

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

A History of Hymns Ancient and Modern

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Summary

Summary of Thesis submitted for Ph. D. degree

by R. W. Wilkinson

on

A History of Hymns Ancient and Modern

When the first Edition was published in 1861, Hymns Ancient and Modern was just one of many collections of hymns. However, it rapidly established itself as the most popular of all. The subject of this thesis is the way that the Proprietors reacted to this success by bringing out enlarged and revised editions until the publication of the New Standard Edition in 1983.

The background and the compilation of the First Edition is only briefly touched upon ⁽¹⁾ although some attempt will be made to analyse its characteristics. The first major episode to be covered in detail will be the 1904 Edition, in which the Proprietors made a radical attempt to revise and reform the Victorian book which had developed from the First Edition. This attempt was, by Hymns Ancient and Modern standards, a failure. This failure will be explained and analysed, and its effect on future policies of the Proprietors will be assessed. To a remarkable degree the Proprietors swung over to a cautious conservatism by further enlarging the Victorian book, in order to produce the Standard Edition of 1922.

(1) The story of the First Edition has been covered in detail by S. C. M. Drain in her doctoral thesis A Study of Hymns Ancient and Modern 1860 - 1875 (London).

The imperative need for change, however, could not be resisted for ever, in particular when the challenge of other books such as the English Hymnal had to be faced. The result was Hymns Ancient and Modern Revised, published in 1950. This was a new book, but far more limited in its innovations than might have been the case. No such criticism could, however, be levelled against the two supplements, A Hundred Hymns for Today and More Hymns for Today which were published in 1969 and 1980. The thinking behind these radical publications and the excision of nearly half the hymns in Hymns Ancient and Modern Revised to form the New Standard Edition will be discussed.

The role of such key personalities as Baker, Frere and Nicholson will be evaluated, likewise the deliberations of the present members of the Council of Hymns Ancient and Modern as they look to the future.

No quotations may be made from this Thesis without the author's
written permission.

It is impossible to be neutral about hymns. For a non-Christian they must be a pernicious waste of time, addressed to a non-existent deity, possessed only of an antiquarian, sociological or literary interest like the religious choruses in Greek tragedy. For a Christian they are either pearls of great price, invaluable as expressions of worship, or they are a menace. "Hymns I have always hated," wrote C. S. Lewis. Most Christians would not be so sweeping and would allow that at least some hymns are useful, even if bad hymns are indeed very bad. But hymns certainly matter.

The same goes for hymn-books. While there will always be church-goers who take hymns and hymn-books for granted simply because they have never thought, if one is interested in worship, one cannot be indifferent. Intelligent and thoughtful Christians will have their views on hymn-books.

So I do not feel guilty in admitting straight away that I do feel strongly about hymns and hymn-books. This might be thought to be a handicap for a research student: one should be dispassionate about one's topic. However, there are advantages as well as disadvantages in being emotionally involved, especially if one is honest about it. So I shall not even try to conceal my interests and loyalties but will declare them now.

I have always loved hymns. For me the combination of words, music and performance has infinite interest and potential. I recognise indeed that there are bad hymns and I am grieved by slovenly performance. But

I will always give a hymn the benefit of the doubt and with unquenchable optimism I look forward to the performance of any hymn. Similarly I take up a hymn-book with interest and enthusiasm.

I have always been a Hymns Ancient and Modern man. My bias here is frankly emotional, dating back to childhood. But over the years familiarity has bred increasing affection for the various editions of Hymns Ancient and Modern and I am always keen to see what is good between those well-known covers.

I therefore approach my topic with fascination and loyalty. This is a work of love as well as scholarship. My firm belief is that a scholar's perception is heightened and sharpened by emotional involvement, though there must always be the danger of bias. At least I am aware, and so now will be my readers, of this danger. I hope that love will lead to perception.

It is certainly not my intention to be uncritical. Indeed, because I love, I shall chasten! In particular I believe that the latest edition of Hymns Ancient and Modern is to some extent a missed opportunity. This surely must be the raison d'être of my research, to pinpoint the mistakes as well as the achievements of the Proprietors since Hymns Ancient and Modern first appeared in 1861. The New Standard Edition has merits, but I maintain that these could be so much greater. Hence the importance and immediacy of my theme.

This brings me to the question of my approach in this Thesis. I write chiefly as an historian. My theme is the development of a remarkable successful venture, the Original Edition. I shall use primary and secondary sources to demonstrate how the Proprietors built on that

mid-nineteenth century success, how they have taken wrong turnings and how they have found their way back to the right road. But I cannot avoid literary, musical and theological judgements. What was a "wrong turning"? What was "the right road"? What should now be "the way ahead"? All I would claim here is that I have kept value judgements to a minimum. I hope that I know my limitations. I am not a trained literary, musical or theological critic. But because of my motivation in tackling this project and because of the nature of the theme, I hope that it will be accepted that I cannot totally avoid such judgements. May I add that wherever possible I have backed up my judgements with reasoned argument, by quoting the opinions of specialists or the conclusive evidence of popular support or lack of it.

I have received much help and kindness from several good friends who have tried to save me from pitfalls. If I have been "perverse and foolish", I have strayed through my own fault. So the following in no sense are responsible for my views. For their wise counsel I am indeed exceedingly grateful.

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Secondly, I must stress my gratitude to the Chairman and the Council of Hymns Ancient and Modern. Without their generous and ready co-operation this research would have been impossible. I am especially grateful to my old friend and teacher, Dr. Lionel Dakers, who initially promised

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Fourthly, the following libraries have cheerfully offered me their services. The University Library at Hull has proved to be a mine of useful information. I have benefited from several visits to Dr. Williams' Library in Gordon Square, London. The Westminster Central Library, the Marlborough College Library and the Library at Addington Palace have proved to contain interesting material. The Library of the University of London was similarly worth visiting. To the staffs of all these libraries I am most grateful.

Fifthly, I have to thank many people who have helped me in different ways. The following wrote to me in response to advertisements which I placed in the Press, asking for information on Hymns Ancient and Modern: Miss A. Ackers, Mr. Horace Brassington, Mr. Arthur R. Day, Mr. Owen Harvey, Mr. Alec J. Hill, the Reverend Canon J. D. Lytle, Mrs. Rita Shephard and Mrs. William B. Thompson. The following have been kind enough to answer my letters to them: the Right Reverend Michael A. Baughen (Bishop of Chester), the Reverend Dr. Fred Kaan, the Reverend Michael Saward and the Reverend Dr. Brian Wren. Dr. Susan Drain has been good enough to allow me to quote from her Ph. D. Thesis, A Study of Hymns Ancient and Modern 1860 - 1875. The Reverend M. Garland and Mr. John Wilson have welcomed me to membership of the Hymn Society and have sent me relevant Bulletins. The Reverend Canon B. L. Barnby has generously given me advice and has lent me his unpublished book on hymns which I enjoyed reading. The Reverend Wilfred Curtis has told me of his memories of Dr. C. S. Phillips and made available the photograph which can be found in the Appendix. Mr. Crossley Eccles and Mr. Ted Pearson have procured for me old editions of Hymns Ancient and Modern. The Reverend John Herklots gave me generously of his time and lent me the records of hymns used at All Saints' Church, Denmead. Mrs. Rosemary Goodall has typed this Thesis with her customary cheerfulness and efficiency, for which I am extremely grateful.

Lastly, I owe a great debt indeed to my wife for checking the proofs, for many constructive suggestions and for her never-failing tolerance of Hymns Ancient and Modern.

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The Editions of Hymns Ancient and Modern

		Number of Hymns
1861	The First Edition (or the Original Edition)	273
1868	Supplement	113
1875	The Second Edition (or the Old Edition).	473
1889	Supplement (or the First Supplement)	165
1904	The Third Edition (or the New Edition).	643
(1906	Hymni Latini).	
(1909	Historical Edition).	
1916	Second Supplement to the Old Edition.	141
1922	The Standard Edition	779
(1932	Plainsong Hymn Book).	
(1939	Shorter Music Edition).	
1950	Hymns Ancient and Modern Revised.	636
(1958	Hymns Ancient and Modern School Edition).	
(1962	Historical Companion to Hymns Ancient and Modern).	
1969	A Hundred Hymns for Today	100
1980	More Hymns for Today	100
1983	Hymns Ancient and Modern New Standard Edition.	533

Chapter 1

Introduction: The Victorian Background

Hymns Ancient and Modern (hereafter H A & M) originated in Victoria's reign. Indeed, when the Original Edition was published in 1861, it was just one of many High-Anglican parsonical collections. No-one could have predicted that it would be "the most successful publishing venture of the nineteenth century". ⁽¹⁾ In this introductory chapter I hope to pin-point some significant characteristics of the Victorian background which will help to explain the distinguishing features of the book and the reasons for its remarkable success.

I

I begin with the Church of England, for which H A & M was specifically compiled. In the middle years of Victoria's reign, the Church of England had problems. As we shall see, to a certain extent H A & M was a response to these problems.

First the Church had to face bewilderingly fast-moving social and economic changes. It was wholly appropriate that H A & M's inception can be traced back to a conversation in a railway train. It was the railway age. Britain was rapidly becoming an urban, industrial society, instead of a rural, agricultural society. Huge cities like Middlesbrough were created out of nothing by railway development or, like Leeds, Birmingham and Manchester, enormously expanded. The populations of such recently created cities and towns posed a tough challenge to all

(1) C. S. Phillips: "The Beginnings of H A & M". Theology, April 1939, p 284.

the churches. The Anglican Church took seriously its obligations as the national church. New dioceses as well as new parishes were created, thousands of new churches built, millions of pounds raised to provide clergy.

Even more difficult than the physical problem of providing churches and livings was the intellectual and spiritual. The navvies who built the railways were only the most rugged of the new working class potential converts. Millions of people in the new factories and mills were there to be evangelised - but how? Anglican clergy, mostly of upper or middle class background, given a classical education at Oxford or Cambridge, often brought up as countrymen, were ill-fitted to get through to the urbanised masses. In town and countryside Disraeli's quip that the Church of England was "the Conservative Party at prayer" had too much truth to be comfortable. A Devonshire parson, who had invited a crowd of loafers to come to church, got the response: "No, and you wouldn't go unless you were paid for it." It was a question of adaptability. Some Anglican clergy like Walsham How were able to adapt and could get their message across through their eloquence or saintliness of life; High-Churchmen like Mackonochie were sometimes successful, offering colourful ritual to brighten up drab and depressing surroundings. But it is impossible to demonstrate the overall success of the Anglican Church's mission to the masses; no doubt for many clergy the problems were too great.

The Church had to face the challenge that for the majority of the population these were indeed hard times. There was no Welfare State. Samuel Smiles rather than Karl Marx was the prophet whom Victorians admired. Private charity - or slumming - was supposed to compensate for the blatant injustices of society. Otherwise life's casualties could emigrate, or turn to drink or die, if they were incapable of self-help. What consolations could religion provide?

The prevalence of death and disease was a notable fact. The experiences of the Reverend John Bacchus Dykes, the saintly Precentor of Durham Cathedral and composer of several popular hymn-tunes for H A & M, illustrate the familiarity of death, the incompetence of the medical profession and the attitudes of mid-Victorian Christians. In 1841 Dykes' sister died, aged 12, after being bled excessively. In 1842 his brother Philip died, aged 13, in 1857 his brother George. Brother William died in 1860 due to a chill and in the same year brother Charles succumbed to typhus in Barnsley. In 1864 brother Arthur died, and so did son George, from croup. 1870 daughter Mabel was a victim of scarlet fever. Dykes himself was never fit, probably had tuberculosis and died young; he was incompetently nursed after a break-down brought about by his bishop's intransigence.

Typhus, tuberculosis, scarlet fever, small-pox, cholera. These were the killers of Victorian England. Only very slowly the conditions which encouraged these diseases were recognised and cured. In the meantime, the Church did its best to provide spiritual comfort. Dykes, again, repays study. He tried to cheer a parishoner whose baby had died by asking her if she really wanted her child back, now that he was with Jesus. He himself was disappointed when he arrived too late to see his brother Arthur's corpse: "Much grieved to find dear Arthur's coffin fastened up. I had earnestly hoped to look upon his face once more." He remained in prayer by his mother's corpse and then three days later (sic): "Went up to bid dear Mother a long and last adieu for this world, before the coffin was finally closed". (1)

(1) J. T. Fowler, Life and Letters of the Rev. John Bacchus Dykes, London, 1899. Entries for March 21st 1864 and June 14th 1867.

All works quoted hereafter were published in London unless otherwise stated.

Dykes' very typical Victorian attitude to death might seem morbid, indeed sub-Christian today. The Church's authority was being challenged however, on a much wider front. The very nature of truth was at stake. Scientists, such as Huxley and Darwin, questioned the Scriptural account of creation and had the better of the argument with bishops such as Wilberforce of Oxford. Matthew Arnold on the other hand preferred to think of himself as a Hellenist rather than a scientist, opposed to "Hebraism", that is to say religious dogmatism of all kinds: "The mental habit of him who imagines that Balaam's ass spoke, in no respect differs from the mental habit of him who imagines that a Madonna of wood and stone winked". (1) Worse still, even Anglican clergymen sold the pass. In Essays and Reviews, Benjamin Jowett, influenced by contemporary progressive theologians, questioned the inerrancy of the Bible. F. D. Maurice was deprived of his Chair at the University of London because of his unsoundness on Scripture. Similarly Bishop Colenso of Natal was removed by Archbishop Gray of Capetown for preaching a liberal interpretation of the Bible to his Zulu converts.

Few Victorians doubted that truth existed somewhere, but there was bewilderment as to how to establish where it could be found. Tennyson's "In Memoriam" speaks for the age, a poem of hesitancy and doubt:

Behold we know not anything;
I can but trust that good shall fall
At last - far off - at last to all.

Charles Kingsley, an ordained Anglican, maintained that "few of us believe anything".

(1) Matthew Arnold, Culture and Anarchy, 1864, p 100.

Authority was in fact at the heart of the liveliest, most controversial development within the 19th century Church, the Oxford Movement. Ritual was not really the key issue. (1) John Keble's Assize Sermon attacked Erastianism, the willing subordination by the Anglican Church of itself to the State: that is what he meant by national apostasy. With ^{regard to} the suppression of Irish bishoprics Keble was not in the least interested in the question of the injustice of Anglican sees financed by impoverished, Roman Catholic, Irish peasants. All that mattered was that the Church should be free from state interference and if Parliament was allowed to dispose of Church property in this way, it was only too clear that the Church was not free. Again, the Gorham judgement (1850) was even more horrifying; the Privy Council overruled Phillpotts, the Bishop of Exeter, on a matter of doctrine, thus undermining the authority of the Church's hierarchy on a spiritual issue.

Nevertheless, while authority was the crucial question so far as the Tractarians were concerned, there is no denying the ritualist revolution which they brought about. Oxford became the centre from which High Church practices radiated, just as Cambridge produced the Camden Society which gave the movement its architectural quality. According to the Evangelical Francis Close, Romanism was taught "analytically at Oxford, artistically at Cambridge". (2) The beauty of holiness went hand in hand with great emphasis on the sacraments as opposed to preaching, and on the corporate nature of the Church as opposed to the personal conversion which the Evangelicals stressed. The more extreme Tractarians introduced vestments, confession and religious orders, such as the Society of Saint Margaret at East Grinstead founded by J. M. Neale.

(1) Cf the story of Pusey asking "Do tell us what a cope is".

J. R. H. Moorman, History of the Church of England, 1953, p 364.

(2) At Cheltenham, November 5th 1844. Quoted by S. C. M. Drain, A Study of H A & M 1860 - 1875, unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, London University, p 30.

In general, there is no question that the Anglican Church moved towards a more sacramental, ritualist code of worship. Choirs wore surplices, priests celebrated with their backs to the congregation (as opposed to the Northside position) and regular communion, at least once a week, became common practice. Theodore Pontifex was typical of his fellow clergy, when his son discovered that he now turned East, wore a surplice and had introduced H A & M.

But it would be wrong to suggest that a happy consensus was achieved by the Oxford Movement. Quite the reverse. Odium Theologicum radiated from Oxford, causing doubts, perplexities, controversies and quarrels. Predictably, there was a Protestant back-lash. Dark stories circulated about the depravity of Tractarian practices. An old woman sitting next to Pusey on the top of a bus told him that "Dr. Pusey sacrifices a lamb once a week", to which Pusey replied, "My dear lady, I am Dr. Pusey and I wouldn't have the faintest idea how to begin to kill a lamb!" But wild stories were not always corrected and to extreme Evangelicals brought up on the menace of the "scarlet woman", the truth was frightening enough. J. M. Neale's success in founding orders of Anglican nuns seemed valid justification for Protestant mobs to try to lynch him. Sydney Smith's poem "Pray tell me what's a Puseyite" illustrates the hatred of Rome and of Anglican fellow-travellers which Protestants felt.

And they had good reason to fear. For Rome offered what was perhaps intellectually the most satisfying solution to the problem of authority, certainly the most straightforward. A steady stream of Tractarians was received into the Church. Far the most influential was John Henry Newman whose spiritual Odyssey was described in his autobiographical Apologia pro Vita Sua. Newman agonised for years. "If only thy creed were sound"

he wrote in a poem addressed to the Church of Rome while he was still an Anglican. Others were similarly tortured with regard to their own integrity, especially if they were married. Friendships were ended, families divided. (1) And still the compelling claims of the One True Church lured away more and more distinguished converts - Manning, Caswall, Faber, Henry Wilberforce, Oakeley.

Archbishop Campbell Tait tried to stop the Tractarian rot and re-establish Anglican ecclesiastical authority. In 1874 he piloted through Parliament the Public Worship Regulation Act, an attempt to suppress ritualism and achieve liturgical conformity. The attempt failed. This was partly because Disraeli and Tait disliked each other and would not co-operate. (2) Even more significant was the popular support which many ritualist priests deservedly enjoyed, and the deep and genuine convictions of the High Church party. Above all, an increasing number of Englishmen and women had lost interest in religion and had no patience with ecclesiastical highhandedness, even if, like Queen Victoria, they had no affection for Rome. "Come now, what is the Church of England?" asked the man on the stage coach, and his friend replied, "The Church of England is a damn great building with an organ inside." Most people wished it to stay that way.

In these depressing circumstances, Anglicans sought to recover their self-confidence, their spiritual raison d'être. The situation was bleak. Clergy committed treason of one sort or another, bishops

(1) Cf David Newsome, The Parting of Friends, 1966, passim.

(2) After Tait leaked the Act to the Times, Disraeli wrote to him: "I conclude by the article in the Times today, that you have a bill prepared. Is there any objection to my seeing it?" James Bentley, Ritualism and Politics in Victorian Britain, Oxford 1978, p 47.

were inept, the Archbishop staged an English Kulturkampf and Mr. Gladstone hob-nobbed with Bradlaugh, the atheist. To whom were Anglicans to go? Fortunately not all Tractarians were broken reeds. John Keble remained faithful to the Church of his fathers, determinedly Protestant or rather Appellant (i.e. appealing to a General Council). John Mason Neale offered a forthright although typically eccentric antidote to Rome, based on his research into the history and liturgy of the Greek church: "We orientals take a more general view... The Rock on which the Church is built is Saint Peter, but it is a triple Rock, Antioch where he sat, Alexandria which he superintended, Rome where he suffered".⁽¹⁾ It was indeed possible, so it seemed, to be both Catholic and Protestant, or at least non-Roman. This might be a somewhat muted trumpet-call, but there was at least hope. And in no context was this hope more apparent than in the realm of hymnody.

II

It was the age of the hymnodist. "I speak only for the minority of the clergy - those who have never made, and who never intend to make, a collection of hymns", ⁽²⁾ said Archbishop Alexander of Armagh - and to him it could have been retorted that his wife wrote and collected hymns. In the middle years of Queen Victoria's reign there was indeed a chaotic proliferation of hymn-books; there were literally hundreds of them.

Of these a surprising and, on the face of it, paradoxical number were High Church. Paradoxical, because right up to the time of the Queen's accession hymns had been regarded as the preserve of Evangelicals

(1) E. A. Towle, John Mason Neale D D, 1907, p 213.

(2) Quoted by C. V. Taylor, "Henry Williams Baker, 1821 - 1877", Hymn Society Bulletin, January 1978, p 8. His wife was Mrs. C. F. Alexander, author of "Once in Royal David's City", "There is a green hill" etc.

- Nonconformist or Anglican. "Tho' she had a copy of Hart's Hymns, I gave her half a crown". Dr. Johnson's prejudice was still shared by all but the Evangelical wing of the Anglican Church sixty years later. On 1st September 1849 Benjamin Webb wrote to J. M. Neale: "I expect I shall loathe your Methodistical snuffling hymnizing article. It is the oddest thing to me that you have never slipped off that Evangelical slough: and it is due, I take it, to your own fatal facility for versifying." (1) Newman condemned vernacular hymns as "vain and wanton effusions" (2) and argued that it was virtually impossible to write good hymns.

However, for several reasons opinions changed quickly and dramatically. First, the persistence of Evangelicals and broad-churchmen achieved an ever-widening acceptance of hymns; their value was recognised. The excellence of Cowper's and Newton's Olney Hymns was matched - or very nearly matched - by Heber and Montgomery in the early nineteenth century. Heber published a selection of hymns chosen for the Church's year, and went on to serve in the Mission field as Bishop of Calcutta. Montgomery eventually achieved the backing of Vernon Harcourt, Archbishop of York, for his collection. Hymns were clearly becoming respectable. They were further commended, even to the Tractarians, by the publication of John Keble's The Christian Year in 1829. This rather gloomy, restrained series of short poems, like Heber's allotted to the Sundays of The Church's calendar, appealed instantly to Keble's contemporaries. Several poems from The Christian Year were soon incorporated in hymn-books. The patron saint of the Oxford Movement turned out to be a writer of hymns.

(1) J. Lough, The Influence of John Mason Neale, 1962, p 74.

(2) J. H. Newman, Hymni Ecclesiae 1865, p xiii.

Keble also pointed the way to a highly significant development, by translating "Hail, Gladdening Light" from the Greek. The Christian Year is full of allusions to Homer and Greek quotations. Like the majority of Anglican clergy at that time, Keble was a competent classic. So the age of the translator had arrived. Here was the perfect solution to the problem that hymns savoured of Methodism. The ancient hymns of the Roman Church could be sung by the most bigoted Tractarian, especially if translated by High-Churchmen like Edward Caswall or Mason Neale. There was therefore a rich field here for the compiler to explore, especially after Neale had published his Hymns of the Eastern Church, adding translations from the Greek to the ever-increasing store of Latin hymns.

The increasing respectability of hymns for Anglicans of all theological shades encouraged Victorian churchmen (and women) to write their own original compositions. Parish priests (H. F. Lyte, John Ellerton), bishops (Christopher Wordsworth), clergy wives (Mrs. Alexander) wrote copiously. There was a hymnographical explosion.

But there was no order, so far as Anglicans were concerned. The Congregationalists and the Methodists had their official books, based on the pioneering work of Isaac Watts and the Wesleys. The Church of England never seriously considered an authorised hymn-book until the end of the nineteenth century.

And by the same token the Church of England used virtually no hymns by the Wesleys. To our ecumenically-minded generation the prejudice against Methodists among Anglicans of all types is surprising. One could take, as a typical example, Christopher Wordsworth's action while Bishop of Lincoln against a Wesleyan minister at Owston-Ferry named Keet. Mr. Keet's crime was to erect a tombstone in the parish

yard over his daughter's grave, worded "daughter of the Reverend H. Keet".
The vicar of the parish vetoed "Reverend" and Wordsworth backed the vicar.⁽¹⁾
Such prejudice explains the sheer ignorance of the hymns of Charles Wesley.
In Notes and Queries (26 June 1850) a correspondent asked, "Can any of your
readers inform me who was the author of the well-known hymn, 'Hark, the
herald angels sing'?" Three weeks later came a reply, "I believe the hymn
to be the composition of the Reverend Charles Wesley." The first correspon-
dent was J. M. Neale! The hymn appeared over the initials J. C. W.
(= John and Charles Wesley?) in Bickersteth's hymn-book and was attributed
to Doddridge in The Christian Remembrancer. Similarly, "Oh, for a
thousand tongues to sing" was "anon" in Alexander's Hymns. What is so
striking is that well informed people like Neale should fail to recognise
Charles Wesley's style. Ignorance of the existence, never mind the merits,
of the Wesleys' work paved the way for much hymnody which was very ordinary
indeed. The quantity of Victorian hymns is at least as impressive as
their quality. ⁽²⁾

There was an equally significant flourishing of composers at this
time, which made the choice of music as embarrassing for compilers as the
selection of words. Here again there was quantity, but also quality.
Duseley, S. S. Wesley and Monk raised the standards of church music in
general, and led the way by composing hymn-tunes themselves. There was a
correspondingly encouraging development of organ building, to a great
extent fostered by Mendelssohn's advocacy of J. S. Bach's music. There
was therefore a reasonable chance that hymns would be sung to adequate

(1) O. Chadwick, The Victorian Church, 1966, Vol. 2, p 204.

(2) Cf Osbert Lancaster's parody of Victorian hymns. His Dr. Palinure,
Bishop of Horizon and the Isles, wrote:

How little, Lord, we need below

As thro' this vale of tears we go.

He doth all worldly goods despise

Who striveth for a heavenly prize.

Quoted by Erik Routley, Hymns and Human Life, 1952, p 83.

music, competently played on a satisfactory instrument. This was important. (1)

III

At the Oxford Mission in 1931 Archbishop William Temple stopped the organist before the last verse of "When I survey the Wondrous Cross". "I want you to read over this verse before you sing it. They are tremendous words. If you mean them with all your hearts, sing them as loud as you can. If you don't mean them at all, keep silent. If you mean them even a little, and want to mean them more, sing them very softly." The effect of two thousand young men and women whispering "Were the whole realm of nature mine etc" was described by a member of the congregation as "unforgettable". (2) Neither the hymn nor the occasion are Victorian. But the point of this episode is directly relevant to my theme: the power and potential of the hymn for teachers and preachers. As John Wesley said, "A verse will find him who a sermon flees". Hymnody in Victorian times was a key influence in maintaining the morale of the faithful and evangelising the heathen. "The greatest factor in popularising Victorian services was the hymnody". (3) General Gordon was buried to the strains of his favourite hymn, "Abide with me" - and that was a Victorian hymn, sung to a Victorian tune!

To sum up, from hindsight we can see that there was a great opportunity for a new hymn-book in 1861. The case for a popular book which

(1) Cf Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church, 1966, Part 1, p 519.

"Musically the organ was unquestionably an improvement if anyone could play it".

(2) F. A. Iremonger, William Temple, Oxford, 1948, p 378.

(3) Horton Davies, Worship and Theology in England. Princeton, 1961, p 210.

would be widely used was unanswerable. If such a book could be a quality production as well, making intelligent use of all that was best in contemporary hymnody and music, so much the better. A book that was rooted in the history of the Catholic Church but which was neither Roman nor crypto-Roman would have a wide appeal indeed. A book which made some concession to the masses but was reassuringly classical in flavour, with a bias towards the countryside and was conservative in its social teaching, would rally the Anglican faithful. The minimum concessions to Methodist emotionalism should be tolerated, although there was certainly a need for some hymns of personal devotion. A certain escapism, a wistful longing for a forgotten age of certainty and rural calm was there to be satisfied. Add to all this the adage "Cometh the hour, cometh the man".

Chapter 2

The Original Edition (1861 - 1868 Supplement)

I

As we have seen, H A & M began in a railway train. Two High-Church Anglican priests, William Denton and F. H. Murray, were travelling on the Great Western Railway in the Summer of 1858. They passed the time by discussing hymns and hymn-books - a subject on which they were both experts, for in 1853 Denton had edited The Church Hymnal and in the previous year Murray, with the help of C. R. Harrison, a former curate, had produced The Hymnal for Use in the English Church. The Tractarian movement had initially fought shy of hymn-singing which had been considered the preserve of Evangelical enthusiasts. By 1858, however, there were several Anglo-Catholic churches where the incumbent had introduced hymns, often on a "do it yourself" basis. Why not bring order out of chaos and amalgamate the various collections into one hymn-book which would incorporate everybody's best hymns?

The discussion on the Great Western Railway led to a meeting a few weeks later at Saint Barnabas', Pimlico. The curate-in-charge there, G. C. White, was another High-Church hymnologist, author of Hymns and Introits: he had been approached by Murray. An even more important recruit was Sir H. W. Baker, Vicar of Monkland, who was appointed Secretary of the Committee, which was formed at the Pimlico meeting. Harrison and W. Pulling were also present, when the crucial decision was taken to go ahead with a new hymn-book. Denton, however, was absent. In the introduction to The Historical Companion to Hymns Ancient and Modern, ⁽¹⁾ we read that "Mr. Denton, however, withdrew.

(1) London 1962. This introduction is a curious composition, for the most part, word for word the introduction written by Bishop Frere for the Historical Edition of 1909, but appearing over W. K. Lowther Clarke's name. The sentence about Denton is one of Lowther Clarke's few additions.

His book had a long start, and he did not wish it to be superseded". This may well be true, although three years later Denton complained that he had not been invited to the meeting; ⁽¹⁾ it is perhaps significant that he had argued the case for an appendix of suitable hymns to be added to his own well-established book. For the misunderstanding and for Denton's bitterness, Murray accepted some responsibility. ⁽²⁾ It is tempting, however, to see in this affair the hand of Sir Henry Baker who combined a singular lack of scruple with the ability to quarrel with his fellow clergymen. It is essential however to do justice to Baker who, more than any other man, was the architect of H A & M - and of its success.

II

Sir Henry Williams Baker (1821 - 77) was the son of Admiral Sir Henry Baker; perhaps he inherited from his father a peremptory nature and the habit of lecturing his correspondents on their duties as gentlemen. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge and became Vicar of Monkland in Herefordshire, where he was also the squire. Baker was only 37 when he was invited to participate in the project of a new hymn-book and he brought a young man's vigour and enthusiasm to the task. Indeed, H A & M became the consuming interest of the rest of his life. Tactless, rude and overbearing, he nevertheless displayed consistently the flair for organisation and the sixth sense of what would appeal to the Christian and especially Anglican public which was so necessary if the book was not simply to be yet another parsonical collection of hymns.

(1) Denton's absence is discussed by C. S. Phillips op.cit. in Theology, April 1939, p 278.

(2) C. S. Phillips, op. cit. Murray agreed that Denton was not asked to later meetings because it was by then understood that he did not wish to be involved.

If an element of ruthlessness is also necessary in making a success of such a project, no-one could fault Baker. This is illustrated by his attitude to copyright, which could be summed up as the maximum exploitation of the law in the interests of H A & M. Where he could get away with it, he appropriated other people's hymns: not for nothing were the Compilers and their advisers known as "the forty thieves" - and the piracy of tunes was even more notorious. Let anyone lay their hands on H A & M ⁽¹⁾ however, and Baker would be quick to take up arms. For example, F. Pott (author of "Angel Voices ever singing") withdrew from the committee, because some of the prepared hymns were Romish (e.g. "Sponsa Christi" and "Pange Lingua") - and then incorporated H A & M material in his own hymn-book. Pott was by his own lights consistent as he had already written to Baker:

It is and always has been my theory and feeling that hymns and other devotional writings are - or ought to be - an exception to the laws of copyright and property. They are, I think, written "pro bono Ecclesiae" and ought to be considered as public Church property. ⁽²⁾

This very reasonable point of view, which was shared by many contemporary hymn-writers such as John Ellerton, would not do for Sir Henry:

I should be willing to appeal to almost anyone you could name as to whether it is courteous and gentlemanly to work with a committee for a long while, leave them without any tangible reason (sic!) and then use private information gained as a member of that committee for your own book. ⁽³⁾

(1) Not merely hymns which appeared in H A & M for the first time, but also the Compilers' versions of other people's hymns!

(2) S. C. M. Drain, A Study of Hymns Ancient & Modern, London Ph. D. Thesis, p 176.

(3) *ibid* p 197.

Nor was Baker afraid of crossing swords with his ecclesiastical superiors. Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln, objected to his hymn "Heavenly Father, send thy blessing" being abbreviated in H A & M. Nor was he happy about some of the other hymns in H A & M which he regarded as heretical. (1) Baker trenchantly countered the Bishop's objections and published the whole correspondence. Wordsworth was so angry that he publicly attacked the Compilers at the Nottingham Church Congress of 1871 (2) and rebuked the meek and saintly J. B. Dykes for associating with such company. Dykes was far too upset to retaliate. (3)

Nevertheless Baker must have had attractive qualities, and he cannot be dismissed as a blustering bully. As it happens, Dykes is a witness to the pleasanter side of Baker's nature. In the Autumn of 1867 Dykes visited Sir Frederick Ouseley at Saint Michael's College, Tenbury (which Ouseley had founded). While writing letters in Ouseley's study, "I was suddenly rushed in upon by Sir Henry Baker, who expressed delight at last at seeing my face in the flesh. Quite a different style of man to what I had anticipated." One wonders what exactly Dykes had anticipated. Nevertheless the two men obviously got on well and before long Baker was writing to Dykes: "My dear Dykes, may I drop the 'Dr'.... Your affectionate friend, Henry W. Baker". When Dykes died, Baker wrote a kind letter to his widow - "We did indeed think of him this morning

(1) S. C. M. Drain, A Study of Hymns Ancient & Modern, London Ph. D. Thesis, p 176.

(2) W. K. Lowther Clarke, A Hundred Years of Hymns Ancient and Modern, 1960, p 35.

(3) For a more attractive picture of Christopher Wordsworth, see J. H. Overton and E. Wordsworth, Christopher Wordsworth Bishop of Lincoln, 1893.

as we sang 'The King of Love my Shepherd is' - to his tune".⁽¹⁾ And it was typical of Baker, one is tempted to add, that they were his words.

Dykes was not the only man to be "rushed in upon" by Sir Henry.

There is the charming story of the committee engaged on the music of the 1875 version of H A & M meeting at the Langham Hotel, London. No satisfactory tune could be found to "There's a friend for little children". So Baker proposed that Sir John Stainer should be dispatched to Baker's bedroom in order to write a suitable tune - and presumably not to come out until he had done so. All went well, and before long Stainer returned with "In Memoriam".⁽²⁾

Baker, it should be remembered, was not only the author of several popular hymns, but he was also no mean musician. He is a member of the distinguished and very small number of hymn-writers who also wrote the tune for one of his hymns ⁽³⁾ ("My Father, for another night..." - a hymn in which not a word is wasted, while "Saint Timothy" is still the usual tune). On his deathbed, Baker quoted his own verse, "Perverse and foolish oft I strayed". And rightly, in that very often he was perverse and foolish. Yet with his many gifts, literary, musical, administrative, with his forceful personality and enthusiasm, he was just the man for H A & M.

(1) J. T. Fowler, Life and Letters of the Reverend John Bacchus Dykes, 1899, passim.

(2) Percy Dearmer, Songs of Praise Discussed, Oxford 1933, p 204.

(3) Martin Luther, S. Baring-Gould and Patrick Appleford are also members.

