of the liturgy. Chanting, services, and anthems were performed in several episcopal chapels.⁴⁰

In North America the Church of England was established in the southern colonies. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) made some headway in the north as well. Thomas Bray, in his visitation to Maryland as representative of the bishop of London in 1700, introduced the *New Version* and instructed the few available clergy in the singing of metrical psalms. In 1713 the vestry of the Queen's chapel, Boston, voted 'the psalms of Tate and Brady to be sung in the Church';⁴¹ an organ was presented to the chapel by Thomas Brattle in the following year, the first to be used in a church in English-speaking North America. John Wesley, during his incumbency in Savannah, Georgia (1735–7), encouraged the singing of both metrical psalms and hymns.

By the later eighteenth century the principal North American cities such as Boston, Charleston, Halifax, New York, and Philadelphia had prosperous Anglican churches with music provided by organ and charity children along the lines of English town churches. Francis Hopkinson composed anthems for Anglican use as early as 1761. Daniel Bayley, parish clerk of St Paul's church, Newburyport, Massachusetts, reprinted and extended a number of English country psalmody collections of psalm tunes and anthems from 1764 onwards. However, the vestry of St Paul's, Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1770 banned both anthems and voluntaries, allowing the organist in future only 'to play the Psalm Tunes in a plain Familiar Manner without unnecessary graces'.⁴² After independence the Protestant Episcopal Church's Book of Common Prayer

³⁹ The second edition (1771) was entitled *A Collection of Select Psalms for the Use of Parish Churches in general, but particularly intended for that of New St Michan's, Dublin*: cf. Barra Boydell, 'St Michan's Church, Dublin: The Installation of the Organ in 1725 and the Duties of the Organist', *Dublin Historical Record*, 46 (1993): 101–20.

⁴⁰ Wilson, *Anglican Chant*, pp. 192–216.

⁴¹ Henry W. Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1882), 1, p. 204.

⁴² Timothy McGee, 'Music in Halifax, 1749–1799', *Dalhousie Review*, 49 (1969): 377–87; Nicholas Temperley, 'Worship Music in English-Speaking North America, 1608–1820', in Timothy McGee (ed.), *Taking a Stand: Essays in Honour of John Beckwith* (Toronto, 1995), pp. 166–84.

(1786) departed from its English model in providing an official supplement of metrical psalms with eighteen tunes, and also two chants. These were revised from time to time in authorized hymnals, something the mother Church has never had. Prose psalms were chanted in Episcopal churches at least as early as 1783, when Andrew Law included them in his *Rudiments of Music*, which Richard Crawford has associated with Law's efforts to establish himself as choirmaster of St Peter's church, Philadelphia.⁴³ A full range of tunes, chants, and anthems for parish churches was incorporated in many published Episcopal tune-books, most comprehensively in the collections of John Cole of Baltimore.⁴⁴

Anglican missionaries in many parts of the world found that singing was the great magnet for attracting indigenous people to the colonists' churches. This was the case in Virginia from the earliest times. In 1772 a Connecticut clergyman actually declined to distribute fifty copies of Tate and Brady's Psalms provided by the SPG for Iroquois Indians 'lest these people, who are more fond of psalm singing than of any other part of Divine Worship... might be induced to neglect providing themselves with prayer Books'.⁴⁵ Elsewhere expatriate Anglicans sought to maintain for themselves musical traditions as close as possible to those of the mother country. Examples are an edition of Tate and Brady published at Amsterdam, with 123 monophonic tunes, 93 of them new, approved by the Dutch authorities for the use of the Gereformeerde Orthodoxe Engelsche Gemeente; and a book of tunes and anthems, harmonized in three parts, compiled by William Day, singing master at St Mary's church, Fort St George, India.⁴⁶

ANGLICAN MUSICAL CULTURE: CHARITIES AND CEREMONIAL MUSIC

One of the earliest recorded uses of Anglican music to encourage charitable donations was the annual psalm of thanksgiving sung on Easter Monday by the children of Christ's Hospital for their benefactors, going back at least to 1610. New hymns and tunes were often composed and printed for the

⁴³ Richard A. Crawford, *Andrew Law: American Psalmist* (Evanston, IL, 1968), p. 37.