It is pleasant to record that Baker's achievements have not been forgotten. On October 10th, 1941 the Proprietors of H A & M met at Saint Michael's College, Tenbury. We read in the Minutes that "after the Meeting the Proprietors visited Monkland Church. The Chairman was instructed to write to the vicar to suggest that the tombstone of the Reverend Sir Henry Baker, formerly vicar of the parish and Chairman of H A & M, should be cleaned and the lettering restored, adding that the Proprietors would be glad to defray the expenses". Such piety towards the founding Chairman was wholly deserved and appropriate. And it is equally fitting that two recent tributes to Sir Henry have been written by Lowther Clarke ⁽¹⁾ when he was Chairman of H A & M and by Cyril Taylor a member of the present Council. ⁽²⁾ Dr. Susan Drain ⁽³⁾ has described Baker's less attractive characteristics, but even they were placed at the service of the new hymn-book, as she readily acknowledges: "H A & M added to a genuine evangelical zeal and scholarly fervour that dash of salesmanship which ensured that they would be able, as others were not, to communicate what they had been inspired to say". To a great extent "they" means "Baker". As Cyril Taylor writes, "(Baker) was H A & M: its chief promoter, the first Chairman of its Proprietors, and its first editor in chief. When Leslie Bunn wrote an article for the American Hymn Society in 1961 he gave it the sub-title The Hymn-Book of an Englishman, and he was altogether justified for placing the responsibility for H A & M in the hands of one man". ⁽⁴⁾

(1) W. K. Lowther Clarke, A Hundred Years of Hymns Ancient and Modern, 1960, pp 27 - 8.

(2) The Hymn Society Bulletin 141, Vol. 9, pp 7 - 14. Taylor quotes Job 39 vv 20 - 25 as "a perfect picture" of Sir Henry: "His majestic snorting is terrible. He paws in the valley, and exults in his strength: he goes out to meet the weapons. He laughs at fear, and is not dismayed ... he cannot stand still at the sound of the trumpet. When the trumpet sounds, he says 'Aha!' He smells the battle from afar".

(3) S. C. M. Drain, op. cit., passim.

(4) Taylor, op. cit. p 7.

Over the years H A & M was well served by several of the original Proprietors. In addition to Baker, they were Murray, Harrison and White whom we have already mentioned, plus G. W. Huntingford who taught at Winchester, W. H. Lyall who became a Roman Catholic much to the embarrassment and confusion of his colleagues, T. A. Maberley, Vicar of Cuckfield in Sussex, W. Pulling who was a Fellow of Brasenose, W. Upton Richards, Vicar of All Saints, Margaret Street, J. Wilkins, Rector of Southwell Minster and P. Ward (who resigned very soon, in 1865). Credit should also go to Dr. W. H. Monk, Professor of Vocal Music at King's College, London, who was musical editor of the 1861 Edition. He arranged sixty of the tunes and composed fifteen, many of them "winners". ("Eventide" has proved the most popular; ⁽¹⁾ "Evelyns" - set to "At the name of Jesus" - illustrates Monk's solid virtues). Monk suggested the title "Hymns Ancient and Modern" - as events were to prove, an inspired choice of words. ⁽²⁾ He also served as musical editor for the 1868 Supplement, the 1875 Edition and the 1889 Supplement. Pulling succeeded Baker on the latter's death in 1877 and presided over the 1889 Supplement. White succeeded Pulling and was nominally in command when the disastrous 1904 Edition emerged, though as we shall see, the real responsibility lay with others who lacked the flair and realism of the original Proprietors.

(1) See Historical Companion to Hymns Ancient and Modern for the contrasting accounts of the composition of "Eventide" p 142.

(2) Actually the combination of words was not original. Cf William Sandys' Christmas Carols Ancient and Modern (1833) and Dr. Calcott's Ancient and Modern Psalm and Hymn Tunes (1840).

III

On October 20th, 1858 the following advertisement appeared in
The Guardian:

To the Clergy, and others interested in Hymnology.

The Editors of several existing Hymnals, being engaged, with others, in the compilation of a Book which they hope may secure a more general acceptance from Churchmen, would be very thankful for any suggestion from persons interested in the matter.

Communications may be addressed to the Secretary of the Committee,
Reverend H. W. Baker, Monkland Vicarage, near Leominster.

The response was widespread and helpful, although the advice - perhaps inevitably - was conflicting.

No doubt driven forward by Baker's enthusiasm, the committee acted relatively briskly, selecting, translating, editing. Specimen samples of fifty hymns were circulated to various experts for comments. In October 1860, Baker was able to announce that the words of the 273 hymns chosen would be published on Advent Sunday and the music edition in March, 1861.

The book was published in "an unattractive brown cover" ⁽¹⁾, price 4d (words only), 1s/2d (music). Dr. Drain considers the original H A & M to have been of high quality and very cheap. Actually, it was not so very cheap as a correspondent of the Literary Churchman pointed out in 1862; even a 3d book was not "the poor man's hymnal". ⁽²⁾ Cheap or

(1) W. K. Lowther Clarke, op. cit. p 32.

(2) W. K. Lowther Clarke, op. cit. p 32. Lowther Clarke fails to mention a 2½d edition in paper covers which is advertised at the back of H A & M (1861) (Tunes edition).

not, high quality or low, the book was certainly a commercial success. By 1868 four and a half million copies had been sold and it was clearly established as the most popular English hymn-book.

Hymns Ancient and Modern with Accompanying Tunes sold at 1s/2d, limp cloth, turned, 3s/6d, cloth boards, gilt lettered and 12s/0d, best Morocco, gilt edges. All these versions of the Musical Edition began with a Preface, which sparkles with no doubt totally unconscious humour:

The Compilers of Hymns Ancient and Modern, for use in the Services of the Church, desire to take the opportunity afforded by the publication of this edition with accompanying tunes, of expressing their deep thankfulness for the very large amount of kind and valuable assistance which they have received in the compilation both of the words and music. Original contributions, translations, careful criticisms, and thoughtful suggestions, as well as permission to make extracts from their published works, have been freely given by many who, they well know, will neither expect nor desire to receive more than this general but most hearty assurance of their gratitude.

The "Forty Thieves" ⁽¹⁾ had good reason to be grateful, it might be thought, but not necessarily generous: the very last words of the book are, "Applications for permission to print any of the Copyright Tunes or Words for Choral Festivals, etc, should be made to the Reverend Sir Henry W. Baker, Bart, Monkland, near Leominster."

(1) Edgar Bishop believes that the Proprietors were making about £8,000 per annum each out of the sale of H A & M by 1880 (conversation with the author, 21st August 1984).

The anonymous author of the Preface does in fact thank various people by name - "the revered author of the Christian Year, for leave to make extracts from it"... "Miss Catherine Winkworth for her kind permission to print Hymns 52, 119 and 212"... "the Reverend J. B. Dykes, Precentor of Durham Cathedral, for several new tunes, especially that to the 'Dies Irae' and for much valuable assistance"... "the Reverend Sir Frederick A. Gore Ouseley, Bart, Professor of Music in the University of Oxford, and Precentor of Hereford Cathedral, for several new tunes..."

This roll-call of mid-Victorian musico-ecclesiastical establishment continues with one particularly well-deserved tribute: "and lastly, although by no means in the last degree (thanks are due) to their talented co-adjutor, Mr. W. H. Monk, to whose extensive musical knowledge, good taste, and industry, they are so deeply indebted."

The Preface ends with advice to organists. "As a rule it may be said that ordinary congregational singing is too slow, and it would be perhaps better to err on the side of quickness than slowness". But on the whole, "it has been thought best to leave this to the individual judgement of Directors of Choirs". With regard to the pitch of tunes, "this, like the speed, may depend on circumstances... There is no reason, therefore, why any tune should not be transposed when required; although the pitch here given is, when practicable, the best."

This was all very well if the organist was capable of transposing a hymn-tune. In sober fact, the Original Edition was open to criticism due to the excessively high keys of far too many tunes - a fault which applies to every subsequent edition of H A & M until 1983. Similarly, the Original Edition inaugurated another irritating flaw, likewise not to be

rectified until the New Standard Edition was published; all the indexes are to be found at the front of the book and not in their natural place, at the back.

The 1861 Edition, however, also illustrates some transient, peculiarly mid-Victorian defects. For instance, the key signature of tunes is given only for the first line. Again, later editions were to be more informative about the authors of hymns and composers of tunes. It is hard work to find out who wrote the tunes in the 1861 Edition, as no composer's name is given over the music. This information can only be found by tracing the tune in the metrical index (there is no alphabetical index of tunes), where the composer's and arranger's names are published. It is absolutely impossible to find the names of the authors of hymns; the names of Ken, Wesley, Watts, Heber, Montgomery etc. are never mentioned, even in the indexes.

Be that as it may, the book was certainly a commercial success. To what extent this popularity was deserved must be a matter of opinion. I intend now to turn to the words of the book, and also glance briefly at the music. I shall then try to analyse the most important characteristics of the first edition of H A & M and account for its popularity.

IV

After describing the greatness of Thomas Cranmer's achievement in creating the Book of Common Prayer, S. T. Bindoff has this to say:

In one thing only Cranmer failed. He could not render the hymns of the Catholic Breviary into singable English, and three centuries were to pass before H A & M was to complete, with the Prayer Book and the Authorised Version, the splendid trilogy with which the Anglican Church had endowed the English-speaking world.⁽¹⁾

(1) S. T. Bindoff, Tudor England, 1950, p 155.

This is praise indeed. Bernard Manning made a similar claim for the Methodist Hymn Book, perhaps with more justification. ⁽¹⁾ In fact, it is not clear precisely which H A & M Professor Bindoff has in mind. If, however, he is talking about the first edition, he is absolutely right to stress the achievement of the Compilers in bringing into popular use a large number of singable translations of old - and not so old - hymns from the various Roman collections.

The enthusiasm for Catholic tradition which the Oxford Movement had engendered and the prevalence of the study of the Classics made the 19th Century the age of the translator - certainly in Britain. As we have seen Christian scholars such as Caswall, Chandler, Campbell, Littledale and, above all, Neale had already published collections of translated hymns, impressive both in quality and quantity. The doyen of the Tractarians, John Keble, had led the way with a translation of one of the very earliest Christian hymns,
- "Hail, Gladdening Light". ⁽²⁾

The Compilers of A & M showed perspicacity and taste in gathering together the most suitable translations. Keble's hymn referred to above first appeared in The British Magazine, 1834. Neale's work was to be found in The Hymnal Noted. Caswall had published his translations in Lyra Catholica, immediately before his departure to the Roman Church. Chandler's hymns were to be found in The Hymns of the Primitive Church - and so on. Baker and his scholarly colleagues knew what they were doing. They displayed knowledge in assembling the best translated

(1) Bernard L. Manning, The Hymns of Wesley and Watts, op. cit., passim

(2) It compares well with Robert Bridges' translation, "O Gladsome Light, O Grace" - Songs of Praise 50. A & M has always contained Keble's since it first appeared in the 1868 Supplement.

hymns, tact in persuading the authors to surrender their copyright and taste (on the whole) in altering the translations here and there.

This then was perhaps the salient quality of the first edition of H A & M which made it unique. No other contemporary hymn-book offered such a convenient and singable collection of translations from the Latin. Indeed, it could be argued that the book was over-weighted with such translations - 110 out of 273 hymns were taken from Latin originals. Be that as it may, there was obviously a demand for such a collection which H A & M satisfied. And a great service was rendered to the English-speaking Christian world by the popularisation of such hymns as "My God, I love Thee" (Caswall), "Blessed City, heavenly Salem" (Neale), "Disposer Supreme" (Isaac Williams). The last is an excellent illustration of the Compilers' work. The hymn was not particularly old, having been written by J. B. de Santeuil (1630 - 97) in the Cluniac Breviary. Williams' translation appeared first in The British Magazine (1836) and then in his Hymns Translated from the Parisian Breviary (1839). The Compilers of H A & M took the hymn over and altered it in several minor details - for the better, we may reasonably conclude, judging by its subsequent popularity.

An even better illustration of the Compilers' skill and influence is "Jerusalem the Golden". J. M. Neale translated 96 lines of Bernard of Cluny's long, satirical diatribe against the mid 12th century world, De Contemptu Mundi. The Compilers of H A & M made four hymns out of Neale's translation, of which "Jerusalem the Golden" has proved much the most popular. The briskness with which they acted is to be noted. Neale's translation - The Rhythm of Bernard de Morlaix, Monk of Cluny,

on the Celestial Country ⁽¹⁾ - was published in 1858, the year in which Baker and his colleagues began work. Neale was typically good-humoured and modest about the tendency of compilers to alter his hymns - and "Jerusalem the Golden" was altered in several details, mostly for the better (e.g. "What joys await us there" for "What social joys are there"). The Compilers added a fine last verse ("O sweet and blessed country"). Above all, they selected an unknown tune ("Ewing") which they improved out of all recognition by changing it from triple to double time. It is exactly right for the hymn; as Dr. Dearmer perceptively remarks, ⁽²⁾ "there is a kind of struggling ecstasy in its phrases, especially in the fifth and sixth lines, which accords well with the spirit of Bernard of Cluny's poem". In short we have here the compiler's art at its very best.

(1) "Jerusalem the Golden" may be a splendid hymn, but Neale's translation hardly conveys the spirit of the original poem. This has to be studied in the Latin for the unique, unforgettable, sinister impact to be appreciated. Neale's "The World is very evil..." is a feeble rendering of the opening of the poem, "Hora novissima, tempora pessima sunt, vigilemus"; he totally fails to get across the pounding urgency of the caesura-less hexameters. It is not clear whether Neale was familiar with the last two books, e.g. Book III, Lines 180 - 204:

Ingenialiter et purialiter, ille fit illa,
Juno relinquitur, ipsa repellitur et Petronilla.....
Faex Sodomae patet, innumerus scatat, heu! Ganymedes,
Dum scelus exhibet, haec fera quaslibet incolitaedes.
Prima sedilia, culta cubilia sunt Ganymedis.....

O furor ultimus! est modo plurimus Hermaphroditus...

See the edition by M. G. Hoskier, 1929 - printed by William Clowes & Sons Ltd. (sic!)

(2) Songs of Praise Discussed. op. cit. pp 125 - 6.

It should not be supposed that the Compilers were only interested in translations from the Latin, although Tractarian enthusiasm for all things Latin ensured that a majority of the translated hymns were from the Roman tongue. They were quick however to incorporate the best of Neale's Hymns of the Eastern Church, translated from the Greek (or, as some would argue, inspired by the Greek), in the 1868 Supplement; Neale's Greek hymns were published in 1862, too late for the Original Edition of H A & M. The Compilers also included several German hymns, notably those translated by Catherine Winkworth, Caswall's "Glory be to Jesus" from the Italian and "Guide me, O Thou Great Redeemer" from the Welsh.⁽¹⁾ Translations from Irish and Danish were to follow in the Standard Edition.

Approximately half the hymns in the original H A & M were translations, explaining if not literally justifying the "Ancient" in the title. The Compilers showed real flair and shrewd business-sense in combining a collection of the best translations with about 130 "modern" (i.e. original) hymns, most of them in fact recently written. It will be recalled that Baker canvassed advice from all who would like to help the Compilers. He received a letter from Mr. W. Prior of Lincoln's Inn (27 March 1860) who recommended that the whole book should be submitted to Matthew Arnold and recast into "finished English poetry". Lowther Clarke's trenchant comment is that this "good advice was disregarded and success thereby attained".⁽²⁾

Another piece of even better advice came from John Keble: "If you desire to make a hymn-book for the use of the Church, make it comprehensive". It cannot be maintained that this advice was in fact entirely

(1) Included in the 1868 Supplement.

(2) Lowther Clarke, op. cit., pp 25 - 6.

regarded; indeed, quite simply, there were too few "modern" hymns in the Original Edition. With characteristic good sense, the Compilers more or less immediately set about preparing an appendix to make the book more comprehensive. Although this appendix - which was published in 1868 - included twenty-six translations, ten of them from the Greek, (1) eighty-seven were original compositions. The majority had recently been written by Christopher Wordsworth, W. Bright, J. H. Newman, Dean Plumptre, S. J. Stone, G. Thring, Mrs. Alexander etc. In fact the proportion of translations to original hymns has steadily declined through the various editions of H A & M, though tradition has been maintained by "Jesu, Son of Mary", from the Swahili. (2)

The good sense of the Compilers was shown by their increasing readiness to incorporate some eighteenth century hymns. In 1858 a correspondent had written to Sir Henry Baker: "The Church has no right to and has no need of sectarian hymns". Fortunately H A & M has always included "sectarian" hymns, and several by Isaac Watts and the Wesleys appear in the very latest supplements. The Original Edition lacked "Oh for a thousand tongues to sing", "O Thou Who comest from above", "Put thou thy trust in God", "Oh for a heart to praise my God". All were added in the 1875 Edition. The 1861 Edition did however include "Christ, whose glory fills the skies", "Jesu, Lover of my soul", "Hark, the herald angels sing", as well as Isaac Watts' classics ("Jesus shall reign", "O God, our help" and "When I survey the Wondrous Cross").

(1) To gratify Dr. Neale, according to Dr. Drain.

(2) Standard 749, H A & M R 469, H A & M New Standard 281

Very possibly the absence of a large number of eighteenth century hymns in H A & M helped to give it a refreshingly modern appearance. Inevitably the Methodist Hymn-Book contained a vast number of hymns by the Wesleys - still well over 250 in 1933. And the Congregationalist hymn-books were heavily loaded with Watts, whose lesser hymns dated very quickly. (1) However, other books which were available to Anglicans and therefore direct rivals to H A & M contained outdated material - or so it must have seemed. Mr. Compton, on the Tract Committee of the S.P.C.K.'s Church Hymns, (1871) referred to "an enormous deal of trash, of Watts, Montgomery and Co, still surviving in the new edition". Actually Church Hymns, published by S.P.C.K., in 1871 as an enlarged version of Psalms and Hymns (1859), was not a bad hymn-book; Walsham How and John Ellerton helped to compile it and Sir Arthur Sullivan edited the music.

(2)

Lowther Clarke rightly stresses the musical qualities of the 1868 supplement of H A & M, in which half the tunes were published for the first time, many of them especially composed for the book, notably by Dykes, Barnby, Elvey, Smart, A. H. Brown; he points out that the Compilers were skilful in matching hymns and tunes - "Eventide" for "Abide with me", "Nicaea" for "Holy, Holy, Holy", "Melita" for "Eternal Father, strong to save", "Ewing" for "Jerusalem the golden". Yet Sullivan included every one of these happy marriages in Church Hymns three years later - and several excellent tunes which were not in H A & M. Perhaps, as

(1) "Lo! What an entertaining sight are brethren that agree" - New Congregationalist Hymn Book 186.

(2) Lowther Clarke, op. cit., pp 34 - 5.

Lowther Clarke suggests, Church Hymns was a little dull. (1)

There was no questioning the victory of H A & M over its rivals. In January 1892, Canon H. Twells, Chairman of the Convocation Committee on hymn-books, reported that a survey on the circulation of hymn-books produced the following results: 10,237 churches used H A & M, 1,444 used Church Hymns, 1,420 Hymnal Companion (Bickersteth's admirable Evangelical hymn-book) and 372 other books. Sales of H A & M were correspondingly impressive: 1,304,156 copies of the 1875 edition were sold in that year. 4,500,000 copies of the Original Edition had been sold by 1868, the book complete with the 1889 supplement sold 3,524,626 copies in 1889 and 1890.

However, this commercial success was not reflected in a survey which James King published in 1885. (2) King examined 52 hymn-books currently in use in the Anglican Church, in order to discover which hymns appeared most frequently. 105 hymns appeared in over 30 books, 110 in between 20 and 30 and a further 110 between 15 and 20. Which hymn-book "got it right" - that is to say, included the largest number of hymns in all grades of popularity? Answer: The Hymnal Companion, in which only 48 of the 324 hymns in King's three categories were omitted (103 out of 105 "first-rank" hymns were included). Church Hymns did quite well so far as "first-rank" hymns were concerned (97 out of 105), but fell away with the second and third ranks, achieving a grand total of 210, compared

(1) As with the Original Edition of H A & M, the musical editor gives the composers of the tunes but not the authors of the words, and key signatures appear for the first line only.

(2) James King, Anglican Hymnology, 1885. (Being an account of the 325 standard hymns of the highest merit according to the verdict of the whole Anglican Church).

with The Hymnal Companion's 277. H A & M was even less successful scoring only 192 overall, and including only 90 out of 105 first-rank hymns. (1)

The fifteen first-rank hymns omitted from H A & M were "Glorious things of thee are spoken", "Children of the heavenly King", "O God of Bethel (or Jacob)", "There is a land of pure delight", "Love divine, all loves excelling", "Lord, dismiss us with Thy blessing", "Angels from the realms of glory", "Brightest and best of the sons of the morning", "Oh, for a closer walk with God", "When all Thy mercies, O my God", "Before Jehovah's awful throne" - all of which were included by the end of the century. Never included in H A & M, but first-rank hymns when King did his research were: "Lord of mercy and of might" (Heber), "Lord of the worlds above" (Watts), "The Lord shall come" (Heber), and "When gathering clouds" (Grant).

Only limited significance should be attached to King's book. The inclusion of a hymn in so many publications did not prove that it was actually sung. And furthermore the vast majority of the publications which he analysed were on the way out. Nevertheless King throws interesting light on the apparent situation in the mid-eighteen eighties: still the multiplicity of hymn-books, still the popularity of hymns by Heber, Grant, Watts, Milman which are now forgotten (whether deservedly is not my concern). Equally striking is the evidence for the realism of the Compilers of H A & M. If there were indeed popular hymns which were omitted from the 1875 edition, they were incorporated in H A & M very soon afterwards. The alertness of the Compilers has always been a feature of H A & M at its best. They may not have put Keble's advice

(1) Which H A & M? King seems to have used the 1875 edition, which was, of course, available when he produced his book.

(to make the book comprehensive) into practice to a sufficient extent to suit all tastes, but without any doubt the book became much more comprehensive very quickly.

Always, however, within guide-lines. The Compilers of the early editions were moderate High-Churchmen who had very definite ideas about Christian worship in general, and the legitimate rôle of the hymn in particular. They distrusted emotionalism and preferred the objective to the subjective. Hence the enthusiasm for the hymns of the ancient Latin and Greek churches; as Benjamin Webb pointed out to J. M. Neale, only the ancients could write objective hymns. ⁽¹⁾ Hence also, perhaps, the inclusion of a highly subjective, emotional hymn such as "My God, I love Thee" because Caswall thought it was by Saint Francis Xavier, although he was almost certainly wrong - and the hymn therefore got in under false pretences. Hence the inclusion from 1861 onwards of Charles Wesley's "Christ, whose glory fills the sky", which is far more objective than, say, his emotional "And can it be". When "Oh for a thousand tongues to sing" did eventually gain admission to H A & M, the verse "He breaks the power of cancelled sin" was omitted - and has been omitted in every subsequent edition. ⁽²⁾ Hymns must be devotional, as L. C. Briggs pointed out in the annotated edition of 1867, but, in Ellerton's phrase, "must not be explorations of the pathology of the soul".

Ironically, two prominent Tractarians contributed highly emotional, subjective hymns. Newman's "Lead, kindly Light", which appeared in the

(1) E. A. Towle, op. cit., p 208.

(2) Except the 1904 Edition.

1868 appendix, is indeed the work of a poet, but is self-indulgent and self-pitying. To be fair to Newman, he did not intend "Lead, kindly Light" to be sung as a hymn. But the same excuse can certainly not be advanced for F. W. Faber whose "O, come and mourn with me awhile" has featured in every H A & M until 1983. In the Preface to Jesus and Mary (where this hymn was first published) Faber explains his intention of offering Roman Catholics a similar collection to the Olney Hymns, remarking with unconscious humour "that Catholics even are not unfrequently found poring with a devout and unsuspecting delight over the verses of the Olney Hymns". (1) Like Cowper and Newton, Faber speaks for the emotionally moved individual Christian, although "O, come and mourn" is perhaps too sentimental; as Dr. Drain remarks, "one must not pity God". (2) At least, however, the Compilers omitted the following verses:

How fast his Hands and Feet are nailed;
His blessed Tongue with thirst is tied,
His failing Eyes are blind with blood, -
Jesus, our Love, is crucified.

Come, take thy stand beneath the Cross,
And let the Blood from out that Side
Fall gently on thee drop by drop; -
Jesus, our Love, is crucified!

(1) Frederick W. Faber, Jesus and Mary, 1849, p XII. Had Faber read Crossman's "My song is Love Unknown"? Cf this verse, likewise unpublished in hymn-books:

What was Thy crime, my dearest Lord?
By earth, by heaven, Thou hast been tried,
And guilty found of too much love; -
Jesus, our Love, is crucified.

(2) Cf S. C. M. Drain, op. cit., p 76 where she contrasts Faber's hymn with Milman's "Ride on, ride on" - "a hymn which deliberately arouses emotion but keeps it in check".

Faber had great gifts, although whether he can be compared with Cowper, as he modestly suggests, can perhaps be doubted. I do not blame the Compilers for including in the 1868 appendix "Hark, hark, my soul" which is certainly very sentimental, but the kind of bad hymn which people find moving. Incidentally, the Compilers - although Faber would have been too bigoted to admit it - did him the service of providing successful tunes, Dykes' "Saint Cross" for "O, Come and mourn" and Smart's "Pilgrims" for "Hark, hark my soul", both specially composed for H A & M.

The real inspiration of the Compilers, however, was the Anglican reserve of Keble and Isaac Williams, both of whom, perhaps significantly, remained faithful to the Church of their fathers, while the more emotional Newman and Faber - and Caswall - seceded to Rome. In Tract 80, Williams had cautioned against enthusiasm - "a state of mind when the feelings are strongly moved by religion, but the heart is not adequately purified or humbled". (1) The results could be disastrous: "So do we find that whenever these feelings, which are natural to a good man under the protection of the Spirit, are violated as by enthusiasm, it is accompanied by dangerous consequences". (2) For the Tractarians reserve was more or less the same as reverence - for the Scriptures, certainly, but also for the Church, for the sacraments, and for other doctrinal truths apart from the Atonement. They attacked the debased forms of Evangelicalism which made assurance of salvation the test of justification

(1) Isaac Williams, Tract 80. Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge, p 55. See also O. W. Jones, Isaac Williams and his Circle. 1971, passim.

(2) Tract 80 p 45.

and which exploited the emotional aspect of the Cross. As a result knowledge of divine truth was being "forced on men of corrupt lives without this sacred reserve by indiscriminate (sic) circulation of the Scriptures, the neglect of the sacraments of the Church, and the concentration on the preaching of the Atonement". (1)

Perhaps the distrust of the emotional side of the Atonement explains the Compilers' omission of Watts' verse:

His dying crimson like a robe
Spreads o'er His body on the Tree.
Then am I dead to all the globe
And all the globe is dead to me. (2)

In an attempt to make an (untypically for Watts) subjective hymn more objective, the Compilers added a doxology:

To Christ, who won for sinners grace
By bitter grief and anguish sore,
Be praise from all the ransomed race
Forever and for evermore. (3)

(1) Tract 80, p 30.

(2) Watts himself, with typical wrongheadedness, recommended the omission of this verse. It is still omitted from H A & M. The credit for restoring it goes to The English Hymnal.

(3) Omitted in H A & M R and in the 1983 edition. It is not a bad doxology, although the last line is weak. For Watts' wrongheadedness, see my unpublished M.Litt. thesis Peculiar Ground. The Theology of Isaac Watts,

University of Durham. 1981.

John Keble too admired reserve as a Christian quality. He also brought to the Oxford Movement a profound distrust of reason which he equated with man's arrogance, as opposed to mysticism, which was God's way of communicating with men. Christians should humbly accept the traditional teaching of the Church, the sacraments, the revelation of God in nature. No wonder he admired Wordsworth whose instinctive arguments that man and nature (and God) were in harmony contrasted with the scientific materialism which both loathed. Keble the countryman detested towns which, to his way of thinking, stood for democracy, rationalism, arrogance, lack of reserve and self-restraint. Keble was also a Protestant - or, as he would have preferred, an Appellant (i.e. one who appeals to a General Council of the whole Church) - in his daring argument that the Church of Rome had been corrupted by rationalism, by the urge to define (e.g. Mariolatry), by the craving for certainty (infallibility). Unlike Newman who believed that definite Truth could indeed be established, Keble was philosophically content with the probability which develops into something like certainty through love and trust of God. Christian knowledge, in other words, was acquired through accepting probabilities, testing them by faith and thus acquiring certainty, through relying on Tradition. Keble was "as seriously opposed to the infallibility of the Church of Rome as he was to Evangelical emotionalism or to the Calvinist feeling of election". (1)

(1) W. J. A. M. Beek, John Keble's Literary and Religious Contribution to the Oxford Movement, Nijmegen, 1959, p 72. See also pp 177 - 8. "Though Keble's conception of grace is evidently Catholic, due consideration shows that beyond any doubt that in his manner of acting, feeling and thinking he belonged to the Reformation".

How influential was Keble's teaching on H A & M? I believe that the Compilers and the authors of the hymns to be found there were dominated by Keble's ideas. (1) H A & M is a countryman's book ("There is a book, who runs, may read... " "Praise, O praise, our God and King", "All things bright and beautiful"). The modern hymns are not very modern, in that there is no cognisance taken of factories, railways, scientific developments; it is significant that Charles Kingsley's "From Thee all skill and science flow", published in 1875, did not appear in H A & M until the Revised Edition was published in 1950. Similarly the Compilers sternly resisted Evangelical emotionalism. As we have seen, Charles Wesley's best known hymns took some time to gain acceptance, let alone Mrs. van Alstyne's, of whose two thousand hymns only "Rescue the perishing" made a brief appearance in the Standard Edition. H A & M developed during the last four decades of the nineteenth century as a sober, scholarly, restrained collection - in character just like Keble and Williams.

Above all - and here, I believe, is the essence of the book's nature and of its success - it was rooted in the past of the Catholic Church, while at the same time remaining thoroughly Anglican. Keble,

(1) Note Baker's letter to E. H. Bickersteth, editor of the Evangelical Hymnal Companion: "I cannot help expressing my sorrow at seeing that you have altered one of holy John Keble's hymns just in order to avoid mentioning the name of our dear Lord's dear and blessed Mother... I wonder how his executors could have given you leave to do so". C. V. Taylor, op. cit., p 12.

Williams and, in his splendidly eccentric way, Mason Neale ⁽¹⁾ proved that one could be a traditionalist, a sacramentalist and a churchman without turning to Rome. So H A & M was reassuringly Anglican and indeed Protestant while, at the same time, satisfying the needs and interests of moderate High-Churchmen. Neale was faulted by Roman Catholics for deliberately mistranslating Latin hymns in order to give them a Protestant slant. Even more acceptable to Anglicans was the Compilers' inclusion of Neale's Greek hymns, which reflected European Christianity's historical debt to the Eastern, non-Roman church. H A & M made available the fruits of the best translators and scholars for people who wished that they were translators and scholars - but did not wish to become Roman Catholic!

Another effect of Keble's and Williams' ⁽²⁾ indirect influence is that, due to the moderation of the Compilers, H A & M was not self-evidently a party book. Dr. Drain points out that the Compilers' urge was not to define, provoke, offend. ⁽³⁾ Inevitably they were accused of Romanising. ⁽⁴⁾ But surely a fair-minded judge must acquit

(1) "We orientals take a more general view" - E. M. Towle, op. cit. and Chapter 1 above p 9.

(2) Williams' typically restrained "Be Thou my Guardian and my Guide" appeared in the 1868 Supplement. His non-party views are illustrated by his remark: "Tho' the earth seems too small to hold them, I hope that one heaven will be able to contain Dr. Pusey and Mr. Close". O. W. Jones, op. cit., p 122.

(3) S. C. M. Drain, op. cit., p 36.

(4) James Ormiston, H A & M and their Romanizing Teaching, Church Association Tracts, No. 21, 1875.

them of this charge. Baker's influence was predominant - the "squarson", scholarly, traditional, moderately High Church and sacramentalist. Significantly his clever paraphrase of Psalm 23 not only gives it a New Testament slant ("The King of Love ".... "Thy Cross before to guide me".... "Good Shepherd...") but a sacramentalist slant as well:

And oh, what transport of delight
From Thy pure Chalice floweth. (1)

But Baker the High-Churchman also contributed "Lord, Thy Word abideth", a concise, reassuringly Protestant hymn of gratitude for the Bible, which compares well with the eighteenth century Baptist, Anne Steele's "Father of mercies, in Thy Word..." (incorporated in the 1875 edition).

(1) "The King of Love" provides an interesting illustration of the wide divergence of opinions on hymnography. Albert Edward Bailey (The Gospel in Hymns, New York 1950, p 364) points out the wealth of scriptural inspiration in the hymn (as well as Psalm 23, John 10, 1 - 5, John 11, 14 - 18, John 15, 9 - 14, 1 John 4, 8 - 11, Revelation 22, 1 - 2, Luke 15, 3 - 7, James 5, 14 - 15 etc): "Such a fusion of the old and new, metaphor with parable, the physical with the spiritual, the Judaic with the Ecclesiastical, is well nigh a work of genius". J. A. Watson (The Victorian Hymn, Durham 1981, pp 15,16) considers "The King of Love" "one of the finest" of Victorian hymns. Many, however, prefer the restrained simplicity of George Herbert's "The God of Love my shepherd is" or the Scottish "The Lord's my Shepherd". For example, Arthur Pollard (English Hymns, 1960, p 46) considers Baker's version of Psalm 23 too florid, exuberant and elaborate.

Perhaps a corollary to the book's bias towards the countryside was its social conservatism and lack of concern for the social gospel. "All things bright and beautiful" not only contained "the tall trees in the greenwood" but the following verse:

The rich man in his castle,
The poor man at the gate,
God made them high and lowly
And hallowed their estate. (1)

Needless to say, this verse has been much belaboured by left-inclined social gospellers, although one has some sympathy for the comment in the Historical Companion to H A & M (1962): "Most modern hymn-book compilers omit the stanza, though why rich and poor do not qualify as part of God's creation is never explained". Dr. Drain criticises Faber's verse from "Sweet Saviour, bless us 'ere we go".

Labour is sweet for Thou hast toiled,
And care is light, for Thou hast cared;
Ah! never let our works be soiled
With strife, or by deceit ensnared.
Thro' life's long day and death's dark night,
O gentle Jesus! be our light!

(1) "All things bright and beautiful" was not included in H A & M until 1875, to be precise.

"It's all right for some", is in effect Dr. Drain's comment. And similarly she sees a patronising attitude to manual labour in J. J. Daniell's "Come, sing with holy gladness,":

O boys, be strong in Jesus,
To toil for Him is gain,
And Jesus wrought with Joseph
With chisel, saw and plane.

No doubt there is validity in this criticism. It certainly cannot be disputed that hymns specifically concerning social issues are conspicuously absent - and not only such harsh critics as Dr. Percy Dearmer stress this, but also the Compilers of the 1904 edition. In the preface to that work, we read that "few (hymn-writers) apparently have been inspired by the social and national aspects of Christianity", and the Compilers regret that they and their predecessors have not been able to find adequate hymns on these topics.

Actually, the Compilers of the 1861 edition were not unmindful of the underprivileged. ⁽¹⁾ Their intention was to encourage congregational singing which was believed to be especially attractive, like colourful ritual, to the working class. Neale and Helmore naively expected plainsong to be a great success with the poor. So H A & M was by no means intended for the Conservative Party at prayer, any more

(1) It is interesting that one of the hymns dropped from subsequent editions of H A & M was Doddridge's "Fountains of good" (Original Edition 231). The last verse reads "Thy face in reverence and with love we in Thy poor would see; O may we minister to them, And in them, Lord, to Thee."

than it was theologically a party book. The Compilers attempted "to do their work in the spirit of the English Prayer-Book" - an Anglican but comprehensive goal. Although these upper-class, high-Anglican clergymen looked to the past for inspiration and for the best objective hymns, they appealed to the widest possible circles, socially and theologically, and with considerable success.

It can fairly be claimed that even the 1861 Original Edition, limited in range though it was, had great merits - and what is more, merits which were exactly right for the time. A straight-forward hymn such as "Hark a thrilling voice is sounding" illustrates these qualities - Caswall's words improved by the Compilers (for example, "thrilling" for "awful") married to a fine tune which Monk himself had composed. Such merits ensured that the book would not date. Indeed no less than 158 out of 273 hymns in the Original Edition have appeared in every single edition of H A & M. Lowther Clarke claimed "that few of the original choice of 273 hymns have been discarded in the latest edition (1950)". ⁽¹⁾ Actually, 231 survived in H A & M R, before the holocaust of 1983. The success of H A & M at the expense of its rivals was a classic case of Darwin's "survival of the fittest". And not the least of H A & M's qualities was its

(1) Lowther Clarke, op. cit., p 32.

capacity to evolve, both through the recruitment of new words and music of proven merit and the discarding of "unfit" material. (1)

Even so, H A & M has always had its critics. See for example the views of Dr. Boyd Carpenter, Bishop of Ripon, (in F. D. How's Bishop Walsham How (1898), pp 412 - 3) "It may be confessed that in all our hymn-books there is a sad quantity of rubbish, and our congregations are often expected to sing poor stuff. The percentage of this poor stuff varies in different books, being at a minimum, perhaps, in Mr. Thring's collection, and rising to a maximum in H A & M."

On the other hand, F. D. How tells how glad his father was to find H A & M so generally used (p 411). And on 8 May 1876 the Reverend E. D. Burrowes, Vicar of Kimmeridge (Dorset) wrote to Baker to tell him how H A & M had transformed his parish. Formerly his congregation had numbered twelve (three communicants), "smuggling, card playing, drinking and gross immorality prevailed on a Sunday evening.... dissent flourished". But H A & M had won his people over. They had singing at church, they could join in it, it was easy, musical and varied, and the tunes which they took to especially were many of them by Dr. Dykes. "Now I have no Dissent here. I have no public houses. I have full and even overflowing congregations". It

(1) Literary and musical criticism is not primarily within this thesis' terms of reference. Nevertheless, I believe it safe to suggest that the sixteen hymns and the twenty-four tunes which appeared only in the 1861 book and its 1868 supplement are uninspiring, and were rightly discarded. Twelve out of sixteen hymns were translations, six by Chandler.

will be recalled that the Reverend Theodore Pontifex introduced H A & M, even though he still said "Hallelujah".⁽¹⁾ He would certainly have applauded Mr. Burrowes' equation of Dissent with debauchery, and would like him have recognised the sterling qualities of the new hymn-book.

IV

Sir Henry Baker died in February 1877, at the early age of 55. However, he lived long enough to preside over the Second Edition of 1875. 257 out of the 273 hymns in the Original Edition were retained to form the basis of the new book. H A & M, now expanded and revised, numbered a total of 473 hymns. Among the new-comers were Baker's "O praise ye the Lord", "O holy Ghost, thy people bless" and "My Father, for another night" (sung, as we have seen, to his tune "Saint Timothy".) We shall have more to say about the Second Edition when we discuss the Standard Edition of 1922.

Shortly before his death, Baker wrote to E. H. Bickersteth:

Have you felt what I am now so painfully feeling - "sore weary" of the toil of compilation - so weary that it almost seems for a while to take all joy out of singing those hymns over which one has pored so anxiously? I long to be free from the memory of the compiler's travail for the calm of the worshipper's adoration. Still, it is a great privilege to have aided in any way the Church's service of song - but one's heart asks what will the hymns of heaven be, or the song before the throne?

(2)

(1) S. Butler, The Way of All Flesh, passim.

(2) C. V. Taylor, op. cit., p 11.

The March 1877 edition of the Monkland parish magazine contained the following description of Baker's death-bed by his sister. (1)

I wish that all of you could have had the privilege granted to a few of us watching by his sick-bed and listening to his prayers and praises: and that you might have seen the intense feeling with which he repeated, not many hours before his death, the first and third verses of his own beautiful "The King of Love", more especially the words "And home rejoicing brought me".

Baker was succeeded as Chairman by William Pulling, who was certainly less possessive with regard to H A & M copyrights. In October 1877 Mrs. Carey Brock edited The Children's Hymn-Book. In the Preface she thanked "the Reverend W. Pulling and the Committee of 'Hymns Ancient and Modern' for their generous permission to make use of their copyright tunes as set to their own words..." Pulling had written to Mrs. Brock as follows:

I brought your letters before my colleagues at our general meeting on Thursday. I am desired by them to communicate to you our unanimous and unhesitating decision to abandon our own long-cherished intention to bring about a children's hymn-book, and to afford you the co-operation which you desire to obtain from us in your own arduous undertaking. (2)

It is doubtful if Baker would have been so generous.

(1) C. V. Taylor, op. cit., p 14.

(2) Pulling's letter (dated 29 October 1877) is quoted in Mrs. Brock's Preface to The Children's Hymn-Book, no date given. I am grateful to Mr. Horace Brassington for pointing out this Preface to me in two letters which he wrote to me on 20 January and 28 January 1984.

However, one cannot criticise Pulling's sensitivity towards his great predecessor's achievements in a speech which he made to the Church Congress in 1879. He attributed H A & M's success to its timelessness, its meeting the needs of the Church of its day, its comprehensiveness - and the singular gifts of Sir Henry Baker. (1)

(1) C. V. Taylor, op. cit., p 14.

Chapter 3

The 1904 Disaster

I. Background

The Compilers of H A & M have seldom been complacent. Despite the astonishing commercial success of the Original Edition with its 1868 appendix, they were soon at work on a thorough revision which emerged in 1875 as the Second Edition. As we have seen this contained 473 hymns and was the base on which the Standard Edition was to be built. A supplement was added in 1889, resulting from a conference of hymnographers five years previously (including Ellerton, Stone and Twells). There was a demand for more hymns addressed to God the Father, more hymns for festivals, sacraments and missions. MacLagan suggested a greater proportion of hymns by contemporary writers and Mason wanted more hymns by Charles Wesley. The book complete with supplement sold 3,524,626 copies in 1889 and 1890, largely because these demands were met.

A great compliment was paid to H A & M when the Convocations of Canterbury and York debated whether to adopt it as the authorised hymnal of the Church of England. These debates led to Canon Twells' letter to the Proprietors of 1 January 1892. ⁽¹⁾ Twells was Chairman of the Convocation Committee on hymn-books. His committee had collected information on the popularity of rival hymn-books which

(1) Lowther Clarke, op. cit., p 60.

was highly gratifying to the admirers of H A & M. Many of the clergy consulted had suggested an authorised hymn-book; why not H A & M? Twells continued:

I can conceive no future more glorious for H A & M. The present Proprietors are old and revision will be necessary if only to incorporate the Supplement into the body of the book - who shall carry it out? Why not a Committee of Convocation, which is better qualified than the present Proprietors? If it is objectionable for Convocation to become a trading body, let the book be transferred to the S.P.C.K. Church Hymns could be allowed to drop and perhaps the Hymnal Companion would also disappear.

This monumentally tactless letter received a formal acknowledgment from the Proprietors who expressed themselves always ready to listen to proposals from Convocation. It is amusing to speculate how Sir Henry Baker would have replied to the suggestions that he and his colleagues were senile, that a Committee of Convocation would be better qualified, that a revision to incorporate the latest supplement was necessary and that the Proprietors of H A & M were "a trading body". Unfortunately as we have seen Baker had died in 1877. After some further correspondence, the Proprietors replied that they must be allowed to continue their present book while demand for it existed, and that, above all, they themselves were already contemplating a radical revision; when this was completed, perhaps Convocation would consider it as an official book.

There then followed a period of misunderstanding and delay when

both sides waited for the other to move. One gets the impression that Twells, ⁽¹⁾ no doubt with the best intentions, had exceeded his brief as go-between, so far as both parties were concerned. In any event the project gradually faded and when the 1904 Edition emerged, it was not revived.

In the Historical Companion to Hymns Ancient and Modern Lowther Clarke defends the Proprietors' refusal to abandon their present book and determination to put into effect their own revision: "They could hardly have taken any other line in view of the legal difficulties of their own position and of the obligation to make so popular a book as their present one available in the future". Lowther Clarke certainly has a case. Nevertheless, given good will on both sides and the necessary determination, the "legal difficulties" could have been surmounted. The truth was that the Proprietors, apart from being rubbed up the wrong way by Twells, preferred to produce the next version of H A & M themselves - far too interesting and important an undertaking to be entrusted to Convocation.

Was a great opportunity missed? Surely, yes. The Proprietors of H A & M may well have felt that they must preserve the traditions of their own moderately Anglo-Catholic book - and the implicit suggestions in Twells' letter of mergers with Church Hymns and the Hymnal Companion were no doubt most disturbing. Yet in the twentieth century the Church of England has moved gradually to the "right" in theological terms and H A & M, as an official book, could have played a valuable unifying role. It had never been a party book and could

(1) While Headmaster of Godolphin School, Hammersmith, Henry Twells had written "At even 'ere the sun was set" for the 1868 appendix, during the invigilation of an examination. In this matter of the official hymn-book, he comes across as bossy, well-meaning but tactically inept - a typical headmaster!

have become more comprehensive in the best sense without sacrificing its mildly High-Church tradition. As it turned out, admirable rivals - The English Hymnal on one side and the Church Hymnal for the Christian Year on the other - undermined the uniformity of the Church of England and successfully challenged H A & M's hegemony.

Indeed, the Proprietors had for once fallen victim to complacency. As the inimitable Canon Twells pointed out to them in May 1892, "the Proprietors must not presume on success. Popular tastes change and H A & M might be superseded by a new book". (1) Twells was to be vindicated by events. The Proprietors' hubris was visited by the nemesis of the successful rivals mentioned above and by the failure of their own 1904 Edition. (2)

II

When he suggested that the Proprietors were too old, Twells understated the problem. On Pulling's death in 1894, only four were left. Of these four, Lyall had become a Roman Catholic - and he died in 1900. Huntingford died in 1899 and Murray in 1902. When the 1904 Edition emerged, therefore, G. Cosby White alone survived of the original Proprietors.

(1) Lowther Clarke, op. cit., p 62.

(2) That the Board had not entirely lost its grip was proved by the omission of this verse from the 1889 supplement:

"God bless our merry England

God bless our Church and Queen

God bless our great Archbishop

The best there's ever been". (From Plumptre's "Thy hand, O God.")

It was indeed essential to recruit new blood - easier said than done, as initially Lyall refused to sign the necessary deed when T. B. Pollock was proposed. There was a real possibility in the early nineties that Lyall might become the sole Proprietor. However, his objections were overcome, Pollock became a Proprietor in 1895, A. J. Mason in 1896, Nathaniel Keymer in 1899 and V. S. S. Coles in 1900.

The Proprietors had already availed themselves of their freedom to consult suitably qualified experts and had made Pollock an Assessor in 1890. John Ellerton and S. J. Stone joined him briefly as Assessors before ill-health forced their withdrawal. They were replaced by A. J. Mason and W. H. Frere.

Like all editions of H A & M, the 1904 Edition was a joint effort. G. C. White officially chaired the debates and presided over the decisions that were made. Nor was he a mere figurehead. It is clear from the surviving documents that he was widely respected and that everyone recognised how appropriate it was that one of the original Proprietors should still be in office. White remained as Chairman until the 1904 Edition was published. Nevertheless, he was elderly and in frail health. Much of the administration was handled by Keymer, much of the theological discussion by Mason and Coles.

If any one man however can be said to have influenced the 1904 Edition, it was Walter Howard Frere. A product of Charterhouse and Trinity, Cambridge, ⁽¹⁾ Frere had joined the Community of the Resurrection

(1) Yet another Trinity man! Baker, Frere, Neale, Mason, Christopher Wordsworth,... Cf p 55, note (3).

in 1892. He was Superior of the Community when the 1904 Edition was published. From 1923 to 1935 he was to be Bishop of Truro. Frere became a Proprietor of H A & M in 1902 and Chairman from 1923 to his death in 1938. His influence over the development of H A & M was second only to Baker's - and perhaps Sir Sydney Nicholson's, who succeeded him as Chairman. Nicholson was well-qualified to speak about Frere's musicianship:

The music of the average Cathedral service simply bored him: though he held the early composers in respect and would give a hearing to Byrd and Gibbons or even Purcell, their work did not really interest him, while that of most of their successors, with the possible exception of Stanford and Parry, rather annoyed him than otherwise.

According to Lowther Clarke, Frere "cared little for hymn tunes other than the plainsong melodies. He had a dislike for Welsh tunes and late French 'cookings' of plainsong, but on occasions would be philistine and enjoy Dykes and Stainer". (1)

It can be doubted whether W. H. Frere, monk and musical snob, was the right man to influence a popular hymn-book, and whether a man "who cared little for hymn tunes" was ideally suited to be "largely responsible for the music of the 1904 book". Lowther Clarke makes the significant observation that "the man was greater than his works".

(1) Lowther Clarke, op. cit., pp 79 - 80.

No doubt his colleagues were right to love and reverence "his unique personality with its blending of austerity and joy". Similarly the research student of today is grateful for Frere's beautiful and supremely legible hand-writing. But, as one lingers over the photograph of his intelligent, rather obstinate face, ⁽¹⁾ one feels sure that Frere was the wrong man for H A & M. ⁽²⁾

If Frere lacked the common touch, this was certainly not supplied by his most influential colleagues, V. S. S. Coles (Eton and Balliol), Librarian of Pusey House, and A. J. Mason, yet another Trinity man, ⁽³⁾ who was Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge and in 1903 was elected Master of Pembroke. As for the Music Committee of which Frere became Chairman in 1896 - Sir Walter Parratt, B. Luard Selby, Sir Charles Stanford, Dr. Steggall, Dr. Charles Wood and H. E. Wooldridge - one can only respect their erudition, but doubt their familiarity with parish ^h_A churches. Lowther Clarke says that "the Proprietors could not have found better advisers". This may well have been so, but it is a strange and significant fact that this distinguished group of church musicians, who between them wrote magnificent settings, anthems and chants, could scarcely boast of a single successful hymn-tune amongst them. The contrast with Monk, Stainer and Dykes - and later with Nicholson - is very striking. ⁽⁴⁾ Frere tried to recruit Sir Hubert

(1) Opposite p 100 in Historical Companion to H A & M.

(2) "He was Mirfield at its most prejudiced to the nth degree" - Professor A. Pollard.

(3) Cf the claim that Trinity, Cambridge, was a hot-bed of crypto-papists in the mid-nineteenth century - and of crypto-communists in the twentieth century. The fact is that plenty of all sorts can be found in that huge sprawl.

(4) Parratt's chants are still sung, Wood's anthem "O Thou the Central Orb" is deservedly popular and Stanford's settings in B flat, G, A and C will, one trusts, always be known and enjoyed, but no hymn-tunes except Steggall's "Saint Edmund" and "Christchurch" have made the committee immortal.

Parry as well. In a letter of 23 January 1896 to White, he wrote:
"With him we should have the best music of England fully represented". (1)
The mad hatter, it will be recalled, filled his watch with the best
butter. In truth, this pursuit of musical quality became almost an
obsession. In a letter to White of 12 November 1895, Frere had reported
a conversation with Stanford: (1) "I gathered from him that he would
be willing to receive an offer of a place on the committee and would
be very keen to work upon it if it really was composed of the very
best men". Stanford then proposed one or two "best men". Frere continued:
"It seems to me that these suggestions are well worth our further
consideration and encourage us to aim at the really tip-top men of
the musical profession". Thus elitism triumphed over realism.

III

Under White's Chairmanship, the committee of H A & M began work
on their new edition in 1894. For the next ten years the committee
met four times each year for the greater part of a week on each occasion. (2)
Advice and contributions were sought from a wide variety of churchmen
and, as the news that a revision was being planned circulated, a
considerable amount of unsolicited advice and contributions flowed in.
All this material was carefully sifted. Draft extracts of the proposed
book were circulated for comment. The industry and conscientiousness
of the committee are both impressive.

(1) H A & M Archives, Norwich, Box 7.

(2) Introduction to Historical Edition of H A & M 1909, p cx.

White was happy for Frere to go ahead with his own music committee. Frere kept the Chairman of H A & M closely in touch, nevertheless. A long succession of letters has survived - formal ("Dear Mr. White ... I am yours sincerely, Walter Howard Frere."), detailed, highly respectful. No doubt Frere's remarks in his introduction to the Historical Edition of 1909 were entirely sincere: "It is impossible for the committee to estimate what the Church owes to the wisdom, the experience, and the spiritual insight of their late Chairman, who has worked so incessantly, with such laborious diligence, and with such lofty aims for the great cause which the Book represents". (1)

In a long letter of 26 September 1895, Frere outlined some of the musical problems for his Chairman's benefit. (2) He suggested that the incorporation of plainsong tunes would be relatively straightforward:

I hope the plainsong work will be much lightened by all that we are doing now independently about the plainsong tunes: our edition of them for the Plainsong Society is now in the press and Mr. Doran, Mr. Palmer and Mr. Luard Selby of Saint Barnabas among others are working with me at the harmonies. So there will I hope be comparatively little for the H A & M committee to do beyond revising what we shall have then published in the light of probably a year or two's experience of how our edition succeeds. My feeling therefore is that the other branches of the musical work are much more behindhand.

(1) Introduction to Historical Edition of H A & M 1909, p cxi

(2) Frere to White, H A & M Archives, Norwich, Box 7.

Frere goes on to pinpoint very sensibly the most acute need if the book was to be popular in the best sense - and to suggest equally sensible solutions:

I have a strong feeling that in our book as it stands at present not near enough attention has been paid to the needs and claims of small village choirs. This work will take time and would I suppose be best done by a committee representing various interests and types of congregations rather than choirs.

Frere assures White that he himself "will be able to put a good deal of antiquarian work at the service of the musical committee when it gets to work" on the subject of French, Dutch and German Chorales, which he believes will prove popular - and also "the grand old psalm tunes and chorales of England ... Many of the best are still buried in oblivion".

In this letter of 26 September 1895 Frere made various proposals which were subsequently accepted at the first meeting of the musical committee on 21 January 1896: (1)

1. Proposed by Dr. Stanford and seconded by Sir. W. Parratt that it is desirable that the plainsong melodies should constitute a separate section of the musical edition.

(Unanimous)

(1) A summary of the resolutions in Frere's hand-writing was sent to White with a covering letter from Frere on 23 January 1896. (H A & M Archives Norwich, Box 7.)

2. Proposed by Sir Walter Parratt and seconded by Mr. Selby that it is desirable as far as possible to adopt the principle of Proper Melodies - that is that each tune should be associated with one hymn. (Unanimous)
3. Proposed by Mr. Wooldridge and seconded by Mr. Wood that it is desirable that the plainsong melodies should be printed in plain-song notation and that an organ accompaniment in modern notation be added to the plainsong which shall exhibit the melody in the upper part. (Unanimous)
4. That it is therefore desirable that the committee should consider specimens of founts of type both of plainsong and modern notation. Professor Stanford. Sir W. Parratt.
5. That it is desirable that the principles of alternative setting should be extended and that there should be an appendix containing more elaborate music. Chairman. Mr. Wooldridge.
6. That in as much as the knowledge of its source of a tune is a valuable guide to its proper rendering, it is desirable that such source should be indicated in the musical edition at the head of the tune. Professor Stanford. Sir W. Parratt. (Unanimous)
7. That it is desirable that Dr. Parry should be asked to join the committee. Professor Stanford. Sir W. Parratt.

Resolved. In the case of the composers of tunes who are alive no alteration can be made without their consent. In the case of deceased composers the fact of alterations should be indicated. The harmonies of plainsong tunes should be strictly modal.

Frere's influence over these resolutions is very strong. To what extent they were ultimately put into effect and by whom, we shall see in due course. The last resolution was not implemented, although Parry features in a list of payments reported by Frere to White on 10 April 1897.

The remuneration of the committee was not the least of Frere's problems. In a letter to White of 12 November 1895, he reported a discussion with Stanford in which money was debated. Stanford favoured a guinea an hour for committee work and "the other work of reharmonising, looking up the old authorities to be assessed separately" ... "But I gather from Stanford that this would be too much to pay the class of man whom we had more in view - Selby, Sinclair - who have not the position of Parratt or Stanford". Frere was obviously worried that he had gone too far in his discussion with Stanford and apologised to White for what he called "another bouleversement of the musical scheme: but it would be a grand thing to get the music part really representative of the best musical power of the day". (1)

Whether Dr. Charles Steggall counted as a musical power, he certainly considered himself badly paid. In an indignant letter to White of 25 February 1896, (2) he wrote:

I shall be glad to know at what value the Proprietors estimate

(1) H A & M Archives, Norwich, Box 7.

(2) H A & M Archives, Norwich, Box 7. The letter is addressed "My dear Sir" and is presumably to White as he refers to "Mr. Frere" in the course of the letter.

the time and labour entailed by my compliance with Mr. Huntingford's desire that I should write notes on all the tunes of the older part of the book. It is impossible for me to consider the honorarium you have been good enough to send as having anything to do with this laborious work.

And again on 3 March:

The value of the time alone which I expended on the notes I cannot estimate at less than £50 ...

In the list of payments referred to above, Steggall ties with Charles Wood; both received £22-1-0. Selby and Stanford got fifteen guineas, Parry eight guineas and Parratt only six. So perhaps Steggall's campaign was successful.

Frere's greatest and most time-consuming concern was the choice of tunes. He corresponded with numerous authorities and commented on many letters originally written to White. A particularly interesting example concerns the views of Walsham How, Bishop of Wakefield, the author of several popular hymns and an editor of S.P.C.K.'s Church Hymns, who wrote to White on 12 June 1897.

After promising not to divulge the names of the music committee and to return the Schedule of Proposed Alterations which had been sent for his comment, Walsham How had these trenchant observations to make:

I confess to being startled at a first glance at many of the proposed omissions, which are among the chief favourites of the Church,

sung with delight everywhere. I cannot imagine omitting (e.g.) such tunes as those for 222, 367, 386, 403, 477, 157b, 1 and 331! But this is only a first hasty inspection. It fills one however with dread, as it shows such a want of knowledge of what has been stamped with universal approval. As an example the tune for 331 may not be high class music but it has entered into the whole child life of the land. However, I must not say more at present. I hope yet that the book may be saved from the tremendous disaster which the proposed omissions seem to be certain to inflict. (1)

White sent Walsham How's letter to Frere whose comments on the Bishop's views are most revealing and highly significant:

I hope meanwhile on reflection he will see that it is a pity in dealing with a book of such permanent value as we believe H A & M to be, to give too much weight to the predilections and prejudices of the present generation which have grown up in the last few years. We hope the book is for our sons and grandsons and we ought to be able to hand on to them something better than what we younger ones were ourselves brought up on. In other words

(1) H A & M Archives, Norwich, Box 7. Cf Appendix 3 for a photocopy of this letter. The tunes concerned are Alford (222), Chantas (367), Saint Beatrice (386), Saint Andrew (403), Saint Clement (477), Veni Creator No. 2 (157b), Warrington (1) and Alstone (331). Three are by Dykes. The numbers refer to the Standard Edition of H A & M.

we have more to consider what they ought to get to like, than what we have come to like.

I am confident that on reflexion some of the proposals will seem only right though at first sight they look revolutionary. It is quite true that people like waltz-tunes; but does the Bishop hold seriously that that is a reason for providing them? - e.g. 477. It is cruelty to children to make them sing a tune (however attractive) with a compass of ten notes e.g. 331.

What is one to say to a person who wants an alternative tune at all for 157? It is really incredible. I am thankful to say that I have only once heard the 157b used. Surely it is reasonable that if an alternative is given it should be Komm Heiliger Geist which is the modern tune everywhere (in Germany at least) associated with the words. Does the Bishop seriously prefer our tune? either intrinsically (sic) or otherwise.

I shall hope to agree more with his maturer criticisms, and I mustn't let myself run on now, as I feel inclined to do, on the other instances which he quotes. (1)

The fact that mature reflection led to most of the Bishop's favourites being ultimately incorporated in the 1904 Edition (but not 157b!) is of secondary importance. As Walsham How remarked, what

(1) H A & M Archives, Norwich, Box 7. CF appendix 4 for a photocopy of this letter. It is interesting to reflect that the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield had Walsham How as its Diocesan!

is really striking is Frere's attitude, which reminds one of Oliver Cromwell's philosophy - "what's for their good, not what pleases them". As Frere wrote, "we have more to consider what they ought to like, than what we have come to like" - or "what some of us have come to like", he should have written. The waltz tune to which Frere takes exception is C. C. Scholefield's "Saint Clement" which, nearly a century later, is still invariably sung to John Ellerton's hymn "The day Thou gavest, Lord, is ended". The tune with a compass of ten notes (331) which Frere calls "cruelty to children" is C. E. Willing's "Alstone" which is not sung so much nowadays, but which has the quality of tunefulness and singability; ⁽¹⁾ one is tempted to think that this would damn it in Frere's opinion! Predictably, however, he reserved his strongest words for Walsham How's defence of 157b. The hymn is Bishop Cosin's translation of "Veni Creator Spiritus" - "Come Holy Ghost, our souls inspire". So far as Frere was concerned, there was only one tune, the plainsong - with the German Chorale grudgingly permitted as an alternative for eccentrics. But Walsham How advocated the alternative tune in the Standard Edition ("our tune" as Frere ironically calls it) which is by Dykes. Heresy! Blasphemy! Can the Bishop be serious? The tune is in fact not one of Dykes' best, ⁽²⁾ but this hardly justifies Frere's hysteria.

Walsham How was right to be alarmed. The "want of knowledge" which he saw in Frere's bias towards the highest taste was indeed to bring about "the tremendous disaster" which the Bishop predicted

(1) I remember singing it as a child with great pleasure to "We are but little children weak".

(2) I have never heard it sung.

He died a few weeks after writing to Cosby White and so did not live to see his predictions vindicated - which would have given him no satisfaction.

Much of the correspondence which White and Frere received came from composers who feared they would be forgotten in the new book. For instance, Sir Herbert Oakeley wrote on 19 February 1899: (1)

Having contributed to previous editions of H A & M, I should be sorry were another to appear without my being represented. Further I venture to say to you as a friend of Sir Henry Baker, and probably connected with H A & M considerably longer than those on the present musical committee I should have been glad had my name been included. With the Chairman I fancy I am not acquainted. Dykes, Ouseley and W. H. Monk were also great friends of mine, and with the latter I had correspondence re some tunes - also Mr. Pulling.

Frere's response to this vain and inconsequential letter was to ignore Oakeley's wish to join the committee and to cut his tunes down from seven in the Standard Edition to four in the 1904 Edition.

The list of proposed omissions which so alarmed the Bishop of Wakefield was accompanied by the First Report of the Musical Committee to the Proprietors of Hymns Ancient and Modern and their Assessors. It is dated 30 March 1897 and is signed on behalf of the committee by

(1) H A & M Archives, Norwich, Box 7.

Walter Howard Frere, Chairman. This Report summarises the resolutions adopted with regard to the music of the new book (see pages 58 and 59) and explains why 156 tunes in the Standard Edition should be omitted:

The motives for rejection have been very various: some tunes were rejected because they do not come up to the standard of style which the committee felt bound to adopt; others because they are unsuitable for religious words; ⁽¹⁾ others because they are ill-fitted to the particular hymn or metre

In their conclusion, "the Members of the Committee feel sure that, if they are entrusted further with the more detailed work of revision, they will have no difficulty in providing even the large amount of tunes which will be required to fill the vacancies caused by these proposals, by drawing upon the existing stores of old tunes, both English and foreign, as well as by looking at new sources".

The committee's last specific recommendation was in the spirit of Elgar's adage that the only way to get a good hymn-book was for parsons to choose the music and musicians to choose the words:

The Committee trusts that it will not be going beyond its province if it ventures to express a hope that the following hymns will not appear in the new edition: 186, 385, 530, 541.

(1) Lowther Clarke, op. cit., p 53, tells the charming story of J. W. Elliott composing the tune "Day of Rest" for a child's song, "I had a little doggie, it used to sit and beg" and putting it in the wrong envelope, addressed to the Compilers of a hymn-book. Surprisingly, Frere included "Day of Rest".

The hymns of which the musicians disapproved were Frances Ridley Havergal's "I could not do without Thee", J. M. Neale's "God the Father! Whose Creation...", H. Twells' "The Voice of God's Creation found me" and T. B. Pollock's "We are soldiers of Christ, Who is mighty to save". The committee does not explain why these hymns in particular should be condemned. The first and the last did in fact survive in the 1904 Edition; Miss Havergal's hymn was not dropped until 1983 and Pollock's hymn had to wait until 1950 before it was rejected.

We shall see how the musical committee's choice of tunes was reflected in the hymn-book which emerged in 1904. Suffice now to say that, apart from a few controversial alterations and omissions of the words of hymns, it was the music which decided the fate of the book. Hence our initial concentration on Walter Howard Frere, his musical committee and their pursuit of excellence. But one can compartmentalise too much - as the musical committee realised: unless their real objection to the four hymns which they condemned was that three carried tunes by W. H. Monk and the fourth a tune by Sir John Stainer.

IV

Meanwhile the theologians were busy. A sub-committee consisting of A. J. Mason, G. H. Whitaker and V. S. S. Coles issued a report in February 1897 "on hymns of heaven and kindred subjects". ⁽¹⁾ The report opened with a highly Anglican appeal to reason and compromise:

(1) H A & M Archives, Norwich, Box 7.

It seems to us that there is no Scriptural warrant for assuming that any of the reported Saints are risen or will rise from the dead before the General Resurrection at the Last Day: or that it is possible for human beings to enter into full fruition of heavenly blessedness without the Resurrection of the Body. We should not wish, therefore, to see the book include any hymns which appear distinctly to teach the contrary. At the same time, in our present state of knowledge with regard to these mysterious subjects, we should be sorry to see the Church bound down to one sharply-defined mode of utterance concerning them.

The committee pointed out that in at least 41 hymns in the Standard Edition of H A & M there were expressions "to which it would be possible to take exception. The exceptions would fall mainly under the following heads:-

1. Ungrounded assertions with regard to the condition of the faithful departed before the death of Christ.
2. Assertions that the Saints are in the present fruition of all heavenly glories.
3. Expressions which imply that Christians should expect to pass direct through death to Heaven.
4. Language which implies that there is an essential difference between the heavenly glory and the privilege of Christians upon earth. "

Several hymns are specifically mentioned which can be faulted under these heads, although the members of the committee were anxious

to find mitigating circumstances. Hymns 125 and 126 for instance could be criticised under category 1 in that they contained the doctrine of the limbus patrum. But "the expressions are of a general kind, and it is possible to assign to them a different meaning." Similarly the hymns "which seem to teach that the Saints are already in their final glory do so with very varying degrees of distinctness". Hymns such as "Jerusalem the Golden" and "How bright these glorious spirits shine" seem "to be covered by the principle of using the language of visions". In category 3 "Let saints on earth", "Tender Shepherd" and "There is a land of pure delight" are faulted without any reservation for teaching that Christians pass direct to Heaven. Under the fourth head, the sub-committee called attention "to the danger there is of exaggerating the contrast between this life (for believers) and the next. The common language about 'exile' and 'Babylon' and the like, is one aspect of the truth; but it requires to be balanced by the recognition of Saint Paul's teaching that our 'citizenship' even now is 'in Heaven', and that we are 'made to sit in heavenly places with Christ.'"

Thus the committee fluctuated between cautious criticism and judicious fence-sitting. One hymn, however, they singled out for condemnation - 122 in H A & M (Standard), Archbishop Maclagan's "It is finished! Blessed Jesus". Here the doctrine of limbus patrum was definitely taught. "The meaning of 122 is clear and inevitable; and as we cannot find any Scriptural basis for the doctrine which it teaches (especially in verse 8), we recommend the excision of the hymn". As much of the comment provoked by the sub-committee's report

concerned this hymn, it is desirable to quote verse 8 in full:

Oh, the bliss to which He calls them,
Ransom'd by His precious Blood,
From the gloomy realm of darkness
To the Paradise of God.

The report was sent to a number of theologians, whose replies covered all the issues raised in the sub-committee's report, but not surprisingly concentrated on hymn 122. For example, Augustine B. Donaldson who wrote from Truro on 8 February 1897, ⁽¹⁾ agreed with the sub-committee under heads 2. and 3. "It is certainly very desirable to exclude the teaching common to the Roman Catholic Church and to many other Christians that 'heavenly glory' is already attained to by the Saints. But when allowance is made for poetic language for 'vision' of the final destiny, even 221, 402 and 536 do not seem to me to be really risky". On the fourth category, Donaldson quoted Romans VIII, 23 to justify "exile" - "that mood which all the saints and those among the noblest who have felt the burden of the flesh (experience) who at times greatly feel that true 'homesickness' of which Dr. Neale speaks".

However, Donaldson was far more outspoken on the first issue in the Report.

As to the condition of the faithful departed before our Lord came, it appears sufficient to say that the language of Job and

(1) H A & M Archives, Norwich, Box 7.

of many of the Psalms besides other numerous passages seem to convey a belief in the intermediate state and certainly being one of deprivation in some sense --- there was in the intermediate state something lacking which was not supplied until our Lord Himself had under human conditions appeared there and by His appearing given to the Fathers that which they longed for and not yet received. Without committing the Church to any definite dogma as to the limbus patrum a recognition of our Lord's expansion and elimination of Sheol and Hades into a Paradise is surely at least admissible. Does Hymn 122 v. 8 go beyond this? I do not think so. I believe a very large number of devout and well-instructed persons would greatly regret the excision of this hymn.

Father F. W. Pullen, writing from the Mission House at Cowley St. John, Oxford on 6 February 1897, was even more outspoken, in a letter to Cosby White. (1)

I should grieve more than I can say over the loss of Hymn 122, which always seems to me to be one of the most admirable hymns in the whole collection.

In giving instructions on our Lord's descent into Hades, I am accustomed to read out hymn 122 as summing up most admirably the teaching of the Holy Scripture and The Fathers on the subject. It is not at all my way to read out hymns, when I am in the pulpit; but to me hymn 122 appears to be so exceptionally good and accurate and instructive, that I find myself continually

(1) H A & M Archives, Norwich, Box 7.

using it in that way. I hope very much that the committee will see its way to retain that hymn.

I should have thought that the eighth verse was peculiarly scriptural ... I cannot understand how any believer in the Bible can hesitate about this eighth verse.