⁴⁴ Temperley, *Hymn Tune Index*, 1, pp. 12–13. See also Arthur H. Messiter, *A History of the Choir and Music of Trinity Church, New York* (New York, 1906); George W. Williams, *Jacob Eckhard's Choirmaster's Book of 1820* (Columbia, SC, 1971).

⁴⁵ Kenneth Walter Cameron (ed.), *The Church of England in Pre-Revolutionary Connecticut* (Hartford, CT, 1976), p. 276.

⁴⁶ *A New Version of the Psalms... Set to Music by J. Z. Triemer* (Amsterdam, 1753; 2nd augmented edn., 1765); William Day, *Sacred Harmony* (Madras, 1818).

occasion.⁴⁷ The custom was later imitated by the charity schools that led the singing in urban parish churches. An annual charity sermon was preached in many churches, when the choir would often sing a specially composed hymn, sometimes by a distinguished composer.⁴⁸ Other public charities were served by music. As early as 1664, it became customary to sing Psalm 133, or its metrical equivalent, at charitable meetings around the country. James Clifford added the following note to the words of Albertus Bryne's anthem on this text ('Behold, how good and joyful a thing it is, brethren, to dwell together in unity'): 'This is to be sung at the charitable Meeting of each County, &c.' He added the same note to Adrien Batten's anthem on William Whittingham's paraphrase of the same text from the Old Version, 'O how happy a thing it is'.⁴⁹ It is not entirely certain that 'charitable' here carries its principal modern meaning of giving to the poor; the choice of psalm suggests that it may only mean friendship.

On 22 November 1683, there was a new departure at an unknown location in London: a celebration of the birthday of St Cecilia, patron saint of music. From 1684 to 1700 the feast took place in Stationers' Hall. At first it was entirely secular. Each year a new ode was written and composed by leading court poets and composers. Purcell's three contributions, above all his 'Hail, bright Cecilia' of 1692, have become deservedly famous. Beginning in 1693 the event was accompanied by a church service, normally at St Bride's, Fleet Street, which featured a sermon in defence of religious music; elaborate settings of the Te Deum and Jubilate with instrumental accompaniments (again, Purcell's is the most renowned example); and sometimes a special anthem, such as William Turner's 'The king shall rejoice'. For the first time in Anglican sacred music, trumpets were heard.⁵⁰

These services, and especially the sermons justifying the use of instrumental music in worship, were a clear assertion of Anglican values against Calvinist restrictions, and more specifically (as Whyte suggests) a reaction to William III's banning of instruments from the Chapel Royal services in 1689. Six of the eight sermons are extant in printed form; the first, by Thomas Battell,

⁴⁷ Susi Jeans, 'The Easter Psalms of Christ's Hospital', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 88 (1961-2): 45-60; Temperley, *Hymn Tune Index*, I, pp. 109-10; John Nightingale, 'Catalogue of Compositions of Charles Wesley the Younger', in N. Temperley and S. Banfield (eds.), *Music and the Wesleys* (Urbana, IL, 2010), pp. 236-7.

⁴⁸ Nicholas Temperley, 'Croft and the Charity Hymn', *Musical Times*, 119 (1978): 539-41, repr. with Croft's hymn, 'To thee, O Lord of hosts', in Temperley, *Studies*, pp. 207-20.

⁴⁹ James Clifford, *The Divine Services and Anthems usually sung in His Majesties Chapel* (London, 1664 edn.), pp. 45, 56.

⁵⁰ This and the next paragraph are based on an unpublished paper by Bryan White, "'What the end of musick is": The Profane and the Sacred on St Cecilia's Day', delivered at a symposium on Restoration Cathedral Music, at Western Illinois University, Macomb, Illinois, on 19 March 2013. I am grateful to Dr White for allowing me to quote from this paper. He is preparing a book on *Music for St Cecilia's Day from Purcell to Handel*.

sub-dean of the Chapel Royal, set the tone for the others, taking Psalm 100:1-2 as its text.⁵¹

Though the annual celebrations did not last beyond 1700, St Cecilia's Day remained a likely occasion for the glorification of music in the first half of the eighteenth century. The London example was followed in other cities, for instance at Salisbury, Winchester, Gloucester, and Dublin.⁵² Odes in praise of music were regularly performed at Oxford, in some cases as academic exercises for a degree.⁵³ Among the masterpieces of the genre were Maurice Greene's setting of Pope's 'Ode for St Cecilia's Day', 'Descend ye nine, descend and sing' (performed at Cambridge, 1730);⁵⁴ Handel's *Alexander's Feast* (1736), based on Dryden's second ode, originally set by Jeremiah Clarke in 1697, with additions by Newburgh Hamilton; and Handel's *Ode for St Cecilia's Day*, from Dryden's first ode, 'From Harmony, from heavenly Harmony', which had been set by G. B. Draghi for the 1687 celebration.

Another charity under Anglican auspices was the Sons of the Clergy, which held an annual service in May for the relief of distress among clerical families, starting during the Commonwealth (in 1655) and still observed today. It was first held in old St Paul's Cathedral, and after 1697 in the rebuilt St Paul's, with orchestral accompaniment by prominent professional musicians, followed by a banquet at the Merchant Taylors' Hall.⁵⁵ Purcell's Te Deum and Jubilate were regularly performed until displaced by Handel's 'Utrecht' and 'Dettingen' settings of the same canticles.

All these events can now be seen as leading towards the grand tradition of choral festivals that became the crowning events of English musical life in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. At first these were developed chiefly in the provinces. The earliest was the Three Choirs Festival, in which Gloucester, Hereford, and Worcester pooled their choral resources and took turns to provide the venue.⁵⁶ It may have started as early as 1713, with little more than the three cathedral choirs taking part. Similar meetings, often triennial, were established at many other cities including Salisbury (from 1748), Winchester (1766), Birmingham (1768), Norwich (1772), Manchester

⁵¹ Ralph Battell, *The Lawfulness and Expediency of Church-Musick asserted* (London, 1693), p. 1.

⁵² E.g. Thomas Naish, *A Sermon preach'd at the Cathedral Church of Sarum, Novemb. 22. 1700. Before a Society of Lovers of Musick* (London, 1701).

⁵³ Rosamond McGuinness and H. Diack Johnstone, 'Concert Life in England, I', in Johnstone and Fiske (eds.), *The Eighteenth Century*, pp. 89-91.

⁵⁴ In H. Diack Johnstone (ed.), *Maurice Greene: Ode on St Cecilia's Day and Anthem: Harken unto me*, *Musica Britannica* 58 (London, 1991).

⁵⁵ Nicholas Cox, *Bridging the Gap: A History of the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy over 400 Years, 1655-1978* (Oxford, 1978).

⁵⁶ Watkins Shaw, *The Three Choirs Festival* (London, 1954).

(1777), Nottingham (1782), and York (1791).⁵⁷ The choirs of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Derbyshire, both Anglican and Dissenting, were often in demand in other parts of the country. The solo singers and instrumentalists were generally brought in from London and the whole ensemble directed by the cathedral organist. Smaller versions existed in many other towns, and they had spread to North America by 1780.⁵⁸ Provincial festivals were often timed to coincide with assizes, race meetings, or other local events. The central feature was always an Anglican service in the cathedral or principal church, often augmented by instruments and extended by additional anthems. (Nearly 120 orchestral anthems were composed between 1700 and 1775, some for choral festivals, others for royal occasions, installations, and degree presentations.⁵⁹) There was nearly always a sermon, once again extolling the virtues of vocal and instrumental music in the service of religion, and a collection of money for the poor. In the evenings balls and secular concerts were held, and at least one oratorio; for some time there was opposition to performing oratorios in church.