Pullen then quotes Scripture in four closely packed sides to back up his views, including Job X, Psalm VI, Isaiah XXXVIII, to say nothing of Saint Paul and the penitent thief. He continues: "I will not weary you with quotations from the fathers, but I will quote passages from two leading fathers of the second century." This he does for another four sides, working up to his conclusion: "Of course I write all this with great deference to the distinguished members of the sub-committee who have recommended the excision of Hymn 122. But I most sincerely hope that the committee will not endorse their recommendation".

After this spirited and erudite defence of Hymn 122, Pullen must have been disconcerted to receive from White the following letter from Archbishop Maclagan, dated 11 February 1896: ⁽¹⁾

My dear Mr. White,

I have received the second instalment of the hymns, and I observe that No. 122, which is one of mine, is to be struck out. I have not the slightest objection to this, or indeed to the exclusion of any of my compositions. But I should like to say with reference to the particular point of doctrine concerned,

(1) H A & M Archives, Norwich, Box 7. See Appendix 1 for a photocopy.

that when I first wrote that hymn and printed it for the use of my own people in Newington, the verse objected to did not form part of it; and it was only at the special and urgent request of Sir Henry Baker that it was added: in fact I may say that he practically wrote the verse himself. Almost from the first publication of H A & M, I regretted that I yielded to him in this matter; and some weeks ago, in writing to the Bishop of Wakefield I confessed my strong desire that this verse should be omitted. I am quite satisfied with the decision of the Committee, but I only wished to let you know the circumstances of the case.

I hope to write to you before long on the general subject. My life has been so exceptionally busy for the last year that I have hardly been able to give any definite attention to the matter till now.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

Willelm Ebor

In his reply to White who must have derived some dry amusement from sending Maclagen's letter to him, Pullen commented: (1)

Thank you very much for letting me see the Archbishop's letter.

I am very sorry that he is wishful to strike out that verse,

(1) H A & M Archives, Norwich, Box 7.

because it seems to me to be so very scriptural and primitive in its teaching. Is there no way of persuading him to let it remain, so far as he is concerned? I am very glad that you are in favour of retaining the hymn.

In the event, "It is finished! Blessed Jesus" was included in the 1904 Edition, although the offending verse 8 was omitted - despite its alleged composition by Sir Henry Baker.

The circular prompted some learned comments from Father Benson, which the sub-committee circulated for yet further comment. Benson argued that "Holy Scripture distinctly teaches the doctrine of the limbus patrum, and that the Fathers of the Old Testament rose and ascended with our Blessed Lord". He discussed at length the state of the Saints under the Altar who ask "How long?". His conclusion was that the "ungrounded assumptions" in the sub-committee's circular were in fact well grounded and that therefore hymns 122, 125 and 126 should stand, without alteration. "We might begin to correct Isaiah and the Apocalypse if everything heavenly is to be reduced to earthly terms".

In a letter to White from Christ Church dated 7 September 1897, Professor William Bright was highly critical of Father Benson:

I must confess that, as is usually (I regret to say it) my case in respect to his "mystic" utterances, I cannot at all assimilate or adopt the line of speculation which they follow. His mind works in grooves which for me are impossible: and I am therefore unable to accede to his suggestions in regard to the points under consideration.

However, his own inclination is to accept that "the old Fathers to whom Christ went at his descent into Hades may surely be also looked upon as now in the Paradise of God and with the Saints of the New Covenant also in expectation of eternal joys. I should not omit 122".

Canon Twells agreed. "With regard to the Archbishop of York's hymn, No. 122, I should be sorry to lose it, because it is the only one that pictures (and it seems to me to do it reverently and beautifully) the reception of Christ in Hades. But I would leave out the eighth stanza, as expressing a view about which there have always been grave differences of opinion. The hymn is long enough without it". With regard to the choice of hymns as a whole Twells sounded a wise note of caution:

Not only their substance, but their "ipsissima verba" have been dear to successive generations and are scarcely less dear to the present. It would be a serious thing to pull them to pieces, and would only be justified by the imperative demands of Truth. Of the effects of such treatment upon the fortunes of H A & M I will not enlarge, because I take it for granted that you intend to "do right, let the Heavens fall". But a tender regard to the religious feelings and associations of others is an elementary qualification in the Compilers of a Hymnal, and I feel certain it is one which you will not ignore.

Twells must qualify as the Cassandra of the 1904 Edition.

W. B. Trevelyan was equally outspoken, warning against the disastrous effects of radical change:

I am quite certain that if such wide changes as seem to be proposed are adopted it will lead (1) to very large numbers of clergy giving up its use (I should myself for one do so); (2) to the formation of another Book on thoroughly Catholic lines.

Many people love the book, not so much from its intrinsic excellence (though it is so good in many respects) as from old association. It has obtained a position which is at present impregnable. If these changes are made, I know of very large numbers of clergy who will at once discontinue the use of it. Moreover these changes would give real distress to many simple-minded people.

The extracts from letters written by theologians in response to the sub-committee's request for comments which I have quoted are only a selection. There are many more, some of them anonymous, some very hard to read. The chief impressions one derives from reading them are of the conscientiousness of the Compilers in consulting the experts and of the conservatism of theologians as a whole. There are very few criticisms of H A & M as it stood, very little desire for change. One correspondent summed it all up by suggesting that the offending verse was "in harmony with the second verse of Keble's Hymn for 'Easter Eve' - and the 'shadowy throng of souls' might be supposed to include 'seekers after God among the heathen', or any who had sinned and perished in ignorance, such as those in the Flood." Keble still commanded respect, it would appear, among Anglo-Catholics.

We find the sub-committee concerning itself about another hymn - 192 in the Standard Edition: "O Love, Who formedst me to wear", by Catherine Winkworth, from the German of J. Scheffler. Mason raised

the point whether "the attribution of eternal predestination to God the Son, as well as to God the Father, is admissible. You will remember, I think, that the questions arose in connection with the hymn, 'O Love, Who formest me..'" V. S. S. Coles was directed to collect opinions about the hymn.

Father Pullen quoted John v. 19 and 20 to prove that "the language of the hymn is admissible as it stands" and that no alteration was necessary. "We know that some things are peculiar to the Father either from the testimony of Scripture or from the nature of the case. But I should say that among these things we ought not to reckon the election of the elect." (1)

Canon Gore also defended the hymn:

I should have been inclined to think the objections overstrained. The invocation to "O Love" seems to me, translated into prose, to be equivalent to "O God, who because thou art Love", and therefore to be applicable to God as such, - creating, calling, redeeming, glorifying - without considering the distinction of Persons..... The objections made to the hymn are, of course,

(1) H A & M Archives, Norwich, Box 7. The offending lines are presumably these:

O Love, who formedst me to wear

The image of Thy Godhead here; (verse 1)

and

O Love, Who ere life's earliest dawn

On me Thy choice past gently laid

O Love, Who here as Man wast born

i.e. "Love" is directly identified as "Christ" - who elects.

based on an accurate orthodoxy, but I think they are an instance of over-exactness, and to yield to them would seem to me to be giving just occasion for complaint to those who love a type of language which is sanctioned by a great man or orthodox writing." (1)

G. E. Brightman quoted Saint Athanasius' Contra Arianos and Saint Basil's De Spiritu Sancto to prove the identity of will and action in the Father and the Son. "The will and action of the Son is concurrent, synchronous, and coincident with that of the Father and is only distinguished from it as being derivative, as the being itself of the Son is derivative". Brightman was well satisfied that "whatever is predicated by the Father, except His generating, can only be 'in' and 'through' the Son " and that "the will of the Son is the will of the Father, not only coincident but identical with it". He then quotes Ephesians 1.4 in the Greek - on which he presumes the objections to be based - and demonstrates that the theological justification for speaking of the Son as electing is not affected. "It seems to me therefore that the hymn requires no alteration".

Moberley went straight to the point: "I must say that I do not agree at all with the criticism of which you told me on Hymn 192 ... Clearly in itself the word 'Love' is applicable as widely as the word 'God' is applicable, i.e. indifferently to all three 'Persons' and to each. If two more stanzas were added to the hymn, beginning with

(1) All the opinions quoted are to be found at length in H A & M Archives, Norwich, Box 7. They are undated, but Coles' covering letter to White is dated 18 December 1896

'O Love', said with unmistakable reference to the Holy Spirit, would anyone say that the doctrine was not right?" In six and a half closely packed sides Moberley argues that "the unity of God was a doctrine burnt into the religious consciousness for centuries before distinctions within the unity were revealed"... "There is no act or purpose of God - unless it be the fact of Incarnation - from which we dare exclude any one 'Personal subsistena' of Deity" ... "I do not think orthodox people conceive this essential unity distinctly enough - very likely because they are nervous about a charge of Sabellianism"... "If prepositions like ~~but~~ ^{of ev}, however true they may be in themselves, really represented the maximum of what might be asserted with doctrinal truth, I hardly see why the feelings of jealousy should ever have arisen about the precise language of the Gloria, which caused Saint Basil to write his treatise 'De Spiritu Sancto'." Moberley concluded: "I fear I have been running on: but I wanted if possible to make clear the sort of mental attitude, which would make me personally look upon the alteration of that hymn, upon doctrinal grounds, as a disaster".

After such unanimity, so forthright and so well-informed, from such theological heavy-weights, the Compilers would have been bold indeed to have omitted "O Love, Who formedst me to wear". They did not: it is 495 in the 1904 Edition. One can but admire the sub-committee's scruples in going to such lengths in the cause of orthodoxy.

Not all the experts consulted were so generous with their time and efforts. White received the following letter dated 5 June 1896:

Reverend and dear Sir,

I much regret that owing to pressure of work, which has compelled me to abandon all outside my necessary business, I have been quite unable to give any attention to the matter of the proposed new edition of H A & M. And indeed, I feel that I have not the needful ability to be critical.

I am Reverend and dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

W. Chatterton Dix. (1)

In contrast to this feeble letter from the author of "As with gladness men of old", Walsham How submitted sixteen pages of closely packed comment: as Bishop of Wakefield he presumably had his share of "necessary business", yet was able to prove the truth of the adage that you can always find time for what you want to do. In a series of letters addressed to "Canon White", he pleaded for more logical arrangements of the lines of hymns: "There seems no principle guiding the arrangement of the lines in the hymns. Surely the setting of the lines is meant to indicate the metre, but no rule is strictly followed". The Bishop added a supplement to his letter in which he made detailed proposals for the setting out of no less than 89 hymns! Another of his suggestions should be quoted in full:

I am going to be bold enough to ask your committee seriously to consider the suggestion to add to your quarto (square) edition

(1) H A & M Archives , Norwich, Box 7. Letter dated 5 June 1896.

of your tune-book the names of the tunes and, if possible, also the names of the composers at the head of the tunes, exactly as in Church Hymns (S.P.C.K.). It would be the greatest possible boon to many, saving an infinitude of trouble in reference to index etc. Again and again have I found persons laboriously writing the names of the tunes above them in their copies, as I have done myself. (1)

Walsham How made other sensible suggestions. For example, he drew the Compilers' attention to the problem of unison singing at gatherings of clergy for Retreats, men's services, "in Daily Prayer where few can attend". On such occasions the tunes are too high for men's voices in unison. "Perhaps the simplest remedy in most cases would be to print an alternative setting of the tune in a lower key, with the treble part on a solo line, and with (if desired) a different accompaniment, heading it 'arrangement for unison singing' (N.B. Tunes so arranged should seldom touch any note above D, or at most E flat.)"

These recommendations from a working Bishop seem eminently sensible. More controversial - and no doubt highly unacceptable to the Compilers - were Walsham How's views on Office Hymns:

I venture at once to express my fears that the attempt to include all the Office Hymns of the Sarum Breviary, and these translated into the metre of the original, will inevitably make

(1) H A & M Archives, Norwich, Box 7. Letter dated 12 November 1894.

the book heavy and archaic, and will not add to its general acceptability. The translations of the Latin hymns are seldom used at present, and some (especially the Lenten ones) are very poor, though carefully translated. I mean poor as hymns.

In a covering letter to his memorandum (16 September 1896) he explained that he did not blame the translators. "It is partly the fault of the original Latin hymns, which it cannot be denied are often very bald and poor, and partly the result of the extreme difficulty of making a translation ... No book, of however good material otherwise, could possibly bear the tremendous weight of such a ponderous addition". (1)

Walsham How's letters to the Compilers include a plea for shorter Litanies, for the inclusion of Watts' "And now another day has gone" (which he wrote out in full, guessing that the Compilers would not know it), for a consistent and correct use of "O" and "Oh". To what extent the Bishop's suggestions were adopted, we shall see in due course. What could not be mistaken, was the helpfulness and courtesy of his approach. His letter to "My dear Canon White" of 20 November 1896 ends: "But I did not mean to write a letter of criticisms. The great bulk of the work is so delightful that I want it all to be so".

Some criticism was considerably more abrasive. Writing from The Close, Winchester on 23 June 1896, W. Warburton had this to say:

(1) H A & M Archives, Norwich, Box 7.

I cannot but think that translated hymns are most unsatisfactory. They are mostly full of conceits, very often happy conceits, and tolerable in monkish Latin but their charm and spirituality has evaporated! These translated hymns on The Conception and Nativity appear to me in the worst of bad taste, not to use a stronger expression of condemnation, - and breathe the unnatural atmosphere of the Cloister.

The Bishop of Nassau wanted Bickersteth's "Peace, perfect peace" excluded, and Father Benson wrote a trenchant criticism of J. M. Neale's "The Lamb's high banquet call'd to share".

As befitted a Professor of Poetry at Oxford and the editor of the Golden Treasury of English Lyrics, F. T. Palgrave recommended the little known seventeenth century hymns in his own Treasury of Sacred Song and suggested the inclusion of more poems by Newman and Keble "on the ground of poetic merit". On the other hand, the high priest of good hymnographical taste, Robert Bridges, was less helpful:

I have doubted whether I need trouble you with a letter at all, and I cannot ask you to enter into my scruples; but shortly, I went through some of the hymns very carefully and came to the conclusion that I could not give the enormous amount of time and attention which they require, especially since I cannot feel entirely in sympathy with the work. I shall do best in continuing my own hymnal, which is so far affected by your revision of H A & M that I have now given up the attempt to provide words for the tunes out of your book, and have retranslated such Latin hymns as I have used, and have introduced others...

One wonders precisely why Bridges did not feel entirely in sympathy with H A & M: an interesting if negative letter.

Among so many comments, I single out lastly a letter from Langton E. G. Brown, dated 10 December 1898, which deals with an issue which few correspondents mentioned - but which some modern authorities believe to be all important: the social question.

One of the chief defects of all older hymnals, as of the common religious teaching, was the neglect of the bearings of religion on social and national life. The splendid hymn, 475,⁽¹⁾ is exactly the model of a social hymn, but is limited to a rare use; many more of the same clay are badly needed. Perhaps the Christian Social Union could find some for you. 584⁽²⁾ seems to me to have rather a falsetto tone, as of a stage Parson addressing a stage crowd of "Sons of Labour".

Brown went on to suggest hymns for all workers, both employers and employed, for the government, a hymn stressing the duty and dignity of work, a hymn of social brotherhood, a hymn on mutual love and helpfulness ("This badly wanted. Love to one's neighbour is very badly represented.."), a hymn on the relation of teachers and taught

(1) John Ellerton's "Behold us, Lord, a little space." In the 1904 Edition, in H A & M R as well as in the Standard Edition, but dropped in 1983.

(2) S. R. Hole's "Sons of Labour, dear to Jesus".

and a hymn for relief of distress. ("389 ⁽¹⁾ is cold comfort for a starving man and sounds to him hypocritical"). Brown advocated hymns under the National heading for the Sovereign and all in authority, for Army and Navy ("not jingo") and "for the conversion of the nation which seems further off than ever".

We shall see to what extent Brown's recommendations were implemented. In the meantime, however, the earnest and conscientious debates of the Compilers were dramatically and rudely interrupted.

V

Unfortunately, the Compilers proved to be too conscientious. They took so long consulting so many people that soon rumours circulated, confidential documents became public property and this kind of reaction ensued:

May 19 1897.

My dear Sir,

I am informed that there is likely to be a change in the H A & M Hymn-Book and that in a downward direction. If this be so I regret to hear it and I shall immediately cease to use H A & M ...

(1) Sir H. W. Baker's "What our Father does is well". One can see Brown's point of view. Cf the lines:

Tho' he send for plenty, want;	What our Father does is well;
Tho' the harvest store be scant,	Shall the wilful heart rebel?
Yet we rest upon His Love,	If a blessing be withhold
Seeking better things above.	In the field, or in the fold;
	Is it not Himself to be
	All our store eternally?

Not Baker's best!

Thus the Reverend Frederick Harvey - and several other clerics who wrote to the Compilers during May, June, July and August 1897.

On 8 September of that year the Reverend Edward G. Wood of Saint Clement's Vicarage, Cambridge wrote to Cosby White: ⁽¹⁾

I have to acknowledge receipt of your note informing me that you could not let me see the opinions of Professor Mason and Messrs. Coles and Whitaker with regard to certain hymns in your collection. I regret this as a very widespread feeling exists that the Proprietors of H A & M intend to make doctrinal changes in the new edition. The general nature of those changes is apparent from the criticisms of Father Benson on the opinions referred to. It is under these circumstances by no means conducive to your own interests that a policy of concealment should be pursued.

Wood threatens White that if these doctrinal changes are made, "a large number of priests" will no longer use the book - and this will occur on both sides of the Atlantic. "I am speaking of what I know. You will ruin your book financially".

White sent Wood's letter to Mason who replied in trenchant terms on 13 September, "It is a horrid letter". He advised White to reply that commercial success was not the first consideration of the

(1) All documents in this section are to be found in H A & M Archives, Norwich, Box 7.

Proprietors but "to make the book represent as completely as they can the tone of the Bible and Prayer book, in the light of the history of Christian doctrine and worship". White should then point out that those consulted had in fact recommended very few changes, and should ask Wood "how he became aware of Father Benson's criticisms". Mason added an extremely sensible post-script:

I am inclined to think that the unrest which has been spread abroad by the indiscretion of some of our friends makes it advisable that we should get forward with our book as quickly as we well can, so that people may see the book for themselves.

The wisdom of this advice was only too forcefully demonstrated a few days later when a leading article was published in the Church Times (24 September 1897) headed "A Conspiracy Unearthed". It is necessary to quote this at some length:

It will doubtless be a startling surprise to most of our readers to hear that a plot is hatching to supplant that not very extreme, though enormously popular book, H A & M, by a new and watered-down edition, with the apparent intention of eliminating everything that may be objectionable to anyone calling himself an English Churchman, in the hope that it may be officially recognised as the one and only authorised Hymn Book of the English Church.

The writer predicted disaster on the grounds that no-one would use such a book. He dismissed the argument that H A & M was private property: "Those who use it have certainly moral rights in regard to it, especially as it has been generally understood that the last revision was practically final". Nor should the Proprietors hide behind the claim that their consultations were confidential: "this appears to us to be a very bad form of confidence trick". Just as the confidential correspondence of criminals would be revealed to the victim by any right-minded person, so the Church Times regarded it as its duty to "defeat the scheme, the secret character of which has been so carefully preserved that it has been working for some months before it was brought to our notice".

There follows some rather patronising and grudging praise of the present book. "H A & M has done, and is doing, an incalculably good work in spite of its defects." The book is a compromise and as such appeals to widely differing groups of Churchmen. To water it down will undermine its valuable influence "in levelling up those below its standards". "Such action must inevitably lead to the production of a decidedly Catholic book, while the proposed alterations will not satisfy extreme Low-Churchmen. We are therefore glad to hear that an influential committee is being formed, and that a preliminary meeting will shortly be held to consider the best means of opposing the suggested alterations".

The leading article pointed out that reactions in America would be equally unfavourable. H A & M "is sanctioned by some American bishops and tacitly tolerated by others.... We are assured by a leading American clergyman that the adoption of the proposed changes would ensure its being generally abandoned".

The article concluded with the threat that if the intended scheme was implemented, H A & M would become far less popular. The majority of clergy were quite satisfied with the book as it stood. "The organists and choirs will object to being worried with the wholesale change that is threatened in the music as well as the words. The great mass of the congregations will resent the loss of many familiar hymns and tunes, and the trivial changes made in many that are to be left." All who use the book are advised to unite in insisting on no changes being made. "As a matter both of expedience and honesty the Proprietors will do well to accede to what we are sure will be a very general demand, that they shall withdraw their proposal and keep to their original undertaking".

This leading article, so wrong in its main contention but uncomfortably right in its general drift, was exceedingly embarrassing to the Proprietors. Mason wrote to White on the actual day on which the Church Times article was published:

I fear you must have been deeply pained by the article in today's Church Times - written, I have little doubt, by the same unscrupulous hand as the letter to you the other day. It made me very indignant, and I have penned the accompanying reply. Some reply, I think, must be made, or people will be seriously disquieted...

The resemblance between Wood's letter of 13 September and the Church Times' leading article is sufficiently close for Mason's guess to be almost certainly correct. The reply which he had composed was

passed on by White to the Church Times, where it was published on 1 October 1897, over the signature "One of the Proprietors". Mason took the offensive at once:

You are usually so fair towards any who are endeavouring to uphold the Catholic character of the Church of England, that it was with a sense of astonishment and incredulity that I read this morning the - pardon me for saying it - acrimonious attack upon the Proprietors of H A & M, without which you allowed yourself to be identified in a leading article of your issue today. That attack could not have been made by anyone who knew the facts, and I cannot but regret that you did not see your way to enquiring into those facts before lending the whole weight of your able paper to an ex parte statement.

Mason had no difficulty in demonstrating that the contention of the leading article - that the new H A & M was to be "watered-down" in order to enable Convocation to adopt it as a national hymn-book - was entirely incorrect. Quite the reverse was true. There had indeed been tentative negotiations with Convocation, but the Proprietors had withdrawn from these negotiations precisely because they were not prepared to envisage H A & M abandoning its traditional Catholic teaching.

After claiming that the Church Times had not by any means unearthed a conspiracy but had discovered a mare's nest, Mason admitted that the Proprietors had consulted various experts on such theological issues as Heaven and the intermediate state. As a matter of fact,

the Proprietors had rejected the advice to make radical alterations. Their one purpose was to make H A & M as useful as possible to the Church. They certainly would not be influenced by financial considerations, but would do what they considered right. If a "decidedly Catholic book" were to emerge, "there will be no fresh reason for producing it consequent upon our revision of H A & M".

As is the way of editors, Mason's letter was followed by a smug editorial comment, in the form of an apology which was not really an apology:

If we have unintentionally done the Proprietors an injustice in assuming that they wished to make H A & M the authorised hymnal of the English Church, we sincerely apologise and withdraw the suggestion. We rejoice to hear that our suspicions that the book was to be watered-down are not correct. We cordially accept the correction. The false impressions were chiefly founded on the mysterious refusal of information to those who had a moral right to ask for it.

In other words it had all been White's fault for refusing to satisfy Wood's anxious curiosity in the first place.

Not surprisingly the leading article, Mason's reply and the editor's tendentious "apology" opened the floodgates. The correspondence columns of the Church Times were full of letters on the proposed revision for the rest of the year. Cudgels were taken up on behalf of this hymn or that, such as Faber's "Oh, come and mourn with me awhile". (Was he or was he not justified in using the expression "Jesus, our love"?

Did Ignatius use the phrase? Yes, he did, but his word was ²ερως meaning regrettable, sensual love etc, etc). Several correspondents unkindly expressed themselves baffled as to precisely why H A & M was so popular. In the Church Times of 26 November, Edward Asling pointed out that the book was highly unsatisfactory from the point of view of advanced Catholic congregations. Other correspondents stressed the book's inferiority to Church Hymns especially when Sullivan's tunes are compared with the dull H A & M selection. The fault-finders were in their element. In "Angel voices ever singing", "farthest" has to rhyme with "regardest", "voices" with "choicest", "rejoicest" with "voices". And so on.

Whether the Proprietors bothered to read these criticisms and comments is to be doubted. However, a considerable number of clergy and laymen wrote to the Proprietors, alarmed by the rumours of drastic alterations in the forth-coming new edition. Many of those correspondents had read the original leading article in the Church Times, or had heard about it, but had not read Mason's correcting letter.

The whole episode was most unfortunate and gave the venture the worst kind of advance publicity. Unfortunately, as we have seen, rumours of doctrinal "watering-down" had been circulating during the summer of 1897, before E. G. Wood wrote to Cosby White on 13 September. For instance, S. Baring-Gould wrote from Lew Trenchard to the Chairman of H A & M on 13 May;

I hear from more than one quarter that there is a proposal to water down H A & M doctrinally in the new edition.

I think that will be a serious blunder if committed, as the Church policy of definite belief is rising as a tide on every side and swamping out the vague and vacuous Churchmanship that was so prevalent. It is a mistake in another way, it will irresistably lead to a committee of definite Churchmen composing a fresh hymnal that shall not play feeble uncertain tootles of doctrinal music, but sound distinct notes - and most certainly it will drive H A & M out of a great and increasing number of churches. (1)

The wording of this curious letter is typical of its eccentric author. But the arguments which it conveys exactly anticipate the Church Times' leading article, which, as we have seen, both expressed and caused widespread concern. The archives of H A & M at Norwich contain a number of letters from men who shared Baring-Gould's feelings.

Despite Mason's helpful and sensible letter which he hoped would correct the false impressions created by the "leader", the suspicion persisted that H A & M was being altered for the worse. So many admirers of the old book maintained both publicly and privately that any change must be for the worse that this ridiculous and unreasonable point of view gained wide currency. It was tragic that Mason's sensible advice - to get on with it - was not followed, and that seven years of further deliberation passed before the new edition saw the light of day. By that time the hatchets were well and truly sharpened. One cannot help thinking that publication in, say, 1900 could surely have been achieved; it would have been for the best.

(1) H A & M Archives, Norwich, Box 7. See Appendix 2 for a photocopy of this letter.

VI

But it was not to be. Laboriously and conscientiously the Compilers and their Assessors did their best to select the best, both words and music. This was bound to take time.

Canon Nathaniel Keymer played an increasingly prominent rôle, as the publication date drew near. He contacted numerous authors and composers (or their heirs) for permission to use their work. The more merciful contented themselves with returning Keymer's form duly signed. Many, however, argued and refused to sign until their viewpoint had been met.

For example there was a lengthy exchange of letters with John Ellerton's son, the Reverend F. G. Ellerton. He objected to alterations to the original text of "The Day Thou gavest, Lord, is ended". It was in vain that A. J. Mason pointed out that "sanctify" (verse 1) and "Thy Kingdom stands, and grows for ever" (last verse) were "Mr. Ellerton's own alterations", in response to criticisms. (The originals which F. G. Ellerton wanted restoring were "shall hallow now our rest" and "But stand and rule and grow for ever"). In a letter to Keymer of 17 May 1904 (which begins humorously, "I have no wish to add to your labours, which I am sure are heavy") F. G. Ellerton refuses to accept Mason's argument: "I am positive that my father was merely overruled through his intense modesty and humility about his own work and that he regretted the alterations. Why should not the committee reverse their previous judgement?" Keymer patiently reiterated the arguments in favour of the alterations which John Ellerton had accepted. But his son would not, and in yet another

letter of 30 May 1904 he returned to the charge: "I cannot refrain from writing one line to you with regards to 'The Day Thou gavest'". One can imagine Keymer's relief when in another letter F. G. Ellerton requested that in any list of authors his father should be "John Ellerton" and not "J. Ellerton" - "He was always anxious about this". That request could easily be granted.

F. G. Ellerton also objected violently to the addition of a verse to his father's "Now the labourer's task is o'er". In his letter of 8 November 1904 thanking Keymer for "a handsomely bound copy of the new H A & M", Ellerton did not mince his words:

My pleasure in it is dashed by seeing that in spite of a direct assertion to the contrary (19 May 1904) you have tampered with "Now the labourer's task is o'er" by adding what I consider a most objectionable verse.... I must say that your action in (1) telling me (May 14) that you were "not aware of any alteration in any original hymn of Canon Ellerton's" and (illegible) (2) giving me a list (May 19) of unaltered hymns and including 401 in that list has hurt me very deeply. I will not say more lest I say more than I ought.

Keymer replied by return of post with a letter of apology (9 November 1904). He took the blame entirely on himself, exonerating the other members of the committee. His excuse was that adding a verse was not the same as tampering. He could only assure Ellerton that he had had no intention whatsoever of deliberately deceiving him. Keymer must have reflected that a Compiler's task is not easy. (1)

(1) The Compilers had tried hard to humour F. G. Ellerton. In deference to his wishes they had left "He, the Christ, th'anointed one" (which as A. J. Mason pointed out is a tautology) instead of their preference "Jesus, the Anointed One" in John Ellerton's "Throned upon the awful Tree".

There was trouble too with Canon Henry Twells over the first line of his popular evening hymn. The Compilers wished to alter it to "At even when the sun did set". In a letter to White of 4 June 1894 Twells had written:

I have never had the slightest inclination to alter the first line, nor recognised the least sense in the crotchety objections made to it. Saint Mark, Saint Luke, and I are absolutely at one ... etc.

After much debate the Compilers rejected the author's preference. After the new edition was published, a predictably angry letter came from Twells' widow:

It has been with much ^concern that Miss Twells and myself have observed in the new edition of H A & M the alteration of wording in the first line of the hymn written by my late husband Canon Twells - "At even 'ere the sun was set". Particularly, as we know that such change is contrary to his own expressed opinion on the subject...

Keymer's letter came perilously close to a flat lie. (16 November 1904).

Dear Mrs. Twells,

On behalf of the committee of H A & M I am desired to express their sincere regret that you should have been so much troubled by the alteration of the first line of Hymn 30 to the words of Saint Mark. (Sic!) Our Chairman wishes me to say that it is his impression that when the question was discussed with Canon Twells he said that he much preferred "ere", but was willing to allow those who preferred "when" to adopt it ...

In the case of Caroline Maria Noel's "At the Name of Jesus" the Compilers coolly ignored the late author's known preference for "In" which her heir passed on to them. On the other hand they respected the 93-year old Bishop Bickersteth's wish conveyed by his son ("My father is too unwell to write") that "Peace, perfect peace" should be unaltered. And when Bishop Walsham How's son objected to alterations made in the new edition to his father's hymns, Keymer had no difficulty in defending the committee. He was able to produce a letter from the Bishop dated 16 December 1896 expressly sanctioning the alterations.

One particular response which occupied Keymer's time was the tendency of authors not only to grant permission for a hymn to be used but to enclose several more hymns. Mrs. Dorothy Frances Gurney was delighted that "O perfect Love" was to be included. But in her letter to Keymer of 19 May 1904 she asked:

Are you adding new hymns to your hymn-book? I wrote an evening hymn which I don't think is bad, but there are so many classics that I don't expect you will need any more new hymns.

W. H. Turton (Lieutenant Colonel R.E.), whose "Thou who at Thy first Eucharist didst pray" was included with his cordial agreement, wrote from the Transvaal on 5 June 1904, "enclosing half a dozen other hymns of mine in case you care to insert any of them..."

The Reverend Francis Pott - a veteran of First Edition days - readily agreed to the inclusion of three of his translations. In his letter of 24 June 1904 he continued:

I notice that you do not ask my permission for almost the only original hymn of mine that ever was published - "Angel voices".

I suppose the committee have (sic) struck it out. This does not at all disturb my amour propre - but I mention it because of the extraordinary - but to my mind not very greatly deserved - popularity of the hymn which I feel sure will be much missed.

Pott suggests that this "extraordinary popularity" might have been "due to that catching but most trivial and inappropriate tune of Sullivan's". However, as he always insisted on its being published with Monk's tune, he concluded that "people liked the hymn itself". (1) The committee would have been wise to have listened to the advice in this impressive letter in which Pott successfully avoids any suspicion of vanity which must otherwise arise in cases where authors recommend their own work. Sadly, neither Pott's words nor Monk's tune were to be included in the 1904 Edition.

Another veteran composer of words and music, Archbishop Maclagan, wrote to White on 14 April 1903, offering his own good ideas. He was unhappy about Charlotte Elliott's hymn, "Christian, seek not yet repose", especially the fourth verse which seemed to the Archbishop to be based on a misunderstanding of Hebrews XII. "The cloud of witnesses is not a cloud of spectators"; so "Hear the victors who o'ercame; Still they mark each warrior's way" is unscriptural. Maclagan proposed, "Hear the victors who o'ercame; Once they trod the warrior's way". The Compilers ignored his advice and left the hymn unaltered.

(1) So far as I know, Sullivan's tune appears only in Church Hymns. It is indeed a catchy tune, although Monk's has real grandeur. See the descant by Robin Sheldon in Anglican Hymn Book (234).

They also ignored the Archbishop's wish to see "Now the labourer's task is o'er" made more scriptural. MacLagan remarked pertinently:

The Wesleyan Hymn Book is really their theological treasury, and it has exercised an enormous influence on the people belonging to that religious community. I by no means assent to its theology; but I believe that our own hymn book should aim at a similar influence from the Church's point of view, and should be as far as possible free from the occasional errors of hymn writers, however excellent. I speak, deeply conscious of my own possible failures in this respect, even in the very few hymns which I have written. I write in much haste at the close of a busy day.

No doubt the Compilers totally agreed with this modest and sensible letter. Yet they left "Now the labourer's task is o'er" unaltered, shrinking from yet further confrontation with John Ellerton's son!

The last instance I propose to consider of the Compilers' deliberations concerned words and music and involved White, Keymer, Frere, Mason and Coles. The subject was dear to all their hearts, Venantius Fortunatus' hymn "Salve, festa dies", written in elegiac hexameters towards the end of the sixth century A.D. J. M. Neale, T. A. Lacey and Gerard Moultrie had published translations which had not proved entirely satisfactory: to provide musical accompaniment was even more difficult.

For some weeks the Compilers negotiated with James Baden-Powell who had composed a tune for Lacey's translation. However, A. J. Mason

had, in the Compilers' opinion, improved on Lacey in the same metre. Baden-Powell refused to allow his tune to be used with Mason's words - and then suggested that any other translation into heroic metres would infringe his copyright! When the Compilers refused to accept this strange argument, Baden-Powell cattily suggested that Mason had plagiarised Moultrie:

A clever Schoolmaster - head of one of our rising Schools - pointed out to me the other day, that your new translation of the dedication Salve incorporated almost all Mr. Moultrie's characteristic catchwords and expressions. He happened to see the two together. (1)

Mason good-humouredly pointed out that he had indeed followed Moultrie, "the object being only to alter Moultrie's where it was necessary to do so ... With regard to the choice of the heroic couplet to represent the elegiac, if there was any plagiarism, I take it that the plagiarism was Moultrie's, in adopting a metre which had already been used for the purpose by Neale". (2)

(1) Baden Powell to White, 11 July 1903.

(2) Mason to Keymer (White had circulated Baden Powell's letter), 8 August 1903. Who was the clever Schoolmaster? Skrine of Glenalmond had taken a great interest in the new book and is a possible candidate.

In the event, the Compilers stuck by Mason's translation of the Salve hymns ⁽¹⁾ and commissioned tunes by Luard Selby and Stanford. The episode is an instructive illustration of the problems facing the Compilers and of their patience and resourcefulness. It is also a significant story for another reason. The 1904 Edition of H A & M was dogged by bad luck, or perhaps by bad management. In their pursuit of excellence, the Compilers proved to be not quite whole-hearted enough - or not sufficiently perceptive. Perhaps their own quality was not absolutely top-class. Anyway, the one solution which they all regarded as out of the question was successfully adopted by M. F. Bell and Percy Dearmer: to translate the Latin metre into its exact English equivalent - elegiac hexameters. Only a genius could write a singable tune for such a metre; and two years later the genius obliged - for the English Hymnal. ⁽²⁾ His name was Ralph Vaughan Williams. Mason's words and Luard Selby's tune were incorporated in the 1916 supplement, but were dropped from H A & M R; and, alas, justice was done.

(1) Various Latin versions were available of Fortunatus' original hymn, the best being the Sarum Processional. In a letter from the House of the Resurrection, Mirfield, undated but from the contents obviously written during August 1903, Frere wrote to Keymer:

My dear K,

I am sorry B. P. is irreconcilable. I return the letter. We must do our own best as you say.

I enclose the York Salve for Whitsunday which I promised you. You will see what rot the original Latin is..... I am getting the book up to beginning of General Hymns into sheets.

Your aff

W. H. F.

(2) English Hymnal 624. Actually I quite like Luard Selby's tune though I have never heard it sung.

VII

The new edition of H A & M was published on 3 November 1904. The Preface, drafted by W. H. Frere, opened with thanks to Almighty God - sentiments which before long must have seemed rather inappropriate and ironic:

The Compilers of H A & M cannot issue this new edition of the book without expressing their deep thankfulness to Almighty God for the blessing which He has hitherto so richly bestowed upon their undertaking. The book has been so widely adopted as to make it manifest that in spite of defects, of which the Compilers are not unaware, the collection both of hymns and of tunes, has met the wants of the English Church in a way that has surpassed the most sanguine anticipations. To God be the praise.

Lowther Clarke criticises Frere's Preface as "rather lengthy". (1) This is harsh. It is only three pages, before the acknowledgements are listed - and, what is more, three pages of interesting, pungent prose, in which there is no padding. It is essential reading for anyone who wishes to understand the 1904 Edition.

Frere explains clearly the Compilers' aims and priorities in revising H A & M. The 1889 Supplement had been a temporary expedient and it had always been recognised that, some day, it would be necessary to fuse it into the main body of the book. "But it seemed desirable...

(1) Lowther Clarke, op. cit., pp 72 - 3.

that the work of revision should go further than this, and should comprise a thorough and comprehensive review of the whole collection, together with the introduction of new material." Frere insists that the principles of the Compilers have not changed. "More than once in former prefaces the Compilers have expressed their desire 'to do their work in the spirit of the English Prayer-book'. This has been the aim of the present revision, no less than of those which preceded it."

New material which has been added includes both old and modern English hymns. Here, however, the Compilers are well aware that they have not been entirely successful in filling gaps: the fault is not theirs, but is due to the failure of hymn-writers to fill such gaps. There are too few hymns to God the Father, as opposed to our Blessed Redeemer, too few hymns for Saints' Days, too few hymns on the Seven Words from the Cross, Holy Baptism, Holy Scripture ..."Few (writers) apparently have been inspired by the social and national aspects of Christianity which appeal so largely to our time".

There have been omissions - "but it is so hoped that few, if any, of the omitted hymns will be widely missed, and their excision has made room for others of greater value".

Frere explains the Compilers' attitude to the texts of hymns. Great trouble has been taken to revise and improve the translations of the ancient hymns of the Western Church. "Here and there new versions have been given in the metre of the original." With regard to English hymns, "care has been taken to examine the most authentic text available. In many cases a return to the author's original has in consequence been made". However, in cases where the alteration of an original text is clearly an improvement, the Revisers "have not hesitated to perpetuate it".

The music has been revised too. For ancient Latin hymns two settings have been provided - the ancient melody and a more modern tune. "The opportunity has been taken to draw upon the collections of sixteenth century Psalm tunes both German and English, German Chorales, and the English tunes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." Some modern tunes have been omitted - "sometimes because they were judged inappropriate or inadequate, sometimes because they lacked the dignity and simplicity which are essential for congregational use". On the other hand, the committee of musicians has retained several old favourites of which it strongly disapproves, not wishing to cause pain and grief! "In such cases an additional tune has been given wherever practicable".

The marks of expression and the metronome marks have been omitted: it was now up to the organist to use his taste and judgement. On the other hand, Frere gives advice on the correct way to sing and accompany the plainsong melodies. "If accompaniments be used at all, the simplest and most diatonic are those which are most consistent in style. The inappropriateness of chromatic and modern harmonies cannot be too strongly insisted on".

There follow two and a half pages of thanks and acknowledgements, most of a routine nature for permission to use copyright words and music. But it is pleasant to record that Bishop Walsham How is singled out for gratitude, together with Twells, Bright and "the Reverend J. Ellerton" (not "John Ellerton"!)

"The result is now offered for the service of God".

So the Compilers hoped. It was immediately apparent that the result was offered for savaging by men. The reception of the book, for reasons which have been made clear, was bound to be mixed. The veritable storm which broke is astonishing - and fascinating to the

social historian, as an illustration of the interest which journalists and their public took in religious issues at the beginning of the twentieth century. The contrast with the muted reception given the 1983 Edition is most instructive - an edition in which over three hundred hymns are omitted from the previous 1950 Edition. No opinion is advanced at this stage as to the wisdom or otherwise of the 1983 revisers: but the radical scale of their excisions is indisputable, and has gone unnoticed.

Back to 1904 - when a mere hundred hymns or so were dropped from the Standard Edition.

The Times (11 November) was restrained, in a patronising way, arguing that this was more of a party book than its predecessor:

The revised version of H A & M is certainly not destined to be the hymn-book that will be accepted by all parties. Indeed, it seems less likely to be so than any previous edition There is about the book a deliberate mediaevalism, not easy to define, yet sufficiently obvious.

The reviewer quoted the placing of hymns on "The Transfiguration" and "the Name of Jesus" alongside those of the great festivals of the Christian year, as though they were equally important. The book was praised however for the omission of "O paradise! O Paradise" - "quite heathenish selfishness", according to the reviewer - and for the inclusion of Charles Wesley's "Come, O Thou Traveller Unknown". On the whole the music was approved of, though certainly "the purists were not to have everything their own way ... the tunes which appeal most strongly to domestic servants and to a certain class of the less

musical clergy are all, or almost all, retained." However, the inclusion of "Helmsley", "Duke Street" and "Come, Holy Ghost" was to be welcomed, likewise the fact that "the plainsongs .. have been, for the first time in this collection, treated properly - provided with suitable accompaniments in modal harmony, and printed with the melody in the correct types on a four-line stave".

The Manchester Guardian was positively generous. The Revisers were complimented on their courage in altering such a popular book as H A & M "and no fair critic can doubt that the book is greatly improved". The omitted hymns are "for the most part of the mechanical type obviously written to order, of which earlier editions contained too many". Their place is taken by a few new hymns recently written and by several of "the older English hymns, passed over previously probably as not having quite the tone of the Compilers' school in the Church". The reviewer (A. S. W.) predicted an outcry over "Hark how all the Welkin rings" and deplored the pedantry of "outside a city wall". But the musical committee was praised for its realistic accompaniments to the plainsong and for good sense in dismissing inappropriate modern tunes. Indeed this process has not been taken far enough; "several hymns (sic) by Dykes, with a sickly, whining tone, are retained". A. J. reviewing the tunes concluded:

The great and almost revolutionary changes in the new edition cannot fail to cause much outcry at first. But if they will only take time to consider the matter the churches will find that they have now a much better hymnal. Perhaps after a further lapse of twenty-five years or so a second scouring may rid them of such things as Dykes' tune for "Jesu, lover of my soul".

The Yorkshire Post (7 November) pointed out that the changes made in the hymns retained were so many that "the old books will be of small value after the introduction of the new". "Of erudition and painstaking labour there are abundant evidences, but there will be scarcely a person found to agree with all that has been done". Both these comments were highly pertinent. The review concluded with a compliment: "One general change made will be acceptable to persons of taste. The marks of expression have been omitted from the text. The Revisers say that these marks are 'either exaggerated or disregarded'. It may be said also that they are irritating and superfluous".

The Daily Telegraph attempted to do justice:

There has been a disposition in some quarters to direct heavy artillery against the Revisers. That, we think, is hardly necessary. They have not touched the hymns that count.

Likewise the Daily Graphic:

Both in regard to words and music there are omissions which will be regretted, but it is impossible to please everybody, and, on the whole, the Revisers may be expected to have hit very exactly the taste of those to whom their work will mainly appeal.

The Liverpool Post was even more complimentary:

The whole collection is a vast improvement on its predecessor ... Whether or not it will come into general use is another matter.

Apart, however, from the question of immediate use in the services of the Church, all to whom Christianity is the vital force in their lives will do well to examine it.

The reviewer in the Church Times was primarily concerned with the music which he perceived was the really radical contribution of the book to Christian worship. He referred to its "immeasurable musical superiority" ... "In our humble opinion, it contains much good poetry and no little sound theology, but at the moment we are more concerned with the music, and we say deliberately that it is now a very fine collection of tunes".

When we turn to unfavourable reviews, predictably we find some swingeing attacks in the ultra-Protestant press. For instance the English Churchman (10 November), under the head-line "IDOLATROUS HYMNS - ARE THEY NOT ILLEGAL?" claimed that "the inspiration of the vast body of the compositions, especially those of a Sacramental character, is ultra-Romish, many of the hymns being taken directly from Roman Catholic Office books - Breviaries, and the like (sic) - and these too identified with the grossest periods of Papal superstition and idolatry". There is a "distinct advance Romeward in the Eucharistic section" and deplorable examples of Mariolatry. The whole book is an "ecclesiastical scandal". "It is surely a very grave and urgent consideration whether an irresponsible body, such as the cryptic committee who, for forty years, at enormous cost, have pushed the sale and use of this pernicious publication, should be allowed by tacit authority thus to propagate the most advanced errors and corruptions of the Papal Apostasy".

Less predictable, however, was the virulence of the reviews in some of the more popular news-papers. For example the Star published, under the head-line "COMPILERS RUSH IN WHERE ANGELS FEAR TO TREAD", the following:

Since the late Mr. Bowdler rewrote the plays of Shakespeare we have had no more pitiful exhibition of the "improver's" art than the new edition of H A & M which is out today. The Compilers of this book ... are a committee of private persons - country clergymen and others ... there is throughout the new edition a patriotic and Anglo-Catholic flavour which is unfortunately not accompanied by much taste. The prize blunder of the Compilers is this new opening for "Hark! the herald angels sing": -

Hark! how all the welkin rings
Glory to the King of Kings.

This lapse into the literary methods of the fire reporter is typical of the way in which this holy hash has been compounded.

The Daily Mail called the new work a "lamentable hymn-book" - and "one of the most objectionable books which has ever come before me. Its authors will be well advised to withdraw it promptly and completely from circulation before their bad taste and bad poetry and bad theology become a public joke".

The Chronicle picked up the unfortunately complacent tone of the Preface - in which Almighty God is "thanked for the blessing which He has so richly bestowed upon their undertaking . As it will

practically compel a restocking of hymn-books, one can foresee that the Proprietors will have cause for deep thankfulness whether the Divine blessing be given or withheld. It is not clear why, to meet 'the wants of the English Church', the edition of 1875, with the supplemental hymns of 1889, is not adequate" ... "And what earthly or heavenly reason have they for attempting to evict those herald angels? Each kitchen-maid on Christmas Eve finds the phrase humming in her busy brain, and she is justified. 'Herald angels' is a haunting combination of words, and carries a kitchen-maid far beyond the clouds. The noodle who tries to prevent us from shouting 'Hark! the herald angels sing' might as well try to alter the words of 'Auld Lang Syne!'. We are 'on the side of the angels'".

The Daily Express damned with faint praise. "Of the new hymns in the book, perhaps the chief characteristic is medium excellence - nothing decidedly poor, or perhaps on the other side nothing superlatively good. Combined with this is the peculiar characteristic most common, seemingly, with present-day hymn-writers - the tendency to write in verses of peculiar measure or particularly long lines". The editor claimed that the vast majority of the letters he had received - and "no book of the autumn publishing season has excited half the contention " - were hostile to the venture. On balance, the publication of a revised edition of H A & M seemed a mistake. "An anonymous committee of country clergymen has thought it fit to pervert Charles Wesley's famous line 'Hark! the herald angels sing' to

'Hark! how all the welkin rings'". None of this comment however was quite as extreme as the Evening News, "Foolish, banal, vulgar, objectionable, and in every way lamentable". (1)

(1) The National Press contained letters from readers, on the whole opposed to the new edition, though a few were in favour. For instance, Mr. Ommaney wrote from Saint Matthew's, Sheffield in November 1904 to the Editor of the Times:

I cannot agree with Mr. Loxley that the revised edition of H A & M is worse than former editions. On the contrary I feel most thankful that in many ways so great an improvement has been effected.

More representative of the majority, however, was W. Clarke Leeper who wrote from the Rectory, Eye, Suffolk:

Sir,

I never was more disappointed than when I opened the new edition of H A & M. I have known and loved the old book for so many years - the best part of my life - and the new book is so vastly different, and it seems to me so very inferior, that I have made up my mind to keep to the old, and have nothing to do with the new book. The old words, and the dear old tunes, are for the most part ruthlessly swept away, and for what? The climax is reached in the following awful specimen of poetry:

He at Whose Word swift Angels fly,
His dread commands to hear,
Obeys in deep humility
A simple carpenter!

The more I examine the book, the more I dislike it, and the more distressed I feel.

(The verse to which Mr. Clarke Leeper took exception comes from "The Heav'nly Child in stature grows" (86), Chandler's translation of de Santeuil's hymn. This verse does not appear in the Standard Edition (78).)

/ continued over

(1) continued

Mr. L. G. Stevens of Saint Mark's, Reigate can also be quoted as a spokesman for the hostile majority:

I very much feel that the majority of both clergy and laity will be sadly disappointed by the new revision of H A & M. It contains too much "extra luggage".

Both the latter letters were also published in The Times.

The Vicar of Paignton, Dr. J. T. Trelawny-Ross wrote in the December, 1904 issue of the Paignton Parish Magazine:

New Edition of H A & M: we have been asked to say what will be done in the Parish with regard to this book. We can only reply "Nothing at present". And it might be wise not to lay in a stock, or buy any of the new edition. There are additions of great value in it. On the other hand there are incomprehensible omissions: and the book seems wanting in sympathy, and not in touch with the needs of the people. "Donnish" would not be a bad term for a good deal of it. Deep disapproval - even unto antagonism - has been aroused. And the revised book seems to need further revision. A great opportunity has come, and gone.

(I am grateful to Mr. Arthur R. Day for bringing this reference to my notice).

Punch parodied some of the "improvements" in the new edition:

Jill fell down, But saved her crown,
For Jack politely caught her.

"Caught her", it was pointed out was a better rhyme for "water" and chivalrous behaviour was thereby commended to young readers.

The Church Family Newspaper was judiciously hostile.

We suspect, from what examination of the book we have been able to make so far, that the general tendency of the alterations has been to lessen the popular and increase the purely ecclesiastical character of the work. A large portion of the new hymns are translations of old Latin and Greek service hymns, with which many thought the book was already well supplied ... The committee hope that few if any of the omitted hymns will be widely missed. We are afraid they are destined to considerable disillusionment on this point, and we can confidently predict that there will be an outcry against the changes affected in the tunes of some of the most popular hymns.

When the Church Family Newspaper reviewer got down to details, however, his judiciousness deserted him, and he was savaged by the anonymous author of The New Edition of H A & M: a Survey of the Reviews. This counter-attack was published by the Compilers. The author had no difficulty in convicting the Church Family Newspaper of grotesque inaccuracy in listing popular hymns which had been omitted in the new edition. "It will hardly be believed that no fewer than thirty-two out of the hymns enumerated are still in the book, or at any rate are represented there". (1) Similarly, Percy Dearmer was rebuked for alleging that "Wordsworth is rejected, though he wrote a hymn specially suitable for midday services". "The Proprietors beg any whom Mr. Dearmer's criticism may have influenced to read No. 12 in the new book". Again, the Dean of Winchester had quarrelled with the

(1) op. cit., p 1.

omissions of "For all Thy Saints, O Lord" - and had accused the editor of "gross carelessness". It is there in the new book, No.213: "perhaps the criticism would be more forcible if his own paper had been more carefully written". (1)

In the Survey of the Reviews the charge that the Proprietors were merely concerned with enriching themselves is indignantly rebutted. "No protestations which the Proprietors might express would convince those who could prefer such a charge: but the Proprietors may point out that if they had been governed only by commercial considerations, they would have shown a great lack of that 'astuteness' which has been ascribed to them, in spending large sums of money on the publication of a new book - and one which perhaps did not err on the side of courting popularity - when the old was selling so well". (2)

In the pamphlet favourable reviews were quoted at length and the more controversial features of the new edition were defended. In particular, "Hark! how all the welkin rings" was claimed to be sound if old-fashioned English, far more scriptural than the better known version, and the original words of Charles Wesley. After such a spirited defence, it comes as an anticlimax that the Proprietors should undertake to supply the familiar words as an alternative in all future copies.

After defending other features such as the withholding of authors' and composers' names in the text - lest worshippers be distracted - the author of the pamphlet concludes:

(1) op. cit., pp 10 and 11.

(2) op. cit., p 2.

It is not the purpose of the Proprietors in this pamphlet to point out the advantages of the new book over the old, in respect either of words or music: those, they are confident, will be evident upon an impartial comparison of the two editions. But they beg leave thus to set forth the reasons which have led them, after long deliberations and much consultation with others outside their own body, to make changes to which objection is chiefly raised.

The Compilers sent complimentary copies of the new book to several clergymen - in the hope no doubt that they would indeed impartially compare old and new editions, and give their verdict in favour of the new. Some reacted favourably and replied, enquiring about grants for buying the new edition in bulk for their churches. For instance, W. H. Marcon wrote from Edgefield, Norfolk:

"I beg to thank you for the arrival of New H A & M. I hope your effort will dispel the adverse criticisms. As soon as I can see my way (other things just now pressing e.g. a Church Tower) I shall adopt it". Henry Williams wrote on 10 November 1904 from Bleasly Vicarage, Nottingham:

Dear Canon Keymer,

I feel that I must write a line to tell you how greatly I am impressed with the new edition of H A & M. Of course one can only grow with knowledge and appreciation of it by continual use - but two or three days spent with it are enough to make one long to begin with it in church at once. Some of the new hymns appear to me to be magnificent and the teaching strong and true to the prayer-book. I don't think the Hymns left out will be missed and in most cases the new tunes even when they

dispossess old favourites seem likely to approve themselves...
The labour and erudition expended on the work by your committee
must have been immense and now that it is all over how happy
you must all be ...

Keymer no doubt replied to this generous and perceptive letter by
saying that he would be happier if more people agreed with Henry
Williams. At any rate Williams wrote again on 2 December:

It is very disturbing to meet with such shallow and unworthy
criticism of the New Book, but I feel quite sure that it only
needs time and knowledge to establish it in the affections
of those who love Hymns.

Alex Nairne wrote from Tewin Rectory, Welwyn on 22 September
1905, "Perhaps you will let me say that I am one of the many people
who have no doubt at all that the new edition is better than the old
and are sincerely grateful to the Revisers for their excellent work."

Other writers were essentially sympathetic to the new work but
made criticisms and suggestions as to how the opposition could be
disarmed. W. T. Southward, Fellow, Tutor and Chaplain at Saint
Catherine's College, Cambridge, had this to say:

It seems to me that the omission of the familiar tunes which
have been the cradle-songs of the present generation (such as
"Hark, my soul! it is the Lord") is absolutely fatal to the
book as it stands. The force of public opinion is far too strong
to be overcome. But why need it be defied? Surely (1) it would

be a very simple matter to reinstate all these tunes as alternatives, in their old place, and let the public choose. (ii) Well-known tunes now set to other words and referred to as alternative tunes should be printed under the words to which they may be sung ... (iii) Certain familiar tunes which have been reharmonised in rather a weird and unearthly manner should have the old harmonies given as alternatives. (iv) The "welkin" which has now become the popular cognomen of your new edition (like "Praise God Barebones" and the "Breeches" Bible) is quite impossible: and volumes of learned disquisition would not quench the laughter of the mob, or bring their tongues to utter the word. It must go.

With these slight changes I think the new edition would be a most admirable work and would meet with instantaneous acceptance ... The style of print in the new edition is most attractive, and all the added hymns and the added old tunes are a very great improvement.

Although White and his colleagues must have found some of the comments in this thoughtful letter disappointing, the general tone was so constructive and sensible that its advice seemed well-worth considering. And indeed, to a very great extent, the Compilers followed the advice which Southward gave them - as we shall see.

Sadly, the reactions to the gift of the new edition were not always so constructive or charitable. There are numerous letters in the H A & M archives which are, frankly, a disgrace to their clerical authors. They must have made heart-breaking reading to

Cosby White, Keymer, Frere, Cole and Mason who had worked so hard and meant so well. Take, for instance, this letter from the Reverend John G. Clunn:

I received some few days ago your letter with notices re new edition of H A & M. Now, I desire as Senior Curate of Hamwell and in close touch with most of our clerical societies to inform you that none of us desire any further communication in reference to this wretched parody. The attempt at revision is extremely weak and paltry and a gross impertinence on the part of the Revisers. Who and what are they that they should take upon themselves to alter and eliminate our beautiful hymns? I am surprised, too, that such a well-known and reputable firm of publishers should take the responsibility of putting this miserable and silly effusion on the market. Having a little influence I shall certainly take steps to have it "tabooed".

Less abusive but equally discouraging was the Reverend William Ellison who wrote from Papworth Everard: "I am greatly disappointed, as you have not improved matters in the least; and you have lost a splendid opportunity of giving a really good Hymn-Book to the Church of England..." The Reverend Herbert Harben Appleford wrote from Henley on Thames: "I fear the new H A & M is unsuitable for country parishes, and they form, I think, a majority. However much one wants to retain H A & M for association's sake, yet in my parish the book as it stands is quite out of the question".

Indeed, the "in sorrow rather than in anger" brigade were, if anything, even more depressing than the downright abusive.

S. J. Bodington wrote from Potterne, Devizes:

Gentlemen,

I thank you greatly for your presentation copy of the new edition of H A & M. From a feeling of duty I want to tell you quite frankly that I deeply regret this new edition. I have never met with a single person clerical or lay who has liked it or felt that it supplied a want. I do not think it in any one particular an improvement on its predecessor....

B. Moultrie wrote from Christ Church Clergy House, St. Leonard's:

"I can only say with much regret that I shall always hold it impossible to accept the book with those terrible and impractical alterations in some of Dr. Neale's translations. There are other serious flaws I confess that I shall be very much surprised indeed, if this new edition takes." Sampson Low wrote from Hythe, Southampton in even sadder tones: "It is with very great regret that I take up my pen to write a single word against any Edition of a Hymn Book bearing the long-loved title of H A & M, but really this last production is one which tries, almost to breaking-point, the attachment I have felt for some 30 years for the dear old Title. Why on earth if you wanted a new Edition could you not be content with adding and leave the 'subtraction' process severely alone? "

J. M. Willink, Vicar of Great Yarmouth, sums up letter after letter concisely and forcefully in his one brief comment:

Dear Canon Keymer,

I return the copy of the New H A & M you so kindly sent me -

with more regret than I can say - for I had eagerly looked forward to this new Edition - I find myself absolutely unable to adopt the book. It is indeed as a writer in the "Guardian" expressed it - a case of "Love's Labour's Lost"! I am so sorry about it. I needn't weary you with criticisms - I could easily give you many - and to me - most forcible and conclusive ones. But my feelings are those of scores of others, and I fear there is very little hope of the book being generally accepted as its splendid predecessors were.

I conclude with a letter which possibly provides the best critical analysis of precisely where the new book went wrong. Mr. Powell, the Rector of Fallowfield, had given a copy of the musical edition to each of the fifteen men in his choir. "They do not take to the book at all" is the Rector's verdict. "The book I fear is too good for an ordinary congregation and I doubt if we can be educated up to it. You have gone too far I think in your opposition to what is merely popular. There is no opposition to it here, the book is simply dead and buried. We never hear it spoken of now" (Mr. Powell wrote on 22 September 1905).

Was this the long and short of it? Was the 1904 Edition of H A & M quite simply too good? Had Frere's single-minded pursuit of excellence led his colleagues into a blind alley? Was the book too high-brow to appeal to an ordinary congregation? The point made in the Survey of the Reviews is unanswerable: critical comment must be based on an accurate and fair-minded study of the book. It is time now to turn from what critics thought and wrote about the 1904 Edition to the work itself. Was it really so very bad - or so excessively good - as its opponents maintained?

VIII

The very wide measure of disagreement about the book indicates the part that personal opinion must inevitably play in arriving at an assessment of its merits. Thus I criticise the Compilers for not giving the name of the author under the text of each hymn (as, for instance, in The English Hymnal, H A & M R and the Methodist Hymn-Book, 1933 Edition) - and the name of the composer over each tune; I regard the argument that such information distracts attention from the hymns' (and presumably the tunes') content as worthless. On the other hand, I agree with the decision to omit the marks of expression which are such a quaint, unnecessary and at times ludicrous ⁽¹⁾ feature of H A & M (Standard Edition). Others may disagree with me.

What cannot be disputed is that the 1904 Edition is carefully and methodically planned. There is a contrast here with the Standard Edition where there is virtually no attempt to integrate the various supplements; as a result hymns for, say, Whitsuntide are to be found in at least three different parts of the book. Nor can any fair-minded person miss the evidence of scholarly erudition in the introduction of words and music from the Church's mediaeval past. Given that the inspiration of the original Compilers was sound - that is to say, to make available to the ordinary Anglican congregation the Latin and Greek hymns of the Roman and Orthodox Faiths - the 1904 Edition marked a definite step forward. In particular, to give the

(1) Cf the penultimate verse of Christopher Wordsworth's "Lord of Heaven, and earth, and sea" (365)

mf Whatever, Lord, we lend to Thee
cr Repaid a thousandfold will be;
f Then gladly will we give to Thee ...

plainsong its proper form and not the bowdlerised version of the Standard Edition must surely be an improvement. Similarly, to fault the Compilers for giving the first line in the original tongue, as some reviewers did, ⁽¹⁾ was counter-snobbery at its most mindless.

(a) The words

"Welkin" was a blunder. Whether it is an attractive word is a matter of taste, but there can be no disputing its unfamiliarity. Its appearance in the first line of such a popular Christmas hymn was asking for trouble. The right solution is to be found in The English Hymnal - give both Charles Wesley's original words and the familiar version of Wesley, Whitefield and Madan as separate hymns. Incidentally, the Compilers failed to include Wesley's verse "Come desire of nations come", which is to be found in the Church Hymnal, the Anglican Hymn-Book, but not in the Methodist Hymn-Book, strange to say.

Almost as provocative was the alteration of Twells' "At even 'ere the sun was set" - without the author's approval, of Mrs. Alexander's "There is a green hill" and of Baring-Gould's "Onward, Christian soldiers" - with the author's ready co-operation. ⁽²⁾ Curiously enough, no critic takes the Compilers to task for altering "Jesus lives! No longer now..." to "Jesus lives! Thy terror now...", perhaps because the new version was so obviously an improvement. The Compilers wisely refrained from restoring Neale's "I know not,

(1) Their attitude was, "We do not want to be bothered with outlandish and unintelligible detail".

(2) The new versions: "At even when the sun did set", "There is a green hill far away, Outside a city wall" and "Though divisions harass" (instead of "We are not divided").

Oh! I know not, What social joys are there..." in "Jerusalem the Golden", as the Compilers of The English Hymnal were to do.

More important than these minutiae (relatively speaking) is ⁽¹⁾ the matter of omissions and introductions of complete hymns.

Adverse comment fastened in particular on the removal of Faber's "O Paradise, O Paradise" - an essay in escapism which, like all Faber's hymns, has nevertheless its own attractive character. On the other hand, no other hymn-book includes it, and this is perhaps a case where the critics' hostility now seems captious and unreasonable. "Brightly gleams our banner" (T. J. Potter) and "Christ is risen! Christ is risen!" also had their supporters in 1904, though neither they nor "Oh Paradise!" won their way back into favour in 1950. On the other hand, Mrs. Alexander's "His are a thousand sparkling rills" and her "When wounded sore, the stricken heart", both supported by the critics in 1904, did succeed in being restored to favour in the Revised Edition half a century later.

One finds only occasional contemporary comment on the omission of Tuttielt's "Father, let me dedicate" - a solid New Year's Day hymn which also was included in 1950, and I am inclined to think F. Pott absolutely right to suggest that "Angel voices ever singing" would be missed - and absolutely wrong to denigrate his own work. Just as there are not so very many New Year's Day hymns, so there are very few which do the job which "Angel voices ever singing" does - to link the worship of God with the artistic works of man. This hymn not only reappears in 1950; it is even there still in 1983.

(1) There was much huffing and puffing by the critics because "We are his flock" became "We are his folk".

It seems perverse to leave out "It came upon a midnight clear" and "O little town of Bethlehem" because they are carols, and not hymns. The dividing line is an obscure one, and those two very popular items are to be found in every other reputable hymn-book. Heber's "Brightest and best of the sons of the morning" was omitted because it was considered to be theologically unsound, a view apparently shared by the Compilers of no other edition of H A & M.

It is interesting to note the hymns which had appeared in the Standard Edition, were dropped in 1904 and were restored in 1950. There are over thirty among them, some well-loved hymns which it cannot have been wise to leave out. They include Horatius Bonar's "Fill Thou my life, O Lord My God", Charles Wesley's "Ye servants of God", Dean Plumptre's "Rejoice ye pure in heart", Jane Taylor's "Lord, I would own Thy tender care" and Jane Leason's "Christ the Lord is risen today". "Awake our souls" (Watts) was left out in 1904, included in the 1916 Supplement, left out again in 1950 and restored in 1983.

However, among the hundred or so hymns which the 1904 Compilers dropped, there were several, probably a majority, which are very ordinary, and, one would think, no great loss.

When we turn to the new hymns introduced into H A & M for the first time, it cannot be denied that several of the Compilers' selections were inspired. It is astonishing that their predecessors had missed Charles Wesley's "Come, O Thou Traveller Unknown", "O Thou, Who camest from above", and "A charge to keep I have", John Wesley's "Put thou Thy trust in God" and Montgomery's "Standup and bless the Lord". Popular modern hymns which appeared for the first time in H A & M included Ainger's "God is working his purpose out", Pollock's "Faithful Shepherd, feed me", Pierpoint's "For the beauty of the earth", Jones' "I was made a Christian" and Hatch's "Breathe on me, Breath of God".

However, when the list of new hymns is studied,⁽¹⁾ perhaps one's overriding impression is that it is rather an odd collection. Tennyson's "Sunset and Evening Star" rubs shoulders with Mrs. van Alstyne's "Rescue the perishing", Christopher Wordsworth's epigrammatic "Lord, be Thy Word my rule" with Emily Elliott's florid "Thou didst leave Thy Throne". The traditional emphasis on translations from the Latin and Greek is commemorated rather than maintained: only thirteen out of a hundred or so, and none of them very memorable. Indeed the most successfully popular of the translations was from the German - Catherine Winkworth's "Praise to the Lord, the Almighty, the King of Creation". The best hymn for children is Walsham How's charming "Behold a little child".

Perhaps the individual flavour of the 1904 Edition can best be indicated by the hymns which appeared for the first and last time between H A & M covers. Inevitably most are undistinguished. But a few are not without interest. H. A. Martin's "Alone Thou trodd'st the winepress, and alone Through the dark valley went..." is a remarkable Passion hymn which includes the cry of desolation from the Cross:

Alone, yet not alone; ev'n on the Tree,
Whence, 'mid the darkness, rang the awful cry,
"Why, O My God, hast Thou forsaken Me?"
Thy God was there, Thy Father very nigh.

(1) See Appendix 5 for a photocopy of a published list of new hymns and tunes.

The last verse is in the best tradition of the restrained emotion of the Tractarians:

And in the last, the loneliest, hour of life,
When past and future overwhelm The soul in fear;
Grant us in Thee, amid, above, the strife,
Our Father's arms to feel, His voice to hear

R. W. Barber's "Father, Son and Holy Spirit" is better than most grave-side hymns and, one would have thought, would have survived to later editions. Similarly I am a little surprised that Basil Edwards' "Gliding through the shadows" has not caught on: so far as I know, it is included in no other hymn-book.

By the pangs and passion,
By Thy pain and loss,
Crucified, we pray Thee,
Draw us by that Cross;
By the wounds of pity,
By the nail-pierced hand,
Lead Thy pilgrim soldiers
Into Holy Land.

Ainger's hymn "Let God arise" is a historical and literary curiosity, in that it was written in 1899 after a few weeks of the Boer War. The author expresses sentiments which Dr. Runcie ⁽¹⁾ would doubtless regard as unchristian:

(1) Cf The Falklands Islands sermon.

Fight Thou for us, that we may fill

Thy courts with praise;

The rest of the verse, however, is unexceptionable:

Then teach us mercy, teach us still

The fall'n to raise.

Yet more and more, as ages run,

Bid warfare cease,

And give to all beneath the sun

Love, Freedom, Peace.

Lastly, I quote a fine hymn by a classic English hymn-writer,
Thomas Kelly, which I have never seen in any other collection -

"We've no abiding city here".

We've no abiding city here;

Sad truth, were this to be our home;

But let the thought our spirit cheer,

We seek a city yet to come.

We've no abiding city here;

We seek a city out of sight;

Zion its name; the Lord is there:

It shines with everlasting light.

O sweet abode of peace and love,

Where pilgrims freed from toil are blest;

Had I the pin~~y~~ions of a dove,

I'd fly to Thee and be at rest.

This escapism, understandable in the conditions of the author's ministry to the impoverished Irish, is unfashionable nowadays; but it is an indisputable part of the Christian Gospel.

If the majority of the hymns included for the first time in the 1904 Edition are nondescript and uninspired, can one point to hymns which the Compilers should have introduced , but did not?

Indeed one can. Fifteen years before A. J. Mason had pleaded for more hymns by Charles Wesley - and with good reason. There are only three additions in the 1904 Edition. What was wrong with "And can it be that I should gain?", "Let earth and heaven agree", "Sinners, turn; why will ye die?" Hundreds of fine hymns by Watts and Doddridge remained unknown by Anglicans - such as "Join all the glorious names". It was left to the Compilers of H A & M R to introduce the magnificent cento of the Wesley brothers' verse, "Still nigh me, O my Saviour, stand". (1)

If the fruit of the Evangelical Revival was unacceptable, the Compilers of the 1904 Edition were equally blind to the seventeenth century genius of Milton, George Herbert and Bunyan. The English Hymnal was to exploit this field, and some of the best products were eventually to be incorporated into H A & M - Bunyan's "Who would true valour see" and Herbert's "King of Glory, King of Peace" in the 1916 Supplement, for instance. But not in 1904.

Even more striking is the 1904 Edition's lack of recent devotional poetry. Kipling's Recessional, Chesterton's "O God of earth and altar",

(1) And to the 1983 Compilers to drop it again!