The English oratorio, in the words of Howard Smither, 'is Handel's creation, his remarkable synthesis of elements found in the English masque and anthem, the French classical drama, the Italian *opera seria* and *oratorio volgare*, and the German Protestant oratorio'.⁶⁰ With a few exceptions it was a three-act drama with a libretto in verse based on a biblical story, using a 'French' overture and recitatives, airs, and ensembles similar to those of Italian opera, combined with choruses influenced by English cathedral and ceremonial music. It was performed in a theatre or concert hall. In 1732 Bernard Gates, master of the children of the Chapel Royal, presented a private, staged performance of Handel's *Esther* at the Crown and Anchor tavern in London, sung by the choristers. Handel wanted to repeat this publicly at the King's Theatre, the home of Italian opera, but was prevented from doing so by Bishop Gibson, who was also dean of the Chapel Royal, on the grounds that the opera house was an immoral place. He therefore compromised by performing it in the theatre without staging, and this became the norm. Oratorio concerts at Covent Garden and Drury Lane theatres became a fixture of the Lent season for nearly a hundred years. In two of his works, *Messiah* and *Israel in Egypt*, Handel moved a step further from opera towards church music, by using a

⁵⁷ Brian Pritchard and Douglas J. Reid, 'Some Festival Programmes of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: 4. Birmingham, Derby, Newcastle upon Tyne and York', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 4 (1970): 1-33.

⁵⁸ Nicholas Temperley, *Bound for America: Three British Composers* (Urbana, IL, 2003), pp. 24-7.

⁵⁹ Monte Edgel Atkinson, 'The Orchestral Anthem in England, 1700-1775', DMA thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1991.

⁶⁰ Howard Smither, 'Oratorio', §8, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music* (London, 2001), p. 515.

prose text entirely compiled from the Bible in the King James Version, and dispensing with named characters. Beginning in 1750 he performed *Messiah* each year in the Foundling Hospital chapel. This was the first step on its path to Westminster Abbey.

Despite their operatic and secular connections, Handel's oratorios were received by their audiences as 'unprecedented, unequalled expressions of the religious sublime'.⁶¹ They appealed predominantly to the middle classes, for whom Italian opera was a closed book, but who were very familiar with the Bible stories, and who identified strongly with the Israelites in their nationalism and sense of being a chosen people. In addition, as Ruth Smith has shown, the oratorios were an aggressive assertion of traditional Christian values against Deism, which had made much headway in the 1720s. They showed 'that God could aid man with miracles; that he had thus aided the Israelites; . . . and that Jesus fulfilled the Old Testament prophecies of the Messiah'.⁶² Since the Dissenting sects and most Methodists strongly disapproved of dramatizing Scripture, it was the Church of England that was primarily identified with the enormous success of Handel's works. The pomp and splendour of the oratorios, as well as the profound insights into individual character in those that carried a dramatic story (such as *Saul*, *Samson*, *Judas Maccabaeus*, *Solomon*, *Theodora*, and *Jephtha*), made them a national treasure rarely equalled in English history. But *Messiah*, though initially disapproved, would eventually outstrip all the others in popularity, even acquiring the definite article (not part of its original title) in common speech.

Handel also provided sacred music for many national events: *Te Deum* settings for the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) and the victory of Dettingen (1743); four anthems for the coronation of King George II and Queen Caroline (1727), the most famous being 'Zadok the priest'; 'The ways of Zion do mourn', an anthem for the queen's funeral (1737); and anthems for two royal weddings and the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1749).⁶³

His exalted status was recognized in five gigantic commemorations in Westminster Abbey between 1784 and 1791, commissioned and attended by George III and employing unprecedented numbers of singers and players.⁶⁴ Handel had attained an almost godlike position as the unchallengeable master of sacred music. No work by a native composer established a permanent place

⁶¹ Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 168.

⁶² Ruth Smith, 'Intellectual Contexts of Handel's Oratorios', in Christopher Hogwood and Richard Luckett (eds.), *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 115-34 (p. 126).