How's "It is a thing most wonderful" surprisingly did not appeal to Frere and Mason, while their complete ignorance, apparently, of Christina Rossetti, saint, poet and High Anglican, is astonishing. It was left to The English Hymnal to introduce "In the bleak mid-winter" and "What are these that glow from afar?", to the Methodist Hymn-Book, incredible to relate, to make available Rossetti's masterpiece "None other Lamb", to say nothing of "Love came down at Christmas", "Love is the key of life and death", "The Shepherds had an angel" and "O ye who taste that love is sweet"; and no-one at all, so far as I know, has used as a hymn her "Give me the lowest place", which is reminiscent of Bunyan's "He that is down need fear no fall" (introduced into H A & M R):

Give me the lowest place; not that I dare
Ask for that lowest place, but Thou hast died
That I might live and share
Thy glory by Thy side.

Give me the lowest place: or if for me
That lowest place too high, make one more low,
Where I may sit and see
My God and love Thee so.

This poem presents problems from the point of view of finding a tune. But that could be solved with flair. One is tempted to say that it was flair that the Compilers of the 1904 H A & M lacked in their selection of words.

(b) The tunes

The anonymous author of the Survey of the Reviews has this to say about the relative importance of words and music:

Every thoughtful man (sic) will admit that the words are the more important part of the book. Tunes are of great importance, but only insofar as they commend the words. (1)

No-one could quarrel with this glimpse of the obvious so far as it goes. However, when we seek to understand and define the failure of the 1904 Edition of H A & M (if it was a failure), the tunes are in fact of greater significance than the words.

For it is the choice of tunes which above all displays the lack of understanding of the needs and attitudes of the ordinary congregation. Had the choice of tunes been happier, the vast preponderance of excellent and (or!) well-loved words would have guaranteed the book eventual popularity.

It is wholly typical of Frere's committee that the plainsong is first-rate. The melodies are set out clearly and correctly, the accompaniments are tasteful and effective and the presentation commendably scholarly. The English Hymnal could not improve on H A & M (1904) - high praise indeed. But the sad fact is that the plainsong has never been used. (2)

So the crux of the matter is the selection of tunes for the most part not in plainsong form which constitute the majority. One or two general points should be made at once. The musical committee was blamed for leaving out several singable and well-loved tunes

(1) Survey op. cit., p 19. "Man" conveys a hint of chauvinism which might just possibly account for the cold-shouldering of Christina Rossetti's poetry, referred to above.

(2) "What Never?" "Well, hardly ever." to quote W. S. Gilbert. All I can say is that I personally have never heard sung nor sung the H A & M plainsong of 1904.

by such composers as Barnby and Dykes - e.g. "Beatitudo" ("How bright those glorious spirits shine"), "Nearer Home" ("For ever with the lord"), "For all the Saints", "Barmouth" ("At Thy feet, O Christ, we lay"). In my opinion they were rightly blamed. But one argument which the Compilers put forward in their own defence is valid indeed - that they did in fact leave in a vast number of Victorian tunes. This is so. There are hundreds of tunes by Monk, Steggall, Dykes and so on. If you want a book from which the Victorian composers have been almost dismissed, turn to The English Hymnal - where not a single tune by Sir John Stainer is included. But the 1904 Edition of H A & M is really very faithful to Victorian tune-writers.

The point is that Frere selected the wrong tunes to include and the wrong ones to banish. The Victorian tunes which he retained are for the most part boring and sentimental - Dykes' "Esca viatorum" for instance. The ones he banished included tunes which really go with a swing. The tunes which he introduced are often as unsuitable and unsingable as the worst of the Victorians' which he so heartily despised.

For example, Barnby's tune to "For all the Saints" was omitted and a new tune by Sir Charles Stanford ("Engelberg") introduced. The Barnby tune is a good one and was understandably popular. The Stanford tune is hopeless and has never been popular. Not that Barnby was unassailable. His admirable tune is hardly ever sung nowadays, having been supplanted by Vaughan Williams' "Sine Nomine", first published in The English Hymnal (1906). But then Vaughan Williams knew how to write (and select) hymn-tunes.

Frere's judgement was equally suspect when German chorales were concerned, a topic on which he considered himself an expert. He perversely substituted "Heidelberg" for "Ratisbon", as the tune for Charles Wesley's "Christ, whose glory fills the sky". In the Historical Edition (1909) Frere argues that "Heidelberg", "with its joyous close, seems far better suited to these words". He is entitled to his opinion, but it would seem that few agree with him.

When we turn to the tunes which appeared for the first time in H A & M, an important point must be made in defence of the musical committee. They refrained from setting useful and well-loved tunes to several hymns. Thus "Melcombe" appears eight times in the Standard and twice only in the 1904 Edition, "Saint Peter" five times in the Standard and twice only in 1904. This meant that there are far more tunes in the 1904 Edition: while 170 tunes were dropped, 350 were added. As a result, the 1904 Edition does offer a greater choice.

Some of the "new" tunes are magnificent. Charles Wood's "Rangoon", C. Lockhart's "Carlisle", S. S. Wesley's "Hereford" and "Brecknock", Sir Hubert Parry's "Freshwater" place all who love good hymn-tunes under a great obligation to Frere's committee. "Saint Columba", "Wachet Auf", "Es ist ein Ros' entsprungen" made their first appearances in H A & M. And there are several fine tunes which, through no fault of their own, have never achieved popularity.

However, the overall judgement of the 350 new arrivals is that they are rather dull and unsingable. Sadly, for all their high qualifications, hard work and admirable intentions, the musical committee lacked that sixth sense of what constitutes a singable tune which Vaughan Williams so emphatically had. As a result, The

English Hymnal is immeasurably superior in this respect. So for that matter is the Methodist Hymn-Book (1933). (1)

Where The English Hymnal was even better served by Vaughan Williams was in the harmonisation of tunes - and here the Methodist Hymn-Book has no advantage over H A & M. Compare The English Hymnal's and the 1904 H A & M's versions of "Saint Columba" - the first clean-cut, simple, masculine, the second fussy and inconsequential. Or contrast the rival versions of "Duke Street", "Helmsley", "Adeste Fideles" and so on. In one or two instances the musical committee altered the melodies, to no beneficial effect. They even laid impious hands on Sir Henry Baker's tune "Saint Timothy", where the penultimate note was altered from G sharp to B (the tune is set in A major). What the composer would have said beggars the imagination.

Another crucial reform the committee failed to introduce was the right selection of keys in which to pitch the tunes. The Standard Edition was consistently at fault in pitching tunes too high. All who have attended Anglican village services (where usually the organist cannot transpose) will agree that top F sharp is much too high in "Ewing" ("Jerusalem the Golden"), "Easter Hymn" ("Jesus Christ is risen today"), "Stockport" ("Christians, awake") and in many others. The situation was unchanged in the 1904 Edition. It was left to The English Hymnal to rectify matters. Fortunately the Compilers of

(1) Some of the damage was rectified in the 1916 Supplement, when, for example, "Pastor Pastorum" was set to "Faithful Shepherd, feed me". But "All through the night" had to wait half a century before graduating from The English Hymnal to H A & M.

H A & M R had learned sense by 1950, and most high tunes had been put down at least a tone. This detail symbolises unfortunately the insensitivity of W. H. Frere and his colleagues to the needs of the man in the pew (and the woman) - or for that matter the people in the choir stalls.

Summary

The 1904 Edition of H A & M is not a bad book at all. It has many virtues. It is sober, scholarly, well laid-out. It is indeed conceived in the spirit of the Prayer Book. In several details it is an improvement on its predecessors.

But the 1904 H A & M was not loved, and it failed to displace the Standard Edition. Why? In the Historical Edition Lowther Clarke claims that the book fell victim to a vindictive press campaign and that the excellence of previous editions had educated the public so effectively that people were unwilling to accept change. There is certainly some merit in these claims. Many of the critical comments were unkind and unfair. The public is always inclined to be conservative.

Yet this is not the whole story. The truth is that the 1904 Edition of H A & M is not very lovable. It is uninteresting and uninspired. It does not seem to have anything special to contribute. Everything that its Compilers tried to achieve was done better in The English Hymnal - for Vaughan Williams and Percy Dearmer definitely had flair. If one wants to join the Almighty in being reminded of the glories of the English Language, one turns to Songs of Praise. If one wants the best of modern Evangelical hymnody, one turns to

The Church Hymnal or to its modern successor, Anglican Hymn Book. (1)

The Methodist Hymn-Book (1933) combines the genius of the incomparable Charles Wesley (2) and a remarkably comprehensive selection of modern hymns, spanning all denominations and schools of thought.

Perhaps the Compilers of the 1904 book omitted too much and incorporated too little. The Methodist Hymn-Book contains almost a thousand hymns. It should be a rule for Compilers of hymn-books, "If in doubt, leave it in" - not "leave it out." Incidentally this goes for verses, as well as hymns. Sadly, again, it was left to Dearmer to include "His dying crimson like a robe" in "When I survey". (3)

Perhaps it is for this reason that the 1904 Edition is not overall an improvement on the Standard Edition. One misses in the 1904 book the delightful chaotic dottiness of the Standard Edition - with all its supplements and Victorian absurdities - which makes it still the favourite version of H A & M for so many people. Perhaps the final word of judgement should be that an objective comparison of the 1904 book with the 1950 H A & M R is indubitably in the latter's favour. That is the book which the Compilers should have produced half a century earlier. (4) Here Keble's advice to Compilers - "make it comprehensive" -

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- (1) Even in this respect, The English Hymnal betters H A & M, as there is a remarkably tolerant selection of Evangelical "ranter" (including "Ho, my comrades") under "missions".
- (2) Lest it be thought that I am excessively uncritical of the Wesleys, may I point out that in 791, Charles is ridiculous. *See below.*
- (3) All credit, however, to the 1904 Compilers for including "He breaks the power of cancelled sin" - the only version of H A & M to include this verse. (1904 Edition 501).
- (4) There are obviously some modern words and tunes which were available in 1950, but not in 1904, but not many.

(2) Continued. I am grateful to Dr. John Hoyle for pointing out to me that I have misunderstood Wesley - to the point of being ridiculous myself.

is more faithfully followed. And there is a satisfactory selection of "good bad tunes" from the Victorian era, and not too many of Frere's "bad good tunes"!

Nevertheless the 1904 book had merit. In his letter of resignation as Chairman to his fellow Proprietors Cosby White had this to say:

How far the new book which has cost such labour deserves the odium which it has engendered, I cannot venture to determine, but we did our best endeavour to promote the glory of God, and the edification of His Church, and its success or failure is in the hands of Him Who pulleth down one and setteth up another. (1)

They had tried hard. Much of the criticism was unfair. It is a sad tale.

IX

"What was the end of all the show?" R. Kipling ("The Widow's Party").

The end of all the show was that the Compilers admitted defeat and withdrew the 1904 Edition. At first, they tried to counter hostile criticism, for example in the Survey of the Reviews. Next, they attempted to disarm the critics by publishing the familiar version of "Hark the herald" as an alternative to the first two lines, and by issuing a supplement of popular Victorian tunes. But it was no good. Demand for the Standard Edition refused to abate; nor did the adverse criticisms of the new book.

(1) Minute Book, 30 December 1904.

Failure was by no means complete. Lowther Clarke claims that two million copies were sold, ⁽¹⁾ so financially the venture was worthwhile. Fifty-five of the new hymns and thirty of the new tunes published for the first time in 1904 (in H A & M, that is) were incorporated in the 1922 Standard Edition of H A & M.

Lowther Clarke also implies that, in a way, the 1904 Edition led logically to The English Hymnal. ⁽²⁾ There is some force in this argument. No doubt Dearmer and Vaughan Williams profited from the vicissitudes of the 1904 Compilers. To be fair, however, Bridges' Yattendon Hymnal is really The English Hymnal's antecedent, if any book deserves this title.

The long and short of it is that White, Frere, Keymer and Mason would not listen to advice. In the correspondence we have quoted, Walsham How and others give wise counsel. "Don't be too highbrow, deal gently with people's sentimental preferences, don't dismiss singable tunes in the supposed cause of musical excellence". The Compilers would not listen and the result was only too predictable.

But there is more to it than this. Nothing could be more mindless than to be sarcastic at the expense of seekers after excellence. One must applaud the Compilers' values and their crusading zeal. The tragedy is their own second-rate quality, when weighed in their own balances. Dearmer and Vaughan Williams were H A & M's lost leaders; ⁽³⁾

(1) Lowther Clarke, op. cit., p 77.

(2) Lowther Clarke, op. cit., pp 77 - 78.

(3) Or rather, as Cyril Taylor put it to me, "The sheep were overled".

they could have been worthy successors to Baker and Monk. In the event, Frere, Keymer and Coles produced a book which fell short of the highest standards, and failed to appeal to the public. In other words, the 1904 Edition was wrong in exactly the same way that the 1861 Edition had been right. (1)

(1) See the next chapter for Frere's Historical Edition (1909).

Frere also presided over the publication in 1906 of the Latin originals of 149 hymns which appeared in the 1904 Edition:

HYMNI LATINI qui libro intersunt cui nomen HYMNS ANCIENT AND MODERN secundum formam recentiore. Not surprisingly this book is now very rare.

Chapter 4

H A & M: The Standard Edition: Challenge and Response.

I. Background

"H A & M holds a unique position in the estimation of church-goers as the hymn-book which expresses most unequivocally the mind of the Church of England". ⁽¹⁾ This claim was advanced by William Clowes & Sons, the publishers of H A & M for over a century, in a pamphlet written to defend the book from unfair criticism. It is a not unreasonable claim. The book has indeed held a unique position in the affections of Anglican church-goers. But which book? The pamphlet was written to defend the Standard Edition of 1922. It is this edition - and not the Revised Edition of 1950 ⁽²⁾ - which still comes to thousands of minds when H A & M is mentioned. It is this edition which is still most frequently to be found in hundreds of churches up and down England, especially in country districts, even now at this late stage of the twentieth century (sometimes incongruously used with the Alternative Service Book).

It is therefore essential that we devote time and space to this most loved and most influential of versions of H A & M. We have, however, met it before - or most of it. It is the second edition of 1875, plus the supplement of 1889, plus the supplement of 1916.

(1) The Modern H A & M. An Answer to Certain Criticisms. p 1.

(2) Still less the New Standard Edition of 1983.

In 1922 there was a very limited degree of recasting and rationalisation: for example, tunes introduced in the 1916 supplement specifically for hymns in the earlier parts of H A & M were now printed as additional tunes against their appropriate words, at the correct place in the book.

As we saw in the last chapter, the Proprietors had accepted defeat and had decided to withdraw the unsuccessful 1904 Edition. By 1909, fifty-five hymns and thirty-nine tunes from that ill-fated venture had been selected for a Second Supplement. Cosby White had resigned as Chairman in 1904, saddened by the "chorus of disapprobation of the new book"; as we have seen, he would entrust all to Him "who pulleth down one and setteth up another".⁽¹⁾

White's successor, Canon Nathaniel Keymer, Prebendary of Southwell, was no radical innovator. His years as Chairman (1904 - 1923) almost exactly coincided with the retreat from the 1904 Edition and the cobbling together of the Standard Edition. Keymer seems to have been cautious, conservative, sensible and self-effacing, a far less flamboyant or striking figure than Baker, or Frere or even Nicholson. Yet he presided over the publication of the largest, and some would say, best version of H A & M. Anglicans owe him a great debt.

The Proprietors under Keymer's leadership had very soon to meet a dangerous challenge. In 1906 The English Hymnal was published. The leading lights behind this venture were Athelstan Riley, Percy Dearmer and Ralph Vaughan Williams. The book was dangerous to H A & M

(1) Lowther Clarke, op. cit., p 77.

because of its excellence. In judging hymn-books, personal bias inevitably plays a part. There can be no doubt, however, that The English Hymnal has enjoyed eighty years of commercial success, and only the churlish could deny that this success has been based on merit. The bitter irony cannot have been lost on Frere and his colleagues that The English Hymnal successfully stood for the very literary and musical standards which the 1904 Edition of H A & M was supposed to uphold. Here was the true heir to Robert Bridges' Yattendon Hymnal, and Vaughan Williams was the finest composer to concern himself with hymn-tunes since Bach. (1)

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- (1) Vaughan Williams' account of Percy Dearmer's approach to him is of interest (Church Times, 24 February 1959, article by George Timms).

"From a cab at my door one morning Percy Dearmer emerged, whom I knew only by hearsay as a clergyman who allowed tramps to sleep in his drawing-room. To his request that I should become musical editor of a new hymn-book, I replied that I knew nothing about hymns. 'That doesn't matter' he answered 'we need someone who knows about music' ".

Not that Vaughan Williams was the only musician of quality whom Dearmer recruited. As Vicar of Saint Mary the Virgin, Primrose Hill, he was able to call on the services of his own organist, Martin Shaw - and of Martin's brother, Geoffrey. Both contributed tunes of outstanding merit, and had intuitive understanding of a typical congregations's needs and emotions.

Dearmer stood for artistic merit, both with regard to the words and music of hymns. His concern for high standards was as genuine and scholarly as Frere's, just as both men, at their worst, were cultural snobs. Dearmer, however, went further than Frere, by associating artistic snobbery with social counter-snobbery:

(1) Continued.

"And there is another class of persons concerned, the largest of all, the working-class. For vulgarity in the long run always means cheapness, and cheapness means the tyranny of the sweater. A modern preacher often stands in a sweated pulpit, wearing a sweated surplice over a cassock that was not produced in fair conditions, and holding a sweated book in one hand, with the other he points to the machine-made cross at the jerry-built altar, and appeals to the sacred principles of mutual sacrifice and love."

Dearmer's concern for high artistic standards is reflected not only in The English Hymnal's excellent music, but in the considerable number of hymns by ranking poets. Addison, Herbert, Bunyan, Milton, Dryden, Blake, Spenser, Tennyson, Kipling, Kingsley, William Wordsworth, Donne, Bridges, Chesterton, Laurence Housman - all anticipated the literary eclecticism of Songs of Praise between the covers of The English Hymnal. Similarly, the social gospel was represented by Hosmer's "Thy Kingdom come", Chesterton's "O God of earth and altar", Lowell's "Once to every man and nation" and the "Corn-Law Rhymer" Ebenezer Elliott's "When will thou save the people?" The verse beginning "The rich man in his castle" was omitted from Mrs. Alexander's "All things bright and beautiful". Dearmer was after all a friend of Gore.

Just as Dearmer subordinated ritual to socialism, so he was quite prepared to sacrifice orthodoxy. It worried him not at all that many of his "social gospellers" were Unitarians (e.g. Samuel Johnson, Hosmer, Mrs. Willis) or Quakers (Whittier). And he displayed a truly catholic (in the widest sense) attitude in his selection of mission hymns, such as "Ho, my comrades".

Athelstan Riley wrote to Keymer on 19 July 1905, asking permission to include some hymns in the forthcoming publication of which the Proprietors of H A & M held the copyright. He concluded with some observations which resulted either from disingenuous duplicity or, (more probably) genuine but not very intelligent self-deception. (2)

In reference to our position as Compilers of a new hymn-book there are two things we should wish to say to the H A & M

(1) continued from p 142..

The English Hymnal was indeed a formidable rival to H A & M. It combined the quality of the 1904 Edition of H A & M with the flair of the 1861 Compilers. Comprehensive, interesting, full of character and surprises, The English Hymnal has been profoundly influential. It is difficult to think of church hymnody without the contributions made by The English Hymnal. "Dear Lord and Father of mankind", "He who would valiant be", "In the bleak midwinter", "The God of Love My Shepherd is", "Sine Nomine", "Marching", "Down Ampney" are but a fraction of the words and music made familiar to English-speaking Christians by The English Hymnal. Its emergence posed extremely difficult problems to the Proprietors of H A & M.

(2) H A & M Archives, Norwich.

committee and which we beg you as Chairman to convey to them.

When the New Edition of H A & M came out we set to work to bring out a Supplement thereto. We subsequently undertook an independent and complete book under strong outside pressure, and then only after the New Edition seemed unlikely to come into very general use.

Secondly our hymn-book is not designed as a rival book to H A & M in the same sense, for example, the S.P.C.K. book is. Though naturally containing a large number of favourite hymns, common to both books, it is in several ways, as regards text, music and arrangement an entirely new departure, and will stand or fall on its own merits.

We think that the committee of H A & M as the Proprietors of a book which has done such immense service to the Church have a right to this explanation.

A very smooth letter! But for all the ingratiating compliments, there was no explanation offered as to precisely why the new book should not be a rival to H A & M. If it contained "a large number of favourite hymns "which were already in H A & M, then it was hardly "an entirely new departure". The story about a supplement to the 1904 Edition was unconvincing, nor would the Proprietors enjoy the reference to the unlikelihood of the New Edition coming into very general use.

So when Riley followed up with a request to include six hymns of

which the Proprietors held the copyright ⁽¹⁾ and when Vaughan Williams asked leave to include forty-four of H A & M's tunes, ⁽²⁾ ("I enclose an addressed envelope for your reply"), the Proprietors refused, by three votes to two. Lowther Clarke comments: "It is hard to see what else the Proprietors could have done". ⁽³⁾ Two out of five Proprietors presumably had other ideas. Certainly there could be no complaints when in future years the boot was on the other foot, and the committee of The English Hymnal refused to be co-operative.

Ten years later, Riley was in no doubt on the question of rivalry. In a letter of 25 May 1915, he wrote: ⁽⁴⁾

My dear Frere,

Following our conversation over the telephone I think I had better send you a note on the general question of the relations between the Proprietors of H A & M and the committee of The English Hymnal.

When our book was being prepared for publication we asked for certain of your copyrights which you did not see your way to grant. We were not surprised at this; you could not have done otherwise in justice to those who had a stake in the book. Now, when in turn you ask for two of our copyrights, I feel in the same position...

We must, I think, frankly recognise that we are necessarily rivals - there is no getting away from the fact. But we are, and I hope always will be, friendly rivals - the personnel, indeed,

(1) H A & M Archives, Norwich. Letter dated 3 October 1905.

(2) H A & M Archives, Norwich. Letter dated 26 July 1905.

(3) Lowther Clarke, op. cit., p 78.

(4) H A & M Archives, Norwich. The entry in the Minute Book for Friday, 13 October 1905 reads: "The matter was fully discussed and it was decided by three to two not to grant the requests". Keymer was in the chair; Mason, Coles, Frere and Burrows were present. How did they vote?

of the two committees should sufficiently guarantee this. We both have the same object in view, i.e. the difficult task of raising the standard of hymnody in the Church of England. And, speaking for myself, while naturally preferring The English Hymnal, I am always, both by pen and mouth, seeking to enhance the popularity of your New Edition, and urging it on churches which do not see their way to adopt The English Hymnal. And if it is clear that for the present we must work independently, I hope the time may come when a closer co-operation may gradually become possible.

"Whatever that might mean!" one can imagine Frere muttering, on reading this letter. As he had approached Riley for permission to include English Hymnal tunes in the forthcoming Second Supplement, which was the outward and only too visible sign of the inward and spiritual abandonment of the 1904 Edition, Frere can hardly have been cheered by Riley's promise to promote that lost cause. However, Riley no doubt meant well, and in this letter, at least he discussed and acknowledged the real situation.

As a matter of fact, Frere and Riley seem to have enjoyed a friendly relationship. A letter of 20 June 1924 ⁽¹⁾ from Riley to "Walter Truron", begins: "My dear Friend and Lord, Following our conversation at Lis Escop..." Lis Escop was Frere's home as Bishop of Truro, to which he invited selected guests who would appreciate his rather unusual hospitality.

(1) H A & M Archives, Norwich. See Appendix 6 for a photocopy, as a typical example of Riley's handwriting. I am sure that "Lis Escop" is right. See C. S. Phillips, Walter Howard Frere, 1947, Chapter 6. "Holiday Intermezzo: August at Lis Escop".

(1) continued:

The full letter reads:

My dear Friend and Lord,

Following our conversation at Lis Escop this week I write this as a memorandum for you to keep amongst your papers. I think we are both agreed that co-operation between H A & M and The English Hymnal at the present time is not practicable and that you must personally keep out of any arrangement which may be made with the Fidelity Trust on behalf of the Number One Beneficiaries of whom you are one. But I want you to keep on record that I had you in view in suggesting to the committee of The English Hymnal that we should make the Number One Trust into "beneficiary legatees". And I can speak for myself, and I think on behalf of all my colleagues, that we are actuated by a desire to do our best for the Church at large, and to make it easy for co-operation to be possible if both sides agree at some future time that a more or less close association is desirable. You would then be the obvious link.

Yours sincerely,

Athelstan Riley.

This letter is interesting and significant evidence not only of the happy relationship between Frere and Riley, but also of the readiness of both men to consider a close association between H A & M and The English Hymnal. Could this mean anything else but an amalgamation? Riley, at any rate, seems to have been quite keen on the idea.

Frere was now to produce his Historical Edition of H A & M. This was published in 1909 when The English Hymnal had been successfully launched and when the decision to abandon the 1904 Edition was soon to be taken. Nevertheless, it was the 1904 Edition to which Frere now provided the historical background. The work is typical of the man: scholarly, methodical, dispassionate. There is a long and formidably erudite introduction. The original Latin and Greek of hymns translated is given in full. According to Sir Sydney Nicholson:

The book is completed with a wonderful set of Indices including biographical notes of authors and composers, and a chronological list of tunes. The compilation of indices amounted almost to a hobby with the author; his wonderfully accurate mind seemed to rejoice in a task which to most people is no more than complicated drudgery.⁽¹⁾

Despite the major rôle which Frere had himself played in the recent development of H A & M, there was only one very obscure reference to himself in the whole work.

Frere did, however, permit his own sense of fun - to which his friends paid tribute after his death in the book which C. S. Phillips compiled - to become apparent in The Historical Edition. This is especially the case in the notes on both words and tunes. There is none of the ungenerous and prejudiced anti-Victorianism which disfigured Percy Dearmer's Songs of Praise Discussed. Instead there is affectionate humour and a lively eye for detail. Take for instance the note on "Eventide", W. H. Monk's celebrated tune for "Abide with me":

(1) C. S. Phillips, op. cit., p 165.

The tune ... was written by W. H. Monk for the hymn at the close of one of the meetings occupied with the compilation of the Original Edition of H A & M. The composition is said to have been completed in ten minutes, regardless of a pianoforte lesson that was going on simultaneously. But his widow described it as having been written by him in her company out of doors at a time of great sorrow, after they had stood some time watching the glory of the setting sun. (1)

In the last chapter, Frere's suitability as a compiler of hymn-books was analysed, perhaps a little unsympathetically. Nicholson says of Frere that hymns "sometimes bored him". (2) I suspect that what really bored him was hymn-singing. Frere lacked Nicholson's concern with this issue. According to Lowther Clarke, Nicholson, when confronted with a tune, "always asked himself, Is it singable?" (3) Frere, I suspect, could not have cared less. C. S. Phillips quotes a delightful letter which Frere wrote to Bishop John Wordsworth, in answer to a request for suggestions as to what to say when dedicating an organ. Predictably, given his lack of interest in congregational hymn-singing, Frere detested organs. "I wish the bishops would from the point of view of church music do anything but bless organs: ... They do far more harm and alienate more people than ceremonial excesses do. That is what I should like to say at the dedication of an organ!" (4)

(1) The Historical Edition, p 30. Another example of Frere's sense of fun was his habit, when writing from Trinity College, Oxford, of heading his letters "Pseudo-Trinity".

(2) C. S. Phillips, op. cit., p 167.

(3) Lowther Clarke, op. cit., p 81.

(4) C. S. Phillips, op. cit., pp 173 - 4.

Writing in the May 1932 issue of Theology, Lowther Clarke concluded a review of A Short Handbook of Public Worship with the words:

"May a reviewer be so old-fashioned as to state a case for H A & M? For himself he prefers the newer books ..."

This is an amusing admission from a future Chairman of H A & M, though in 1932, to be fair, Lowther Clarke had not yet become a Proprietor. One suspects that Walter Howard Frere much preferred "the newer books". He must have been delighted by The English Hymnal, which in an indirect way was indeed his achievement. Riley, Dearmer and Vaughan Williams had time to study the 1904 Edition of H A & M, incorporating Frere's better notions and avoiding his mistakes. ⁽¹⁾ As the Duke of Wellington remarked of the Walcheren expedition, "It is always helpful to see how not to do things".

Now The English Hymnal was successfully launched, the Proprietors had to work out their response. As we have seen, their decision was to withdraw the 1904 Edition and enlarge and improve further the 1875 Edition. This was realistic and sensible.

That they had in no way lost their nerve, was proved by the Proprietors' sensible and generous reaction to the emergence of another apparently potential rival, The Oxford Hymn Book. On 7 January 1908 Humphrey Milford wrote on behalf of the Oxford University Press for permission to include fourteen tunes from H A & M, a letter which

(1) For instance, Wesley's "Hark how all the welkin rings" was included as well as the familiar "Hark, the herald angels sing".

Keymer as Chairman circulated to his fellow Proprietors. A. J. Mason's comments were typical of their reactions:

I think it quite possible that the Oxford Hymn Book, in spite of its undoubtedly sincere disclaimer, may prove a more formidable rival to existing books than at present appears. Nevertheless, it is so distinct in character from our book, and likely to be so excellent in itself, and is in the hands of persons with whom we are so much allied, that I should be disposed to give them what they ask.

Frere argued "that they should keep the tunes to our hymns", and for a nominal fee - "but will you settle that matter and reply to them. If you think it more graceful to give it without fee then well and good". V. S. S. Coles sent a concise note: "I unhesitatingly vote for giving the permission".⁽¹⁾ Incidentally, to the mortification, no doubt, of Frere and his like-minded colleagues, every one of the fourteen tunes which the Oxford Compilers wanted was Victorian: to be precise, "Diademata" (Elvey), "Weybridge" (Sangster) "Saint John Damascene" (A. H. Brown), "Trisagion" (Smart), "Saint Gabriel" and "Contemplation" (Ouseley), "Unde et memores" and "All things bright and beautiful" (Monk) and no less than six by Dykes - "O strength and stay", "Pax Dei", "Gerontius", "Dominus regit me", "Beatitudo" and "Veni Cito". Perhaps the enthusiasm of enlightened Oxford for Victorian tunes was yet another straw in the wind, influencing the Proprietors of H A & M towards the abandonment of the 1904 Edition.

(1) H A & M Archives, Norwich. Coles' letter dated 19 January 1908, Frere's 24 January 1908 and Mason's 18 January 1908.

This, then, was the background to the 1916 Supplement. Frere went ahead with yet another labour of love - The Historical Edition of his doomed 1904 hymn-book. ⁽¹⁾ But the emergence and popularity of The English Hymnal combined with the failure of their own attempt to produce a high-brow, up-dated version drove the Proprietors back to the enlarged 1875 book, to which they now proposed to add yet another supplement. There was a four year delay after the decision was taken in 1909, ⁽²⁾ while book-sellers did their best to get rid of the 1904 Edition. In 1913, it seemed right to begin work in earnest and Sidney Nicholson, the organist of Manchester Cathedral, was appointed musical editor.

II

The 1916 Supplement

The Proprietors' motives for publishing the Second Supplement are explained in the business-like, low-key Preface. There are no thanks to Almighty God for blessings bestowed on the book so far, no ambitious claims to present the Prayer Book in hymnological form. ⁽³⁾ The sober realism of Keymer is reflected in the opening words:

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- (1) The University of Cambridge awarded Frere his D. D. for his work in producing The Historical Edition of H A & M.
- (2) So says Lowther Clarke, op. cit., p81. But Cf the Minute Book, 20 March 1913: "Considerable discussion followed on the question of the issue of a supplement to the Old Edition. Eventually it was agreed to endeavour to draw up a Supplement to the Old Edition consisting of (i) a selection of hymns and tunes from the New Edition and also (ii) a selection of new hymns and tunes."
- (3) In contrast to the Preface to the 1904 Edition.

The time appears to have come when a fresh Supplement to the Old Edition of H A & M may suitably be published. It is now a little more than ten years since the New Edition was issued. English church people in general shewed ⁽¹⁾ unmistakably at that time that they were unwilling to see any changes made in the book as it then stood. The present Supplement makes no change in it. It only puts in the hands of the worshipper a further selection from the vast wealth of English hymnology. The older book can be used either with it or without it.

It is then explained in the Preface what the Supplement contains. "Of the hymns which it contains not many belong to the class which would be called ancient". A few from the Sarum Breviary, centos and Processional: five more hymns from the Easter church: Saint Patrick's "Breastplate" - these are indeed only a handful out of a total of one hundred and forty-one hymns. The author of the Preface draws the reader's attention to Christina Rossetti's "What are these", William Wordsworth's "Labourer's Noonday Hymn", Tennyson's "Crossing the Bar " and Lowell's "On the present Crisis" (of which only two verses were included, and not, unfortunately, the lines "Truth for ever on the scaffold, Wrong for ever on the throne"). Rossetti's and Lowell's poems, incidentally, had not appeared in the 1904 Edition. We learn from the Preface that a considerable number of hymns over a century old are included, four by Reginald Heber (notably "Brightest and best" which had been rejected by the 1904 Compilers as heretical) and a considerable number "taken from the inexhaustible store of the

(1) Sic - ref. spelling.

Wesleys " (nine by Charles, including "Come Thou long-expected Jesus", "Head of Thy Church triumphant", "Ye servants of God", "Saviour and can it be..", "How glorious is the life above", "Hosanna in the highest", none of which were in the 1904 Edition).

The Second Supplement is an interesting and attractive collection. The Compilers did well, in bringing within those familiar dark blue covers many admirable hymns which had previously been unaccountably left out: for instance Isaac Watts' "How beauteous are their feet" and "Awake our souls, away our fears", and John Wesley's "Put thou thy trust in God". It is worth remembering, too, that a majority of the one hundred and forty-one hymns had not appeared in the 1904 Edition. In other words the Compilers both saved the best (with a few exceptions - see the previous chapter, pp 125 - 8), from the wreck of 1904 and took the opportunity of including plenty of other good hymns. They even managed to borrow a few tricks from The English Hymnal and from the Oxford Hymn Book, by including such as George Herbert's "King of glory, King of peace", "God be in my head" (for which T. B. Strong had written the tune for the Oxford book), and Bunyan's hymn, though The English Hymnal version ("He who would valiant be") has established itself rather than H A & M's "Who would true valour see," even though the latter is more faithful to the original.

The Supplement repays study. J. S. B. Monsell's "Sinful, sighing to be blest", which now appeared in H A & M for the first time, is a masterpiece of concise, restrained Christian penitence. It contrasts strikingly with Addison's deistic "The spacious firmament on high", also included for the first time. Pierpoint's "For the beauty of

the earth" ⁽¹⁾ is less affected than many modern hymns to nature and, again, gives us a striking contrast, with Elizabeth Clephane's old-fashioned Evangelical "Beneath the cross of Jesus...". "Breathe on me, breath of God" (Hatch) and "The Church of God a kingdom is" (Muirhead) should not have been left out of previous editions, nor should Frances Havergal's "Who is on the Lord's side?" The Compilers rightly retained Tennyson's "Sunset and evening star" from the 1904 Edition, and rightly brought in Matheson's "O love that will not let me go". Matheson's fellow Scot Horatius Bonar is creditably represented by "Fill Thou my life", "Beloved, let us love" and "Here, O my Lord, I see Thee face to face".

The merits of Charles Wesley's Communion ⁽²⁾ hymns are rightly stressed in the Preface; four are included in the Supplement among many valuable hymns for Holy Communion. Similarly, children are well served by J. S. Jones' "I was made a Christian", Walsham How's "Behold a little child" and T. B. Pollock's "Faithful Shepherd, feed me". Emily Elliott's "Thou didst leave Thy Throne", Mrs. van Alstyne's "Rescue the perishing" and A. C. Ainger's "God is working His purpose out" are all effective semi-Evangelical hymns which people have always enjoyed singing. Faber's "My God! my God! and can it be.." displays the author's facility for verse, combined with striking emotionalism; at least, it is not dull - and the same can be said for the Supplement as a whole.

(1) But see the adverse criticism by Bernard L. Manning in The Hymns of Wesley and Watts, 1924, p 113,

(2) See Ernest Rattenbury, Charles Wesley's Eucharistic Hymns , passim.

The music is equally interesting and attractive. Nicholson deserved the generous praise and thanks expressed by the Compilers in the Preface. It must be remembered that not only did he select tunes for the hymns incorporated in the 1916 Supplement, but he also provided alternative tunes for several hymns in the Old Edition.

Justice must be done to Frere's achievement in introducing several fine tunes in 1904, which Nicholson retained in 1916. "Nicht so traurig" is one of the few German chorales selected by Frere which is actually singable in church; Nicholson obviously thought so, at any rate. "Duke Street", "Crediton", "Byzantium", "Bishopthorpe", "Warrington" and "Helmsley" are all eighteenth century tunes which Frere had spotted in 1904 and which featured in 1916. Frere was also responsible for introducing "Morning Light", "Laudate Dominum" and "Praise my soul" - all solid Victorian tunes which he can hardly have enthused over, given his own inclinations. Nicholson retained them all - likewise "Quem Pastores", "Aberystwyth", "Uffingham", "Richmond" and "Carlisle". One would love to think that Frere deliberately selected "Venice" for "How beauteous are their feet" (Watts); it is by W. Aps! It is a tune which Nicholson rightly retained, just as he endorsed Frere's choice of "Saint Petersburg" for Watts' other hymn in the Supplement, "Awake, our souls". But then Frere was a Russophile. (1)

This makes it all the more surprising that "Russian Anthem" (Lvov) was not in the 1904 Edition, a tune which Nicholson introduced in 1916. Several other excellent hymn-tunes appeared for the first time between H. A. & M. covers, indicating that Nicholson was given free rein to use his taste and discretion. There are some surprises here. It is

(1) Cf. Nicholas Zernor, "Bishop Frere and the Russian Orthodox Church" in C. S. Phillips, op. cit.

astonishing to discover that H A & M did not include "Ellers" (E. J. Hopkins), "Sandon" (C. H. Purdy) and, above all, "Saint Gertrude" (Sullivan) until 1916. It is equally surprising that Frere had omitted "Oxford New" and "Affection" (both in The English Hymnal, whence Nicholson selected them), to say nothing of "Easter Song", though Nicholson's harmonisation is unfortunately inferior to Vaughan Williams' in The English Hymnal.

Modern composers were well represented in the Second Supplement. Parry's "Freshwater" and Charles Wood's "Rangoon" had appeared in the 1904 Edition. Nicholson now recruited Sir Charles Stanford ("Saint Patrick's Breastplate"), Basil Harwood ("Thornbury" and "Luckington"), Percy Buck ("Saint Sebastian") and Walford Davies ("Oswald's Tree"). Some contemporary composers submitted dull tunes - for example, Sir Ivor Atkins' "Saint Wulstan". Nicholson himself contributed three or four nondescript efforts, though his "Crucifer" is still sung today.

Inevitably it is easy to criticise the 1916 Supplement, both words and music. For instance, it is sad that "Truro", which had been selected by Frere in 1904, was dropped by Nicholson in 1916. It was rightly restored by the Compilers of The Revised Edition in 1950. The continued cold-shouldering of Christina Rossetti (apart from "What are these that glow from afar" which we have already noted) and of Walsham How's "It is a thing most wonderful" is inexplicable. And one can only agree with Percy Dearmer that the omission of "How can I sing the majesty" (John Mason) from hymn-books was a disgrace - until Songs of Praise and the Methodist Hymn-Book put the matter right. Again, while one applauds the inclusion of a few more of Isaac Watts' and the Wesleys' great hymns, one regrets that so many were omitted.

Nevertheless, the 1916 Supplement was a fine achievement.

H A & M had been considerably strengthened by 1922 when the Standard Edition was eventually compiled. For one reason or another Frere had led H A & M into a blind alley in 1904. The Second Supplement put the book back on the right road. It was in the true tradition of the Original Edition - popular, singable, thoroughly Anglican. Sir Henry Baker and W. H. Monk would have been proud of it. The Second Supplement in fact deserved to be used more than it has been. The publishers correctly analysed the situation: (1)

As a matter of fact few have shown themselves very eager in their use of this opportunity. The old favourites retain their hold, and it has been a matter for regret that, nearly twenty years after its publication, the many noble hymns and tunes of the 1916 Supplement are so little known. It not infrequently happens that an experienced clergyman or organist, impressed by a fine hymn or tune heard for the first time at a choir festival, learns with surprise that it comes from the book which he has used for years, and thought he knew by heart.

III

The Standard Edition of 1922

The Preface to the Standard Edition is even more down-to-earth and unambitious than the 1916 Preface. In fact the words only edition does not carry a Preface at all. In the Musical Edition there is

(1) Hymns and Hymn-singing, 1935, p 3.

a terse explanation that "the size is new, but not the contents. This volume is simply the current edition, with its two supplements, recast. In resetting the type, however, the opportunity has been taken of introducing, in the method of printing the hymns, certain rearrangements and minor changes, which will, it is believed, be found convenient".

These "minor changes" constituted a considerable improvement. Alternative tunes were given with the hymns, and other possible tunes were suggested by way of cross-reference. Where a tune appeared more than once, it was often set in a lower key. "In several cases an additional form of a plainsong has been added, which may be found more suitable to present needs than the previous one". For the first time in the history of H A & M the names of both authors and composers were printed with each hymn and tune, and not just in the index. This information had not been given in the 1916 Supplement, though The English Hymnal had led the way ten years before, in its musical edition. And whereas even the cheapest, words only version of The English Hymnal included authors' names from the very first (i.e. in 1906), users of H A & M had to wait until 1950, before the words only H A & M R at last contained this information.

The Compilers retained expression marks in all versions, despite the decision to drop them from the 1904 Edition. This practice, which must have seemed quaint even in 1922, invariably entailed a diminuendo, at any mention of death however indirect or cheerful - a highly Victorian touch.

For example:

mf Onward, therefore, pilgrim brothers,
 Onward with the Cross our aid;
 Bear its shame, and fight its battles
p Till we rest beneath its shade. (1)

Similarly, although some tunes which appeared more than once were set in a lower key, far too many very popular tunes continued to tax the upper ranges of the congregation's voices - to the discomfort of both singer and listener. "Yorkshire" (61), "Easter Hymn" (134) and "Ewing" (228) have already been mentioned in this context. "Saint Albinus" (140), "Lux Eoi" (137) and "Saint Andrew of Crete" (91) are similarly set in ridiculously high keys, taking the trebles/sopranos up to top F sharp or at least F.

Equally reminding the reader of the book's Victorian origins is the haphazard arrangement of the 1875 Edition (1 - 473) plus the First Supplement (474 - 638), plus the Second Supplement (639 - 779). If you wish, say, to find Christmas hymns, you have to turn to 1875 (55 - 63), First Supplement (482 - 484) and Second Supplement (642). And "Once in Royal David's City" (329) has to be tracked down under "For the Young".

However, for all its absurdities and illogicalities, H A & M, Standard Edition, unrevised, unenlightened, unmodernised, is a most interesting and rewarding collection, both of words and music. Its

(1) H A & M (Standard) 274.

indexes are all at the front of the book, which is the wrong place. (1)
If, however, the reader is prepared to grapple with this inconvenience and with the book's lack of coherent plan, it does indeed repay study. We have noted the Proprietors' warning, how dangerous it is to be ignorant of what actually is in the 1916 Supplement. The same caution applies to H A & M Standard Edition as a whole: it should not be assumed that a hymn or a tune has been omitted without checking first.

"A hymn-book is an anthology, and it must be inclusive rather than exclusive". (2) This adage of Walford Davies' and Harvey Grace's is faithfully implemented by the Standard Edition. What if there is a considerable number of very dated hymns and tunes, what if there are many compositions of which the most charitable verdict would be that they are "ordinary"? If the reader or worshipper dislikes them, he is free to ignore them. However, the great advantage of such catholic inclusiveness is that time and again one comes across minor masterpieces in the Standard Edition, in all probability nowadays unknown and unsung.

We have already noted the merits of the 1916 Supplement. I am glad to quote two examples of these off-beat masterpieces from the two other sections of the Standard Edition.

First, from the 1875 Edition, I quote Laurence Tuttiett's hymn "Father, let me dedicate All this year to Thee..", to be sung to the

(1) The indexes remained at the front of H A & M R. They are now, however, at the back of H A & M New Standard (1983).

(2) Quoted in *Hymns and Hymn-singing*, 1936, p 6.

tune by Sir G. A. Macfarren specially composed for the 1875 Edition. (1)
Nowadays, one frequently is invited to sing Downton's hymn , "For
Thy mercy and Thy grace", when the New Year comes round again. It
is a feeble hymn, with the morbid verse:

Who of us death's awful road
In the coming year shall tread
With Thy rod and staff, O God,
Comfort Thou his dying bed. (2)

It is difficult to say which is worse - the sentiments or the lack
of technical competence indicated by the bad rhyme and clumsy syntax.
Tuttielt's hymn, by contrast, is splendidly free from morbid senti-
mentality. His priority is "Glorify Thy Name" - whatever God sends.

If in mercy Thou wilt spare
Joys that yet are mine;
If on life, serene and fair,
Brighter rays may shine;
Let my glad heart, while it sings,
Thee in all proclaim,
And, whate'er the future brings,
Glorify Thy Name.

(1) H A & M Standard Edition No. 74. Macfarren's is the first tune.

(2) Omitted in the Anglican Hymn-Book.

If Thou callest to the Cross,
And its shadow come,
Turning all my gain to loss,
Shrouding heart and home;
Let me think how Thy dear Son
To His glory came,
And in deepest woe pray on,
"Glorify Thy Name".

As Tuttiett points out in the second verse, we cannot "presume to choose where or how to live", any more than God our Father can refuse "all the best to give". The Christian response must be to glorify God's name, whatever the new year brings.

Macfarren's tune "Father, let me dedicate" is of a type, mid-Victorian in its obvious unenterprising harmonies. But it is eminently singable, and builds up to a climax at the right place. At the very least it is an example of fine craftsmanship and, combined with Tuttiett's words and well accompanied, it is extremely moving. (1)

My second off-beat minor masterpiece is from the First Supplement, Anne Steele's "Father, whate'er of earthly bliss Thy sovereign will denies", sung to J. A. MacMeikan's tune "Saint Columba" (number 515 in the Standard Edition). Unlike Tuttiett's, this is not a Victorian hymn. Anne Steele was the daughter of a Baptist minister: she lived from 1716 to 1778. Frere tells us that "she suffered from ill-health in consequence of an accident when a child, and also through the shock caused by hearing of the death by drowning of her betrothed on the morning of the day fixed for their marriage". (2) Indeed the last

(1) Though to be honest, I have only heard it sung once - in Barnsley Parish Church, forty years ago.

(2) H A & M Historical Edition, (1909), p 827.

verse of the hymn reads almost like a love-poem:

Let the sweet hope that Thou art mine
My path of life attend:
Thy presence thro' my journey shine
And bless its happy end.

(The Compilers of the 1889 Supplement altered the last line to "And crown my journey's end"). The original poem, published in 1760, consisted of ten four-line stanzas. Here we have the last three stanzas only; they constitute a perfect statement of Christian faith, hope and resignation:

Give me a calm and thankful heart,
From every murmur free;
The blessings of Thy grace impart,
And let me live to Thee.

Dr. Charles Steggall, the musical editor of the 1889 Supplement, showed real flair in choosing "Saint Columba" as the tune for Anne Steele's hymn. Frere has not very much to say about the composer, John Alexander MacMeikan, merely that he was apparently born in 1849, educated at Repton and Saint John's, Cambridge and was a barrister and amateur musician. ⁽¹⁾ On the other hand, Maurice Frost is much more informative, giving us the dates of MacMeikan's academic and legal qualifications and of his death (21 February 1932). "His musical compositions include The March of the Paladine and a sacred song

(1) H A & M Historical Edition, (1909), p 838.

'I am the Shepherd true'. He designed and carved decoration in many Kent churches, and learned to drive a car at the age of 82." (1)

His hymn-tune is interesting, both harmonically and melodically, despite - or, perhaps, because of - the unusual interval in line three (a descending sixth).

With both these examples of the quality of H A & M (Standard Edition) it may be thought that the emphasis should be on "minor" rather than "masterpiece". What I wish to stress is that they are highly typical of the Standard Edition - restrained, Victorian or earlier, singable. The combination of Anne Steele's words and MacMeikan's tune is, so far as I am aware, to be found in no other hymn-book. Neither words nor music of either hymn feature in The English Hymnal, or in Songs of Praise or, for that matter, in H A & M New Standard. Both hymns are included in H A & M R and in the Anglican Hymn-Book, though without MacMeikan's tune. "Father, whate'er of earthly bliss" is not in the Methodist Hymn-Book (1933 Edition), though "Father, let me dedicate", set to Macfarren's tune, is included; to be honest, it seems a little pedestrian, alongside Charles Wesley's "Come, let us anew, Our journey pursue", which no compilers except the Methodists have thought to recruit.

Not that the Standard Edition is devoid of weaknesses. There are far too many hymns of mediocre quality. The hymns for special occasions - Saints' Days, for example - are notably poor, despite being in many cases written by people who should perhaps have known

(1) H A & M Historical Edition, 1962, p 681.

better. Cardinal Newman was responsible for this hymn to Saint James the Apostle; ⁽¹⁾ its meaning is obscure and its representation of Scripture unsound (did they deem the battle won?).

Two brothers freely cast their lot
With David's royal Son;
The cost of conquest counting not,
They deem the battle won.

Brothers in heart, they hope to gain
An undivided joy,
That man may one with man remain,
As boy was one with boy.

Christ heard; and will'd that James should fall
First prey of Satan's rage;
John linger out his fellows all,
And die in bloodless age.

Why should age be bloodless? And was James' martyrdom really Christ's will? Equally unimpressive is Mrs. Alexander's hymn to Saint Matthew the Apostle:

(1) H A & M Standard Edition, No. 751. The styling of Cardinal Newman by hymn-book editors makes a curious study. In H A & M he is always Cardinal J. H. Newman. With surprising discourtesy he appears in The English Hymnal as J. H. Newman, alongside Bishop Christopher Wordsworth and Bishop Walsham How. The Anglican Hymn -Book calls him John Henry Newman, but is at least consistent, as it refers to C. Wordsworth and W. Walsham How.

Dear Lord, on this Thy servant's day
Who left for Thee the gold and mart,
Who heard Thee whisper, "Come away",
And followed with a single heart,

Give us, amid earth's weary moil,
And wealth for which men cark and care,
'Mid fortune's pride, and need's wild toil,
And broken hearts in purple rare,

Give us Thy grace to rise above
The glare of this world's smelting fires ...

This is not a good hymn. Even if one wrongly suspects Mrs. Alexander of inventing "moil" to rhyme with "toil", ⁽¹⁾ she cannot be acquitted of keeping us in doubt until the third verse what exactly we are asking God to give us - even if the answer is no surprise. Nor does one have to be a fanatical social gospeller to find the term "need's wild toil" objectionable in the spectacularly unfair world which Mrs. Alexander knew, or should have known. ⁽²⁾

Unfortunately it would be very easy indeed to find scores of hymns in the Standard Edition quite as unimpressive as these two. In particular with regard to Saints' Days The English Hymnal is immeasurably superior. For example, if we examine the hymns in each

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- (1) H A & M Standard Edition No. 420. According to the Concise Oxford Dictionary "moil" is a verb meaning to toil, so Mrs. Alexander uses it unjustifiably.
- (2) Neither "Two brothers freely cast their lot" nor "Dear Lord, on this Thy servant's day" was retained in 1950.

book for the Virgin Mary, all we find in H A & M is J. M. Neale's very ordinary "The God, Whom earth, and sea and sky" and Sir Henry Baker's "Shall we not love Thee, Mother dear,", by no means the author's best hymn. (1) The English Hymnal, on the other hand, contains a wider selection. Not only are we offered Percy Dearmer's "O glorious Maid, exalted far", but Keble's "Ave Maria! blessed Maid!" and V. S. S. Coles' "Ye who own the faith of Jesus", the one by the founding father of Anglo-Catholicism, the other by a prominent Proprietor of H A & M.

However, it can reasonably be claimed that, in general, breadth of choice is a real feature of H A & M Standard Edition, while surprising omissions both of words and music were inflicted on The English Hymnal by Dearmer and Vaughan Williams. "Faithful Shepherd, feed me", "Angel voices ever singing", "Lord, in this Thy mercy's day" have been sung frequently by congregations using the Standard Edition of H A & M; these hymns are not in The English Hymnal. Nor are such popular H A & M tunes as "Beatitudo", "Guardian Angels", "Saint Andrew of Crete" and the whole company of Stainer's tunes which Dearmer and Vaughan Williams rejected because of their anti-Victorian prejudice. On the other hand the Compilers of H A & M admitted that the Standard Edition was the poorer for not including such hymns as "Immortal, invisible" and "In the bleak midwinter"

(1) Cf the verse: The Babe He lay upon thy breast,
 To Thee He cried for food,
 Thy gentle nursing sooth'd to rest
 Th' Incarnate Son of God.

by including them in H A & M R; and similarly tunes such as "Stracathro" and "Magda" were recruited from The English Hymnal in 1950.

Certainly, The English Hymnal was indeed a strong contender for the loyalties of church-going Anglicans. It is hard to disagree with The Times reviewer who greeted the new book as follows:

The book which best deserves to be universally accepted is undoubtedly The English Hymnal, in which the laudable aim of making a really Catholic collection has been fully attained ... The same Catholic spirit ... is to be found in the music which has been admirably edited by Mr. Vaughan Williams. (1)

Nor can the Southwell Diocesan Magazine's reviewer be accused of gushing exaggeration when he called the new book "an inexhaustible treasure house, and the finest collection of hymns in the English language". He was entitled to his opinion with which many would agree.

The Proprietors of H A & M countered this challenge not by trying to copy The English Hymnal but by adding to their own well-tryed publication. Erik Routley praises the 1889 version: "The frown of mediaevalism had gone from its forehead, and it was full of what have proved to be 'winners'". The 1916 Supplement widened the choice of words and music in a sensible though rather conservative way. Thus there were no living authors represented in the Standard Edition

(1) The Times, 6 November 1906.

by the time Frere died in 1938 - one suspects, a unique feature, among hymn-books. As we shall see, the 1950 and the 1983 editions of H A & M perhaps have better claims to be comprehensive, in the sense that we would accept. The Standard Edition however is the most comprehensive in the sense that John Keble would have accepted. It is an impressive collection of Victorian and post-Victorian hymns and hymn-tunes, faithful to the spirit of the moderate Tractarians and their successors. There is plenty of deadwood which was rightly excised in 1950 and 1983. But there were plenty of "winners" too. (1)

The Victorianism of the Standard Edition of H A & M compared to The English Hymnal can be demonstrated by the following statistics, giving the numbers of hymns and tunes in the two books by the great Victorians:

(1) At least no edition of H A & M has so far been condemned by the current Archbishop of Canterbury as heretical. Randall Davidson wrote to the clergy of the Diocese of Canterbury in the Autumn of 1906.

I desire to call the attention of Incumbents throughout the diocese of Canterbury to an important question which has arisen in connection with the publication of a new collection of hymns called "The English Hymnal" ... But along with these are other hymns which appear to me at least to contain doctrine contrary to the teaching of the Church of England.

Dearmer countered with a letter to The Times, defending himself and his colleagues against the charge of heresy. Randall Davidson then to a considerable extent climbed down. (The Times 6 November 1906. 10 November 1906).

	Total: 779 Standard Edition	Total: 656 The English Hymnal
John Keble	12	10
J. H. Newman	5	3
Isaac Williams	14	5
F. W. Faber	12	10
Christopher Wordsworth	11	8
John Ellerton	28	9
Mrs. C. F. Alexander	19	13
Sir Henry Baker	39	8
Walsham How	12	8
J. B. Dykes	61	12
W. H. Monk	57	10
Sir John Stainer	32	0

In the matter of translations, Neale, Caswall, Chandler and Ellerton still hold the field in the Standard Edition. In The English Hymnal the more modern translators predominate: Robert Bridges, Athelstan Riley, Laurence Housman, Dearmer, Bell.

The Victorianism of the music in the Standard Edition is illustrated by the fussy, pre-Vaughan Williams harmonisations of, say, "Helmsley", (51) "Saint Columba" (13) and "Angels" (8). An even better illustration is the first version of "Te Lucis" (15), the familiar Proper Sarum Melody: it is harmonised for four parts, and there is no suggestion that the hymn should be sung in unison.

However, the success of the Standard Edition is its own vindication. Thousands of church-goers were clearly quite ready to ask, "What's wrong with Victorianism?" Despite the excellence of The English

Hymnal, the real qualities of Baker and Monk, combined with their successors' realism, enabled the challenge mounted by Vaughan Williams and Dearmer to be effectively beaten off. Open war was imminent, however.

IV

Polemical Counter-Attack

As has been suggested, contention between hymn-books is a futile and indeed an unchristian pastime. However, the Proprietors entered the lists on behalf of the Standard Edition in a purposeful way. Their excuse - they were provoked.

We have noted the friendly relationship which existed between Frere and Riley, and similarly cordial correspondence survives between Nicholson and Vaughan Williams. Percy Dearmer, however, was prepared to be much more aggressive. (1)

The Preface to the first edition of The English Hymnal contains just a hint of malice at the expense of H A & M: "The English Hymnal is a collection of the best hymns in the English language, and is offered as a humble companion to the Book of Common Prayer for use in the Church". (2) In other words, it was an attempt to out-do H A & M. Songs of Praise, with which Dearmer was much more closely involved, prided itself on reforming and revolutionising English hymnody - and that involved the assertion that hymnody needed reforming! In the Preface to the original edition (1925), the enlightenment of

(1) Only in 1983 have Dearmer's hymns been included in H A & M.

(2) Opening words of the Preface.

twentieth century hymn-books ("notably The English Hymnal in its great and increasing success") was contrasted with those of the Victorian era ("our hymns ... were not in that era worthy of the English Bible and the English Prayer Book; and the bulk of the tunes to which they were sung illustrated a period of British music which the musicians of today are anxious to forget, and which, fortunately for our reputation, has been superseded by a national revival that has now given our music a foremost place in Europe again"). ⁽¹⁾ The Preface to the enlarged edition of 1931 contained the following glowing and significant tribute to Robert Bridges: ⁽²⁾

We cannot conclude without grateful mention of the late Poet Laureate, Robert Bridges, whose genius as a poet and lover of good music began the present revival of hymnody. His Yattendon Hymnal .. was published in 1899 by the Oxford University Press, and was the first challenge to the debased hymnody of that era; his noblest hymns were first brought into common use and popularised throughout the world by The English Hymnal in 1906; and his example and help have been with us in all our subsequent work. It was due to his initiative that hymnody first recovered from the contempt into which it had fallen. In the future, intelligent men will be able to take up a hymn-book and read it with as much interest and appreciation as any other collection of poetry and music.

(1) Songs of Praise 1931 Edition p v.

(2) Songs of Praise 1931 Edition p iv.

The theme that Victorian hymnody was contemptible and its corollary, that the decline in church attendances would only be reversed by the reform of hymnody, were constantly expressed by Percy Dearmer. Songs of Praise Discussed is permeated by his prejudices. Furthermore, here we can be certain that we are reading his views. Whereas his name appears as General Editor with seven others who were "concerned in the original production of The English Hymnal in 1906", he alone, appears as Words Editor of Songs of Praise, and Songs of Praise Discussed is "compiled by Percy Dearmer". In the Introduction he writes that "the promise of the seventeenth century was never fulfilled." (1) He refers to "the enormous number of bad hymns produced during the output of the nineteenth century ... In the same way, the era was mighty in great music; but that music was also outside the Church ... Is it true that during the last eighty years the churches have been gently singing themselves downhill?" (2)

Dearmer allows "the outstanding success of H A & M in 1861" (3) and as we have noted he quotes the findings of the Temple Report (4) that in 1894 "10,340 churches used H A & M, 1,478 used the Hymnal Companion, and 1,462 Church Hymns; 379 churches used other hymnals". But he makes no attempt to conceal his relief that this opportunity to make H A & M the Church of England's authorised hymn-book was missed. "The Church was left free to go forward ... Songs of Praise is for all the churches - not, indeed, for Lot's wife, but for the forward-looking people of every communion". (5)

(1) Songs of Praise Discussed, p xx. This work was published by Oxford University Press in 1933.

(2) Ibid, pp xx - xxii.

(3) Ibid, p xx

(4) Ibid p xxiv.

(5) See Songs of Praise Discussed, pp 172 - 3 for Dearmer's criticism of Victorian hymn-books in which the social gospel is ignored. "We grew weary of the doleful tune and depressing words of 'Thy Kingdom come, O Lord'". (Sic)

So far Dearmer's attacks had been implicit and indirect. If users of H A & M took umbrage at being compared to Lot's wife, Dearmer's retort would presumably have been, "If the cap fits, wear it". And if admirers of the various editions of H A & M resented the suggestion that intelligent and sensitive people could only begin to take pleasure in hymn-books influenced by Robert Bridges, the answer to them was that in any case such issues were bound to be matters of opinion.

In 1932, however, a pamphlet was issued entitled "How to Introduce Songs of Praise". The pamphlet was anonymous. However, its exact correspondence with Percy Dearmer's views and prejudices entitles us to attribute it to his influence - and in all probability to his pen. The pamphlet begins with the statement that:

The Victorian hymn-books do not meet the needs of the second quarter of the twentieth century, that their atmosphere of second-rate gloom is estranging our young people ...

The answer is to introduce Songs of Praise. Furthermore:

It will help the parson in all this if he asks neighbouring incumbents to introduce Songs of Praise at the same time, or at least to write about hymns in their magazines, explaining that the Church cannot hope to hold the younger generation with the ideas, atmosphere and theology of 1860.

The reader is next invited to send to the Oxford University Press for specimen magazine articles which an incumbent could adapt for his congregation. This is an extract from Magazine Article II:

In the hymn-book that is still used here there are a certain number of good hymns - perhaps on an average about one for each Sunday; but the services had to be filled with many that were uninteresting or dull. The good ones are common to all books and, of course, are included in Songs of Praise. The place of the inferior ones is filled in Songs of Praise by a vast number of glorious things which have been gathered from old sources or written since 1861, the year when H A & M was first published.

Magazine Article I refers to the evils of "the old Victorian books", and then follows the information, "H A & M, for instance, was first published in 1861".

This was certainly fighting talk. In addition, the Compilers were no doubt spurred on by the success of The English Hymnal, Songs of Praise and also, The Church Hymnal for the Christian Year. In the Publishers' Note to the pamphlet Hymns and Hymn-singing which was issued by William Clowes and Sons in 1935, it was claimed that H A & M's "issue last year amounted to no less than 645,480 copies". (1) But the claim made in another pamphlet published by Clowes in 1932 was becoming increasingly debatable: (2)

Despite all the attacks that have been directed against it and the attempt made to supplant it, it still remains true that when

(1) p 4.

(2) The Modern H A & M, p 4.

an ordinary worshipper visits an ordinary church for the first time he takes his H A & M with him in the confident expectation that he will find it the hymnal there in use. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that, after the prayer-book, no product of the Anglican religious spirit can, for popularity and wide extension of use, compare for a moment with H A & M, and its critics and detractors may be fearlessly challenged to deny this if they can.

Clearly the Proprietors were nettled by Dearmer's criticisms, proud of their book's success in the past, anxious to stress (and perhaps exaggerate) its popularity in the present and determined to guarantee its success in the future. Pamphlet warfare was one means to these ends.

The Modern "H A & M": An Answer to Certain Criticisms was published anonymously by Clowes in 1932. It begins with a Publisher's Note, in which Percy Dearmer's arguments are rehearsed and scathingly criticised. For example, the lie is exposed that "H A & M as used in churches today is virtually the book of 1861. Dr. Dearmer, or whoever writes these articles, knows perfectly well that this is not true ... Since such misrepresentations as those quoted above gain currency by repetition unchecked, we have further thought it desirable to issue a reasoned statement on the character of H A & M, which we enclose herewith".

The "reasoned statement" is in fact a thoroughly tendentious document. The poor quality of the hymns for Saints' Days in H A & M, for instance, is defended by the argument that "such shadowy personalities as Saint Bartholomew and Saints Simon and Jude are not very stimulating

to the poetic muse ... the literary merit of the hymns in question may not always be of the highest, but can it be said that more recent compilations have been particularly successful in providing anything better?" With regard to bad music in H A & M it is admitted "that the Victorian Church musicians turned out, no doubt, a large amount of rubbish; but bad music is not a product peculiar to any age, and our own age is probably as prolific in it as any other". Despite the claim that "the aim of H A & M is to provide a collection of the best tunes of all ages from the age of plainsong to the present day", the Proprietors boast that bad tunes in their book are on the way out - "and the Standard Edition of H A & M does its best to assist the process by providing an alternative wherever such a tune appears".

Similarly muddled is the use made by the author of this pamphlet of the episode of the 1904 Edition. After complaining that rival collections "rifled its treasures without stint or scruple", the writer admits the failure of this venture without the reservations that Lowther Clarke, for instance, usually expressed. "The Revised Edition, it is well known, was a failure - and an enormously costly failure". Whose fault was that, however? Answer: the public's! The 1904 Edition really was a high-quality H A & M. But the public preferred the bad old book (whose merits the author was supposed to be defending). Nor does his argument that real quality was recruited for H A & M by the back door, in other words the 1916 Supplement, carry conviction. Either H A & M is "a gathering together in a single volume of the best and most characteristic hymns of every generation" ⁽¹⁾ (both

(1) All the quotations on this page are from The Modern "H A & M": An Answer to Certain Criticisms. pp 4, 7 and 8.

words and music), or it is not. If it is, the Proprietors have a good case, and Percy Dearmer's strictures can be countered. But if this is indeed so, then it is a major tactical blunder to mention the abortive 1904 Edition.

The Proprietors defended their book in another pamphlet, Some Advantages of the Latest Edition of H A & M. This was every bit as boastful as Percy Dearmer's propaganda.

With regard to words the greatest enrichment has been in the section of Hymns for Holy Communion, and in this respect the book is now the best provided of all the ordinary collections, containing as it does no less than 36 special Communion Hymns ... (1)

With regard to music, we read that "of the old Psalm-tunes the book contains practically all the best there has been considerable enrichment by the inclusion of many fine old German tunes". As for the book's modern tunes "several have already achieved great popularity, such as Sir Hubert Parry's magnificent tune to 'O praise ye the Lord', Dr. Basil Harwood's 'Thy hand, O God, has guided' and Sir Charles Stanford's noble settings of 'For all the Saints' and 'Love divine'." One can allow the claim for Parry and Harwood, but not for Stanford who was outclassed by Vaughan Williams' "Sine nomine" ("For all the saints") and who failed to supplant Stainer's "Love Divine" (or for that matter, "Blaenwern").

(1) As The English Hymnal has only 35 Communion hymns, this looks a valid boast. Unfortunately the Methodist Hymn-Book (1933) has 39. The real issue is the quality of the hymns, not the quantity.

Another ploy to which the Proprietors resorted was to give extra circulation at their own expense to publications of which they approved. Among these allies so recruited was the chapter on "Hymns and Hymn-singing" from Music and Worship by Sir Walford Davies and Dr. Harvey Grace. In a Publisher's Note, preceding this chapter which W. Clowes and Sons circulated in pamphlet form, it was claimed that attacks on H A & M had been silenced by the pamphlet The Modern "H A & M". "Therein the Proprietors of H A & M proved themselves capable of defending their own book. Nevertheless it is encouraging to find some part of their case stated for them by such unimpeachable authorities as Sir Walford Davies and Dr. Harvey Grace."

The chapter which follows does indeed include some gratifying compliments, as well as several adversely critical points at the expense of The English Hymnal and Songs of Praise. The authors sum up their position as follows:

In thus controverting the controverters of "H A & M", our one desire is to offer such timely stimulus as we can to the appreciation of that admirably serviceable work. The Church cannot be too mindful of its debt.

They also quote "an article in a daily paper on 'The Choice of Hymns' by a dean who was formerly headmaster of a famous public school". (Could this have been C. A. Alington who had been Headmaster of Shrewsbury, then of Eton, before he moved to the Deanery of Durham in 1933, shortly before Davies and Grace wrote their article?):

It is fashionable today to sneer at H A & M, and I should myself prefer The English Hymnal, but I think the fashionable abuse

is largely undeserved I am not a blind admirer of The English Hymnal. I am infuriated on every occasion when they (sic) suggest that I should sing the ungrammatical sentence, "Hail thee, festival day!"; and there is plenty in it to criticise. But it certainly marks a great advance. Still, I shall always be grateful to H A & M for having shown the way, for having introduced me to many good and some beautiful hymns, and for having for the first time done something to show the wealth of singable religious poetry which the nation possesses.

"A well-known novelist" was also quoted, who criticised Songs of Praise, where "the search for poetry went too far and too wide ... while a particular smack of taste, a flavour of sufficiency deriving in part from folk-song worship and in part from a dryish sacerdotalism, tends to domineer in the music, and is, I think, already dated". The "well-known novelist" went on to say how much he resented "not being allowed the familiar tune of 'Eternal Father, strong to save', with that fierce rush in the base. Is it so bad? I liked it when I was a boy. I like it now".

Davies and Grace developed this last argument, showing that "Lodsworth" (the Songs of Praise tune) may have had a better line and a better climax than "Melita" (the H A & M tune), but that "as a setting for the words, and as material for congregational singing, 'Melita' beats 'Lodsworth' all ends up".

Why, then, was it dropped in Songs of Praise and relegated to the Appendix in The English Hymnal? The answer is easy: it is trebly damned: (1) it was a popular H A & M tune; (2) it was Victorian; and (3) - and worst of all - it was by a composer

whose name in "reforming" circles has become almost a synonym for meretriciousness.

This was splendid knock-about stuff, with much truth in it. The composer of "Melita" is, almost needless to say, John Bacchus Dykes. Unfortunately these welcome allies of H A & M overplayed their hand. When the pamphlet had already been printed, W. H. Shobert of William Clowes and Sons Ltd. wrote to Sydney Nicholson on 10 September 1935: (1)

By this morning's post comes a letter from Dr. Harvey Grace, in which he writes as follows in regard to this pamphlet:-
"I have just discovered a slip. On page 192 of 'Music and Worship' I wrote: 'Why, then was it ('Melita') ... relegated to the appendix in The English Hymnal?' A correspondent has just pointed out that 'Melita' has not been relegated to the appendix in The English Hymnal. Is it too late to correct this in the pamphlet? The simplest plan (if it can be done without upsetting the type) would be to end the sentence at 'Songs of Praise'". This is rather a blow, and all I have done at the moment is to acknowledge Dr. Grace's letter and send him a copy of the pamphlet, and tell him that the first impression is ready, and that some 50 or so copies have already been distributed.