⁶³ Donald Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal*, Oxford Studies in British Church Music (Oxford, 2005).

⁶⁴ Charles Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster Abbey and the Pantheon . . . in Commemoration of Handel* (London, 1785).

in the British oratorio repertory for the next century: only Haydn's *Creation*, Spohr's *Last Judgment*, and Mendelssohn's *Elijah* succeeded in doing so, but still far behind Handel. Beginning in the 1790s, some cathedral choirs began to sing extracts from the oratorios as anthems. Many had already been adapted as psalm or hymn tunes, first by the Methodists and then, more hesitantly, by Anglican compilers. A flood of hymn tunes based on Handel's works, both sacred and secular, now appeared in countless British and American publications. For instance, 217 printings of tunes based on 'I know that my redeemer liveth' appeared between 1790 and 1820.⁶⁵

There were other important links between music and charity. The eighteenth century saw a notable rise in institutions dedicated to specific classes of disadvantaged people. With the Enlightenment had come a declining faith in divine intervention to relieve suffering, and a correspondingly greater emphasis on human endeavour. Some of the new charities, like the Foundling Hospital (founded in 1737) and the Asylum for Female Orphans (1758), dealt directly with the increasing number of births outside marriage among the poor. Others, such as the Lock Hospital (1746) and the Magdalen Hospital (1758), attempted to relieve the problems of venereal disease and prostitution respectively. All four institutions had chapels in which Anglican worship was practised, though they were free from direct diocesan control, which allowed them to move boldly in new directions, especially in the use of non-scriptural hymns. And all generated printed anthologies of music that were widely used domestically and in church and chapel.⁶⁶

The Lock Hospital was perhaps the most influential of these institutions in moving church music in the direction of secular art music. From 1763 there was an annual fundraising performance at the Lock Hospital of an oratorio, *Ruth*, by Felice Giardini (at first aided by Charles Avison, but from 1768 with Giardini's music alone),⁶⁷ clearly following the precedent of *Messiah* at the Foundling Hospital. Martin Madan (1726–90), benefactor, chaplain, and chief hymn-writer and composer at the Lock, drew on the most fashionable secular styles of the day in compiling its music collection, even calling on Italian opera composers such as Giardini. The music achieved an elegance that was far removed from the typical psalmody of the time. In this Madan was following

⁶⁵ Nicholas Temperley, 'Adaptations', in Annette Landgraf and David Vickers (eds.), *The Cambridge Handel Encyclopedia* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 6, based on details in Temperley, *Hymn Tune Index*, I, pp. 39–40.

⁶⁶ Nicholas Temperley, 'The Hymn Books of the Foundling and Magdalen Hospital Chapels', in David Hunter (ed.), *Music Publishing & Collecting: Essays in Honor of Donald W. Krummel* (Urbana, IL, 1994), pp. 1–37; Nicholas Temperley, 'The Lock Hospital Chapel and its Music', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 118 (1993): 41–72, reprinted in Temperley, *Studies*, pp. 258–86. The various editions of all four institutions' tune-books are set out in Temperley, *Hymn Tune Index*, I, pp. 108–15.

⁶⁷ Simon McVeigh, 'Music and the Lock Hospital in the 18th Century', *Musical Times*, 129 (1988): 239–40.

the principles of the Wesleys: Charles Wesley had called on composers of church music to 'Plunder the carnal lover, Strip him of every moving strain, Every melting measure, Music in virtue's cause retain, Rescue the holy pleasure'. John Wesley was quite intolerant of the kind of rough, plebeian music that was beginning to be used in revival meetings.⁶⁸ Madan, also, was clearly appealing to upper-class tastes rather than to the uncultivated masses.

In the late Georgian era there arose another, countervailing trend: the romanticization of ancient psalmody. Musical antiquarianism had gained an early start in England with such institutions as the Academy of Ancient Music (1726), the Madrigal Society (1741), and the Concert of Ancient Music (1770).⁶⁹ It now began to focus on the Elizabethan and Jacobean psalm tunes that were still the main resource of urban parochial music. William Crotch, professor of music at Oxford, was convinced that the music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was superior to that of his own time: 'Few productions of the present day', he asserted, 'will ever become fit for divine service at all'.⁷⁰ He reprinted thirty-two early psalm tunes in *Tallis's Litany... [and] a Collection of Old Psalm Tunes... for the Use of the University Church, Oxford* (Oxford, 1803). The charity children of the City of London had gathered once a year since 1704 to sing en masse in one church, initially as a fundraising event; it now began to take on an aspect of the sublime, and profoundly impressed many visitors, including Haydn. In 1801 the ceremony was moved from Christ Church, Newgate Street, to St Paul's Cathedral. A fashion developed for performing ordinary hymns or metrical psalms as concert items, with full orchestral accompaniment.⁷¹ At the York Festival of 1823, hymns or psalms were sung in the minster on three occasions by the entire cast of soloists (led by Angelica Catalani), chorus, and orchestra, one of them with a trumpet solo. A commentator said that this 'produced the greatest impression during the whole of this extended festival... The sound of the trumpet, proceeding from nearly the top of the orchestra, appeared as if it descended from the tower above: and the thrill of awe, not unmingled even with terror... was such as we shall not attempt to describe.'⁷²

This movement recalls the veneration for the music of the past that we noted at the time of the Restoration, but with somewhat different motives and

⁶⁸ Temperley and Banfield (eds.), *Music and the Wesleys*, pp. 18–25.

⁶⁹ William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford, 1992).

⁷⁰ William Crotch, *The Substance of Several Courses of Lectures on Music* [delivered at Oxford between 1800 and 1805] (London, 1831).

⁷¹ Temperley, *Parish Church*, I, pp. 244–9.

⁷² J. Crosse, *An Account of the Grand Musical Festival, held in September, 1823, in the Cathedral Church of York* (York, 1825), pp. 339–40. For a longer quotation, see Temperley, *Parish Church*, I, pp. 245–6.

emphasis. Soon the Oxford Movement would delve still further back in time to revive Gregorian chant, office hymns, and other music of the Sarum use.

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20

Anglicanism and Art

Clare Haynes

A history of the relationship of the visual arts and the Church of England since the Reformation has yet to be written, but were it to be, the story it would tell would be of a slow and tentative rapprochement, which has in the twenty-first century reached a quite unprecedented degree of intimacy and trust. The Church has not only embraced Orthodox traditions of icon writing, examples of which can be seen in many parish churches and cathedrals, it has also commissioned major works by leading contemporary artists, some of which have been experimental, problematic, daring.¹ By contrast, the role of Anglicanism in the arts outside the Church, beyond these commissions, is perhaps at its lowest point since the Reformation. In the eighteenth century, this situation was very nearly reversed: Anglicanism was a significant influence on the visual arts outside of the Church, while the roles for art inside the church were restricted, bound by concern over idolatry and popery. There was, however, a great deal more art in church than has hitherto been recognized, which was used to ornament the church and edify the congregation.

Eighteenth-century Anglicanism's presence and influence can be traced across the whole compass of the visual arts.² For example, if we begin with portraiture, some of the most interesting and characterful portraits of the period were made of bishops and priests.³ They are much more varied in their means and effects than might be supposed, but a few contrasted examples must suffice to demonstrate the point: an unusual, rather anxious-looking, portrait of Archbishop John Tillotson (c.1691–4), by a follower of Kneller, is distinctive, as is the sheer energy of Hogarth's otherwise formal depiction of

¹ See Rowan Williams, *The Dwelling of the Light: Praying with Icons of Christ* (Norwich, 2003) and the journal *Art and Christianity*.

² Jeremy Gregory, 'Anglicanism and the Arts: Religion, Culture and Politics in the Eighteenth Century', in Jeremy Black and Jeremy Gregory (eds.), *Culture, Politics and Society in Britain 1660–1800* (Manchester, 1991), pp. 82–109.

³ John Ingamells, *The English Episcopate 1559–1835* (London, 1981).