Grace's correspondent was only too correct. "Melita" does not feature in Songs of Praise but it is indeed the set tune to "Eternal Father, strong to save" in The English Hymnal. It was, as Shobert

(1) H A & M Archives, Norwich.

admitted, a blow. As anyone who has indulged in public controversy will testify, there is no substitute for the axiom, "Always check your sources".

William Clowes and Sons also distributed a leading article and a review by Dr. Lowther Clarke from the May 1932 issue of Theology. The "leader" discussed the merits of The English Hymnal and concluded:

And yet the book has by no means superseded H A & M: nor is it likely to do so. For one thing, it does not contain certain hymns which the English Church will assuredly never surrender. "Hail, Gladdening Light", ⁽¹⁾ with its fine tune, amongst Evening hymns; "Christ, who once amongst us", amongst Children's hymns; "The Sower went forth sowing", for Harvest festival; "The Saints of God! Their conflict past", for a funeral - all these are treasures of the older book which few would surrender. The more the book is tested, the more it lives up to its title: it is a wonderful combination of old and new.

Lowther Clarke got in some stinging blows at Songs of Praise in his review of A Short Handbook of Public Worship. He ridicules "Little things that run and quail" (Number 305) on the grounds that it includes invocation of mice ("The mouse, the coney, hear our prayer"). He then asks:

Does Songs of Praise meet the needs of 1932 as successfully as H A & M met those of 1882? Is not its prevailing tone one of

(1) Only marginally fair. The English Hymnal contains Robert Bridges' translation of φῶς ἱλαρόν - "O Gladsome Light, O Grace" (269) as opposed to Keble's.

jolliness and optimism, which to the next generation will seem inadequate as surely as the Victorian hymn-books to Dr. Dearmer are redolent of 'second-rate gloom'? ... Then as regards music. We may be reasonably certain that by 1982 many of the melodious Victorian tunes will have come back into favour ... and the leaders of musical opinion will be severely criticizing the self-confidence of the 1932 reformers. Would not a little more modesty in regard to their own achievements, and a little more piety in regard to those of our Victorian forefathers, be fitting? I am as bored with Victorian music and imitation Gothic architecture as Dr. Dearmer is, but I am not so sure that we are right in our prejudices. After all, the despised Victorians had full churches and a continually expanding Church life: we have half-empty churches (which, pace Dr. Dearmer, are not filled by the introduction of a new hymn-book) and are with difficulty holding our own. I cannot be sure what verdict posterity will pass on the two ages.

Wise and prophetic words! Lowther Clarke, however, was only half right. Victorian art and architecture have indeed become fashionable again, thanks to the evangelism of Sir John Betjeman and others. Victorian music, ethics and, above all, hymnody do not perhaps have the enthusiastic advocates they deserve. Perhaps their time is yet to come.

The Compilers boasted that the pamphlet, Some Advantages of the Latest Edition of H A & M, "makes no reflection on other collections". In actual fact, they implicitly attacked other hymn-books in all the pamphlets which we have considered. For example, they pointed out that

"we English are a reserved and self-conscious race and do not readily lend ourselves to flowery and fanciful modes of expression, especially in church. Further, it would also seem to be desirable that the hymns used in Christian worship should be definitely Christian in thought and sentiment, and not dictated by a more vague theism or a wistful agnosticism. In the case of a hymn-book for Church-people (which H A & M quite definitely claims to be) it is surely a further recommendation that at least the great bulk of the hymns should express that dogmatic faith of the historic Christian Church to which the Church of England is pledged by its formularies." (1) There was no mystery as to which hymn-book was being attacked here!

Explicit attacks on Songs of Praise and The English Hymnal, as we have seen, were mounted in the articles written by Lowther Clarke, Grace, Walford Davies and so forth, which the Proprietors saw fit to circulate.

By these explicit and implicit assaults on rival hymn-books, the Proprietors of H A & M demeaned themselves, in descending to Percy Dearmer's level. Furthermore, it is a fundamental principle of advertising not to mention by name a rival brand. We have quoted from these pamphlets at length in order to illustrate the insecurity of the Proprietors. Gone were the self-confident 1890's when their predecessors had ignored the tactless Canon Twells' prophecies that rival hymn-books would dispute H A & M's position as the hymn-book of the Church of England and of Protestant (or Appellant!) English people. Beneath the pamphlet counter-attacks which we have discussed was the uncomfortable feeling that Percy Dearmer might be right: H A & M was indeed out of date, and becoming

(1) The Modern "H A & M", op. cit. p 8.

more outdated every day.

V

Towards 1950

If H A & M was indeed looking far more ancient than modern, the most constructive remedy was to update the book. But the Proprietors were understandably cautious, having burnt their fingers so very badly in 1904.

Frere remained Chairman of the Proprietors until his death in 1938. He edited a Plainsong Hymnbook for the Proprietors in 1932, in which he incorporated traditional chants from the Roman Church together with troubadour melodies which he himself had discovered. The book was a disaster. (1)

In 1939 Nicholson, who had succeeded Frere as Chairman, edited a Shorter Music Edition of the Standard Edition. According to Lowther Clarke, "The idea was to make a start with eliminating hymns no longer used, to provide a large-type book such as could be comfortably held in the hand during processions, and to introduce new and interesting tunes". (2) Here we have the germ of the 1950 Revised Edition. We are indebted, again, to Lowther Clarke for the interesting information that Frere had always opposed a revision, "saying that the time was not ripe. Probably his nerve had been shaken by the small success of the 1904 Edition and the almost total failure of the Plainsong Hymnbook, and he was reluctant to face a possible further failure". (3)

(1) Minute Book 6 May 1930: "The Chairman laid before the meeting some mediaeval melodies of Troubadour origin which he thought might be considered for inclusion if suitable words could be found or written for them ... These were received with much interest.

(2) Lowther Clarke, op. cit., p 83.

(3) Ibid, p 83.

The Shorter Music Edition was presumably as far as Frere would agree to go: the planning of the book antedated Frere's death, as a letter dated 13 May 1937 from Nicholson to Vaughan Williams makes clear.

This letter is of considerable interest and should be quoted in full:⁽¹⁾

Dear Vaughan Williams,

We are bringing out a "select Choir Book" (sic) of H A & M (of which I am the Editor). It is not exactly a new book but a shotned (presumably shortened: the typing is erratic throughout) version of the present complete book retaining the same numbering but leaving out a lot of things nobody wants and which go on cumbering it in edition after edition. We are also doing a lot of cleaning up of bad tunes, though on very conservative lines, and are taking the opportunity of introducing some good ones where we feel that they are needed.

We are particularly anxious to get three of yours in particular,

"Magda" for Saviour again to Thy dear name,

"Down Ampney" for Come down O Love divine,

"King's Weston" for At the name of Jesus.

Of course the three hymns are in our book, but we should very much like to get the use of your tunes.

Can you make this possible? I know we are a rival to The English Hymnal and Songs of Praise, but I hope a friendly one, and we want to make our book as good as we can, though we recognise that it probably appeals to quite a different public from the others.

(1) H A & M Archives, Norwich.

I need hardly say that we are prepared to pay properly for permission.

I hope you enjoyed the great Service yesterday and were pleased with your Te Deum; the choir all enjoyed it greatly and it sounded very fine. (1)

Let me have a line as soon as you can as one of the tunes "Magda" comes in an early section and I can't very well plan the pages till I know. I hope it will be possible.

The "very conservative lines" emphasis was presumably in deference to Frere. Still, it is clear that Nicholson was thinking radically, and it is no coincidence that as soon as he took over as Chairman, methodical planning was set in motion for the 1950 Revised Edition.

The results of Nicholson's approach to Vaughan Williams were disappointing in the short-term. Vaughan Williams' scrawled reply reads: (2)

May 14 1937

Dear Nicholson

Many thanks for your letter

- I am sending it on to Humphrey Milford as really the question rests with him rather than with me. 'Magda' and 'King's Weston' belong to me - but I would not like to give permission against the wishes of Sir Humphrey. 'Down Ampney' belongs to The English Hymnal committee.

Yours sincerely,

R. Vaughan Williams

(1) At that time Nicholson was Director of the Royal School of Church Music.

(2) H A & M Archives, Norwich. See Appendix 7 for a photocopy of this letter.

As late as the 1950 Revised Edition, only 'Magda' was released for inclusion in H A & M, though all three appear in the 1983 Revised Standard Edition.

"Leaving out a lot of things nobody wants and which go on cumbering it ... cleaning up of bad tunes ... introducing some good ones". Nicholson's programme was essential. A quarter of a century before, the future leader of the Church of England - some would say, its greatest twentieth century leader - had introduced The English Hymnal at Saint James', Piccadilly. ⁽¹⁾ William Temple's favourite hymns were "King of Glory, King of Peace", "O King, enthroned on high" and "Round me falls the night". Only the first was in the Standard Edition of H A & M; all three are in The English Hymnal and all three are in H A & M R, 1950.

(1) F. A. Iremonger, William Temple, p 170.

Chapter 5

Hymns Ancient and Modern Revised 1950

I

H A & M R is an admirable book. It was planned and executed by sensible people for sensible worshippers. It has a coherent structure. It is a reasonable blend of Victorian tradition and twentieth century progressivism: it is indeed ancient and modern. High standards of literary and musical excellence are maintained, without the excesses of donnish intellectualism which had marred the 1904 Edition.

It might be thought that the production of such a worthy hymn-book would make a dull story. Certainly H A & M R met with no disaster, such as gave the 1904 Edition such a dramatic aura: its 1950 successor was deservedly - and, it might be argued, boringly - successful. Nor were the dramatis personae such colourful characters as Walter Howard Frere - or, for that matter, Sir Henry Baker. Nevertheless the story of the 1950 Edition has its own interest and indeed fascination, while Sir Sydney Nicholson and his colleagues were by no means cyphers.

One reason why the study of H A & M R is really extremely interesting is the nature of the documentary evidence. Correspondence regarding H A & M dried up after the emergence of the 1904 Edition. No doubt this was partly due to the fact that no major, radical revision occurred for nearly half a century. Nevertheless, as we have seen, there was

some action during these years, and the absence of correspondence in the files at Norwich is rather odd. C. S. Phillips systematically re-organised the files in January 1939, and, in a memorandum about the available documents, saw fit to comment on this scarcity: (1)

The documents are voluminous and pretty complete up to about 1905, after which date very little appears to have survived. It would seem that, after the resignation of Mr. Cosby White and the inauguration of the new regime that followed, the habit of preserving papers formerly adopted was largely abandoned except with regard to matters of copyright. In consequence the future historian of H A & M will have large stores to draw on for the first 50 years or so of its existence and for the next 30 years hardly anything at all (2)

This is fair comment on the documentary evidence available for the period 1904 to about 1943. Then however the picture brightens, and the correspondence with regard to the genesis of H A & M R is considerable, even if some way short of voluminous. Furthermore,

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- (1) H A & M Archives, Norwich. Report of the Reverend C. S. Phillips on documents relating to H A & M, p 2. Dated 19 January 1939.
 - (2) Phillips accompanied his memorandum with a List of Papers that might be destroyed. In the course of sorting out the H A & M documents he recommended for destruction various documents, several of which were doubtless no great loss. One regrets, however, the disappearance of a correspondence "with certain relatives of Dr. Dykes re hypothetical and seemingly non-existent tunes alleged to have been sent in by Dykes to H A & M but never used - including one incredibly vulgar and offensive one from a nephew" and "the letters in other sections are often interesting and even entertaining .. but they reveal a good many skeletons in the cupboard".

the various exchanges between Nicholson and his colleagues are by no means without interest.

One's respect for the Compilers' achievement in producing such a good hymn-book is increased when the very difficult war-time conditions in which they laboured are appreciated. For example, V. H. Shobert of William Clowes and Sons Ltd. (who published H A & M R) wrote to Nicholson:

Dear Sir Sydney,

I have gone exhaustively into the subject of paper supply, but I have entirely failed to obtain the necessary figure support to enable me to make out a good case for assistance from the Book Publishers' Reserve at the present time ... Matters are of course getting more difficult and the terrible delays which occur both in the making of paper and printing and binding drive things off

Compilers, Assessors and Advisors consulted with each other despite the dangers and discomforts of war-time Britain. For example, Phillips recommends Nicholson not to attempt the journey to his home near Faversham by car in winter, "as the snow lies long and deep on these hills and the gradients are very steep, nor is it possible in war-time to do much about clearing the roads". ⁽¹⁾ Alington warns Nicholson that he may be late for an important meeting of the Assessors in London because of the unreliability of the trains from Durham to King's Cross. "The 7.40 ought to get me to Dean's Yard in good time. On the other hand, after today's warning about trains,

(1) Phillips to Nicholson, 23 January 1945. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

it is quite possible that trains may be off". (1) Even more dramatic was the threat of bombing, which occurs frequently in the correspondence of Summer 1944. Adam Fox recommends Oxford as a suitable venue for a meeting of the Assessors. "I don't think it will cost much more than in London; and it will certainly be more agreeable, especially if these bombs continue which are, to say the least, distracting, though one gets used to them and in fine weather they don't reach London frequently". (2) The reference here is presumably to the VI menace: one cannot imagine the weather affecting V2s. Nicholson similarly referred to "Hitler's new invention wandering about", in a previous letter to Fox. (3)

The correspondence between the Proprietors and their advisers throws valuable light on their plans, priorities and decisions: it is fascinating to see the book emerge from these deliberations. The correspondence also brings to life the men who created the 1950 H A & M, and it is to these highly influential and significant figures that we now turn.

II

If any one man deserves to be remembered as the inspiration and the creator of H A & M R, it was Nicholson. Sir Sydney Hugo Nicholson, M.V.O., D. Mus., had been a Proprietor since 1928 and Chairman since W. H. Frere's death in 1938 - the first and, so far, the only layman to fill that high office for a lengthy period. But, as we have seen, Nicholson's association with H A & M went much further back than 1928.

(1) Alington to Nicholson, 16 May (1944?). H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(2) Fox to Nicholson, 23 August 1944. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(3) Nicholson to Fox, 18 June (1944?). Cf also Minute, 7 March 1945.

"There were present Sir S. Nicholson (presiding), Canon Lowther Clarke, Canon Crum and Flight Lieutenant G. H. Knight."

In 1913 he had been appointed musical editor of the Supplement about to be produced, and he was responsible for the music of the Standard Edition (1922). (1)

Nicholson (9 February 1875 - 30 May 1947) was educated at Rugby and New College, Oxford, the son of Sir Charles Nicholson, the first Chancellor of Sydney University (hence, presumably, Sydney's Christian name). He had a successful career, teaching at Eton and serving as Organist at Manchester Cathedral and, from 1918 to 1927, at Westminster Abbey. He retired very early from this prestigious post to found the School of English Church Music - subsequently the Royal School of Church Music. (2) He was knighted in 1938.

Lowther Clarke stresses the enormous debt which all who enjoy H A & M owe to Nicholson:

..... with his personal and administrative gifts and unique experience of choirs of all sorts, from Westminster Abbey downwards. As the years went on, this knowledge widened as in his capacity of founder and Director of the Royal School of Church Music he visited countless choirs, good and bad with equal fervour, all over the country. He brought back what the board was in danger

(1) Nicholson contributed two rather undistinguished tunes to the 1904 Edition. In the index of composers in the 1909 Historical Companion it is claimed that Nicholson was Organist of Carlisle Cathedral from 1904 to 1908. In the 1962 Historical Companion it is claimed that he was Assistant-Organist there. It is surprising that Frere should make such an error - if it is an error.

(2) I am not concerned in this thesis with financial matters. But it is perhaps relevant here to mention the considerable donations made to the R. S. C. M. by the Proprietors of H A & M over the years.

of losing, intimate contact with the realities of parish choirs. When confronted with a tune he always, without neglecting other considerations, asked himself, Is it singable? The Proprietors were indeed fortunate in getting him to help their counsels. (1)

The impressions one forms from studying the correspondence are as follows. First, as Chairman, Nicholson kept tight control over the various discussions and deliberations in which the Proprietors and their Advisors were involved. The contrast is striking between Nicholson and Cosby White who, while clearly respected and loved, was merely kept in the picture by Frere, Coles and Mason with regard to the progress of the 1904 Edition. Nicholson delegated, certainly. But he imposed his own strongly held views on both words and music, and expected to be consulted, and, indeed obeyed.

Secondly, it is clear that Nicholson's colleagues admired and revered him. It was a more formal age than our own. Nonetheless it is significant that Lowther Clarke who was, it seems, closest to him, invariably addressed him as "Dear Nicholson", Adam Fox never progressed beyond "Dear Sir Sydney" and C. S. Phillips, his most voluminous and frequent correspondent, always began "My dear Warden" (Nicholson was Warden of Saint Nicholas' College, Chislehurst). Only Dykes Bower, as a fellow Cathedral Organist, felt free to write "Dear Sydney".

(1) Lowther Clarke, op. cit., p 81. The important link between H A & M and the Royal School of Church Music has been continued. Nicholson's successor as Director was Gerald Knight, who also succeeded him as Musical Editor of H A & M. Knight had been a Proprietor since 1943. The present Director, Lionel Dakers, is a Member of the Council of H A & M Ltd.

Nicholson's colleagues frequently showed concern for his health; he was seventy or thereabouts during the planning stages of H A & M R, it should be remembered. A "Dear Sydney" letter from Dykes Bower, dated 24 March 1945, ends, "I do hope you are feeling better and stronger again". Phillips, writing from Faverham on 28 November 1943, has this to say: "It was so delightful to see you again, and to talk over many things as in days of yore. Not less to find you so well and vigorous - I feel sure that you will survive me and add many years and add one more to your family's impressive record of nonagenarianism". Sadly, Phillips was to be proved wrong, and neither lived to see the emergence of H A & M R. (1)

A letter from Lowther Clarke, dated 26 September 1944, throws light on the man Nicholson was, and the relationship which he had with his colleagues:

May I pass on a criticism I received from a very good critic? Beware of overdoing tunes by the musical editor. However good they are, they represent the taste of one man and one generation and so date the book. H A & M had too much Monk and then too much Selby in 1904. I doubt whether we did have too much Monk for the ordinary man. And certainly The English Hymnal hasn't got too much Vaughan Williams - perhaps the case is different, because so many of his tunes are adaptations of old airs. However, you are so universally loved and respected that hardly anyone (except me) will dare to say, Beware of too much Nicholson. Personally I find your tunes always singable and pleasing.

(1) Phillips died on 28 November 1949. All the letters quoted from the correspondence between Nicholson and his colleagues are in the H A & M Archives at Norwich.

Nicholson replied (as ever beginning "Dear Clarke",):

As to the criticism as passed on to you. I entirely agree and am very glad you made it, though I do not think there is any risk of what your critic fears. (1)

All the evidence suggests that Nicholson was usually a modest man. Nevertheless he replied with a touch of waspishness to a letter from Lowther Clarke, tactlessly suggesting that Dykes Bower should be the musical editor:

I do not think it has ever been decided that Dykes Bower should be musical editor. I thought that the idea was that it might be done by Knight, myself and Dykes Bower, with such outside assistance as we might need. Surely this question can be left. As a matter of fact I shall have to do most of the editing, simply because the others do not know enough about it yet, but they can advise and I hope will, and we shall have to get someone to do the donkey work, proof reading etc. (2)

It was certainly the case that Nicholson was both erudite and hard-working. Furthermore, not only had he composed several excellent hymn-tunes (as well as Church services, chants and organ music), but he had also written the words of a charming hymn for Choir Festivals - "How joyful 'tis to sing". (3)

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- (1) Nicholson to Clarke, 27 September 1944. Actually there are seventeen of his tunes in H A & M some of which could perhaps have been omitted. But Monk had 58 in the Standard Edition!
- (2) Lowther Clarke to Nicholson 13 February 1945. Nicholson to Lowther Clarke 16 February 1945. H A & M Archives, Norwich.
- (3) H A & M R No. 493. Sadly it is omitted from the 1983 Edition.

As we shall see, Nicholson had his weaknesses; he could be inflexible and opinionated, and perhaps the somewhat predictable conservatism of H A & M R can be attributed to the fact that the guiding hand was that of a septuagenarian. But Nicholson's good sense and wide experience were invaluable. (1)

Equally urbane and knowledgeable was Nicholson's ultimate successor as Chairman, Dr. W. K. Lowther Clarke. His contribution to the success of H A & M R was second only to Nicholson's. As Treasurer to the Proprietors he handled all financial matters. His self-effacing efficiency comes over strongly in the considerable correspondence in which he was involved. He had to deal with the multitudinous problems caused by copyright; his patience and courtesy were unfailing. "Dear Clarke, what a business you have had!" begins a letter of Nicholson's; (2) the sympathy was genuine and well-deserved. "As to copyrights. I am afraid you know more about this than anyone else" (3) - again, the tribute is Nicholson's.

Like Nicholson, Lowther Clarke was elderly. In March 1945 he had to cope with moving house, when he was made a residentiary canon at Chichester. "It is rather a job moving when you and your wife are in the middle sixties and can get no help ... the last man let the garden go to pieces; he had 25 hens which were allowed all over it, so gave up the struggle. I am at present engaged in cleaning out the henhouse and putting the organic matter on newly dug up beds.."

(1) Cf p 340 note (2) for Cyril Taylor's description of Nicholson as "a cantankerous misogynist" and his low opinion of "How joyful 'tis to sing".

(2) Nicholson to Lowther Clarke, 16 February 1945. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(3) Nicholson to Lowther Clarke, 22 January 1945. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

All this and H A & M copyrights! It was a busy spring for Lowther Clarke. "I have been asked to preach the University Sermon at New College on Trinity Sunday" he told Nicholson. ⁽¹⁾ Then, with charming vanity, he repeats the news in his next letter - "Did I tell you I am preaching the University Sermon on Trinity Sunday, in New College Chapel?" "So glad you have been asked to preach the University Sermon", Nicholson replied, no doubt wanting to bring this particular correspondence to a close. Lowther Clarke must have possessed great resilience. Fifteen years later he produced A Hundred Years of H A & M, ⁽²⁾ as lively as it is appreciative towards all his colleagues past and present; and his loyalty towards H A & M is self-evident on every page. ⁽³⁾

The third powerful influence on H A & M R was C. S. Phillips. Unlike Nicholson and Lowther Clarke, Phillips was never a Proprietor. From 1939 until his death in 1949 he was Literary Editor; according to Lowther Clarke, "the book owes much to his careful scholarship". A scholar of King's College, Cambridge, a Fellow of Selwyn, Phillips received a D. D. from the University of Durham, taught at Radley and held various livings and teaching appointments in his old age. His industry and erudition were phenomenal, to judge from the exhaustive collection of letters which he wrote, mainly to Nicholson. As Literary Editor his task was to consult, badger and co-ordinate his fellow-advisers - no easy assignment. His meticulous scholarship is self-evident, in the pages of minute, very neat and precise manuscript which have survived in the H A & M files at Norwich.

(1) Nicholson to Lowther Clarke 31 January 1945. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(2) A Hundred Years of H A & M, W. K. Lowther Clarke, William Clowes and Sons Ltd., 1960.

(3) Lowther Clarke's friend and S.P.C.K. colleague, Edgar Bishop, pays tribute to his humour and modesty. For example some children visiting Chichester Cathedral noticed several books by Lowther Clarke on the bookshelf. "You're a real Enid Blyton!" was one comment which delighted him (Conversation with the author, 21st August 1984).

Phillips' achievement was all the more remarkable in that he was an invalid. Towards the end of his life he taught Theology students in Canterbury; one of his pupils remembers how Dr. Phillips was very lame, could only get about with a stick and would spend his weekly day-off in bed. Visitors would find him propped up on the pillows, the room absolutely littered with documents relating to H A & M R. ⁽¹⁾ Apparently, Phillips was a patient and effective teacher. Occasionally, however, his patience with his less efficient and business-like colleagues wore thin. In a letter to Nicholson, ⁽²⁾ he wrote:

My dear Warden,

Thank you for your letter just received. I hope the cold is better. I will prepare the material for which I am responsible the first moment I can and send it on to you at once. Unfortunately I am held up for the time being through not having received back the stuff I sent to Fox and Clarke. I sent it off last Friday week and hoped to have it back in a few days, as it would hardly require more than an hour to deal with it. But I suppose these grandees have more important fish to fry. I suspect Fox is the culprit, as Clarke is usually very prompt and also he is quite a leisured person now. How queer he must feel! ⁽³⁾

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- (1) The pupil was the Reverend Wilfred Curtis, now Vicar of Filey, to whom I am indebted for this reminiscence. See Appendix 8 for a photograph of C. S. Phillips kindly obtained from Mr. Curtis, and also for a photocopy of Phillips' hand-writing. Excellent photographs of Nicholson and Lowther Clarke can be found in the 1962 Historical Companion.
- (2) Phillips to Nicholson, 16 January 1945. H A & M Archives, Norwich.
- (3) Phillips is presumably referring to Lowther Clarke's appointment as a Canon Residentiary of Chichester!

Perhaps it is understandable that Phillips, the obscure and hard-working scholar, should feel exasperated with "grandeess" like Fox, who was a Canon of Westminster, though, like Phillips, not a Proprietor. Nicholson, Phillips and Lowther Clarke did the bulk of the work: the evidence is conclusive. But useful contributions were made by others - some of them grandeess!

First, there were the four other Proprietors, apart from Nicholson and Lowther Clarke. E. G. Selwyn was Dean of Winchester. We shall note his rôle in the planning of the book and the selection of material. Gerald Knight (Truro Cathedral School and Peterhouse, Cambridge) was Organist of Canterbury Cathedral and would succeed Nicholson as Director of the Royal School of Church Music. His significance would increase considerably after Nicholson's death in 1947. The same was true of the fifth Proprietor, John Dykes Bower (Cheltenham College and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge), Organist of Saint Paul's Cathedral. Finally, there was J. M. C. Crum (Eton and New College, Oxford), Canon of Canterbury Cathedral.

Secondly, the Proprietors invited the following people to serve as Advisers: Canon Adam Fox (Convener), C. S. Lewis, P. H. B. Lyon, the Reverend Cyril Taylor, the Very Reverend C. A. Alington, the Venerable T. Dilworth Harrison, Miss Margaret Cropper, Miss Dorothy Sayers, Lady Jeane Petherick, the Reverend Max Warren, Miss G. M. Hoskyns and George Sampson.

Of these twelve, three declined the invitation to serve. Max Warren explained to Nicholson that as General Secretary of the Church Missionary Society he had "got far more on hand than I can easily

manage in leaving my new work in which I've only been engaged for a year". But he very much appreciated the invitation and was greatly honoured by it. (1) Dorothy Sayers' literary agents sent a brief and, one would think barely civil, note, declining on her behalf for no given reason. (2) As for Cyril Taylor of the B.B.C., he agreed to serve initially, but then pulled out, due to his time-consuming involvement with The B. B. C. Hymn-Book. Fox wrote to Nicholson: (3)

My dear Sir Sydney,

Many thanks for your letter. I am sorry C. V. Taylor can't carry on - he's a nice chap.

Of the nine who agreed to serve, we have already met Fox, and C. S. Lewis needs no introduction. George Sampson was an authority on hymnography, (4) Lyon was Headmaster of Rugby, Miss Hoskyns was Headmistress of Saint Swithin's School, Winchester, Alington had been Headmaster of Shrewsbury and then Eton before moving to the Deanery of Durham, Miss Cropper had written hymns for children and Dilworth Harrison was Archdeacon of Chesterfield. Lady Petherick's chief qualification, apart from her title, seems to have been that she was a friend of the Dean of Winchester.

The literary experience and achievement of the Proprietors and their Advisors as a whole must command respect. C. S. Lewis was a

(1) Max Warren to Nicholson. 28 July 1943. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(2) Nancy R. Pearn to Nicholson. 30 July 1943. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(3) Fox to Nicholson. 29 June 1944. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

Taylor told the present author why he pulled out. Conversation 21 August 1984.

(4) See his The Century of Divine Songs, Warburton Lecture on English Poetry, Proceedings of the British Academy, vol XXIX, 1943.

major figure, Nicholson, Lowther Clarke, Phillips, Alington and Miss Cropper had all published work outside the field of hymnology. And when it came to writing hymns, Nicholson, Phillips, Crum, Fox, Miss Cropper, Alington and Lyon were all represented in H A & M R. So was Cyril Taylor whose withdrawal from the affairs of H A & M was to be only temporary, ⁽¹⁾ and who would be recruited before long on a permanent basis; two of his tunes appear in H A & M R, where he rubs shoulders with Nicholson, Dykes Bower and Knight.

There can be no doubt therefore that the team of experts who combined to produce H A & M R knew their business, while a study of the documents confirms that their approach was methodical and conscientious. Perhaps it would not be unfair or unkind, however, to add that the documents indicate a rather narrow spectrum of experience, background and attitudes. Although the Compilers did their best to consult all the team, inevitably the same few names occur and recur. Nicholson, Lowther Clarke and Phillips did the work, bringing in Alington, Fox and Crum to a greater or less extent, as the spirit moved them. These elderly, upper-class, Christian gentlemen make a not unattractive picture, corresponding courteously and lengthily with each other against the background of Britain in war-time or conditions of post-war austerity. Whether an injection of youthful liveliness and of a wider social and intellectual experience might have improved the fruit of their labours, is a matter for conjecture. But it was perhaps a pity that Max Warren and Cyril Taylor

(1) Taylor is now on the Council of H A & M Ltd. Is he the last link with the production of H A & M R 1950?

were allowed to withdraw. Part of the trouble was no doubt that younger men were overseas - such as Dykes Bower who anxiously awaited his release from the R.A.F. By contrast, "My dear Warden," (1) wrote Phillips, "I hope you didn't have too bad a night in town. I thought of you as I sat in a dressing-gown downstairs about 3.30 a.m. I am, you see, a Fire Guard!!!"

III

We have seen in the last chapter that it was becoming increasingly apparent to the Proprietors that the Standard Edition of H A & M needed radical revision if it was to survive competition from The English Hymnal. This conviction gained ground during the 'thirties and only the caution of W. H. Frere, now Bishop of Truro, held back the would-be revisers. Nicholson succeeded in persuading his Chairman to allow him to prepare a shortened musical edition from which dead-wood had been cut; but that was as far as he was allowed to go before Frere's death on 2 April 1938.

In September of that year a highly significant pamphlet (2) was circulated privately, consisting of comments by Selwyn, Dean of Winchester, Lowther Clarke and Nicholson. Here we can see the way that the Proprietors' thoughts were running. Selwyn argued that the time was now ripe for a revision.

The present book, which runs to nearly 800 hymns and contains two supplements, is felt to be cumbersome and also ill-arranged,

(1) Phillips to Nicholson, 5 March 1944. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(2) Norwich papers, headed "Strictly Private and Confidential".

in the sense that the hymns belonging to any one season or group have to be sought in three different parts of the book. These features of the book are due to the fact that "dead-wood" has never been cut out and that the development of the work has been by additions only. I have little doubt in my own mind that H A & M is now the richest and most varied hymnal available; but it has also to be remembered that a large number of churches still use only the 1889 Edition, with the result that the wealth and variety of the whole book are not fully realised.

The Dean argued that The English Hymnal and Songs of Praise had given congregations the opportunity of correctly evaluating the merits and the defects of H A & M. The English Hymnal, Selwyn argued, "emphasises 'objective' worship at the expense of those more meditative, and in the best sense of the word 'sentimental' hymns in which H A & M is so strong.." ... "Songs of Praise rightly gauged the reaction from the too 'objective' character of The English Hymnal, but endeavoured to meet it by the worst kind of Pelagianism.... We can accept a good deal of the criticism of H A & M which underlay The English Hymnal and Songs of Praise; and we can also show that the way to remedy the defect is not by becoming almost wholly 'objective', still less by becoming Pelagian, but by developing that balance of adoration and meditation, of theology and feeling, which has given H A & M its unique position in the English-speaking world".

Selwyn stressed the advantages of revising the book under a Chairman ⁽¹⁾ "uniquely equipped for leading us in such a task, not

(1) i. e. Nicholson

only by his historical and musical knowledge, but also by his close contact with choirs and congregations in all parts of the Anglican communion". He blamed the failure of the 1904 Edition, most unfairly and unhistorically, on the intervention and indeed interference by Convocation,⁽¹⁾ although, "no doubt the 1904 Edition was too formal and academic". And he concluded by glancing at a problem by which the Proprietors were to be obsessed: "we have to face the difficulty which Bishop Frere used to say was fatal to the 1904 Edition, i.e. the change of the numbers of hymns". Without suggesting that Frere had seized on this explanation as a relatively painless excuse for the 1904 book's defects, Selwyn sensibly argued that congregations were less conservative than they had been, and that it would suffice if a few select favourites such as "New every morning" retained their old numbers.

Lowther Clarke pleaded for a radical excision of "second-class stuff". "We have a great opportunity. The English Hymnal with all its great merits is a pre-war book. Songs of Praise is a post-war book which in the eyes of many missed the mark. It is not a devotional manual of Churchmanship in the sense that H A & M or The English Hymnal is". Interestingly Lowther Clarke argued for honest recognition of the implications of social and political changes.

"The austere school of 1904 is discredited. We now have a semi-sophisticated population, on the surface immensely better informed, thanks to the press, the cinema and the radio, than a generation ago, but far less capable of intellectual effort. Psychology has taught us the paramount importance of the emotional. Our task is to cater wisely for the emotions, without weakening the will by facile stirring of them"

(1) See Chapter 3 of this work.

This was well put. It remained to be seen how successful the Compilers would be in achieving these laudable aims.

Lowther Clarke, again very pertinently, pleaded for the right kind of new hymns.

Our greatest need is to find good hymns. Great words will inspire great music, or if they do not there is the magnificent heritage of the past on which to draw. We must try to avoid the bane of all hymn-books - new hymns which fail to catch on.

In particular, hymns were needed on family life, national solidarity and tradition, mystical experience and for individual saints. "It would be especially valuable to have a few hymns translated from Asiatic and African languages".

Lowther Clarke had much of interest and sense to say about the need for hymns of the right kind on the Church:

H A & M is at present inclined to be stiff High Church. There is little expression of the thought that the Church is Corpus Christi, that Christ lives on in the world today, is daily crucified and resurrected; that the Church history of 1938 is one more year in the life of Christ. The experience of the persecuted Church comes naturally under this head.

Lowther Clarke argued from this the need for Communion hymns expressing not only private devotion but the corporate action of the Church, "with the tune not rising above D".

On music, Lowther Clarke was typically modest, yet constructive.

I leave music to others, but I believe it would be most helpful to have a few more elaborate settings of hymns, like Attwood's "Come, Holy Ghost", which could be used as anthems in village churches. Also I disagree with the policy of dissociating Victorian hymns from Victorian music, in the hope of placating purists. If we must sin, "pecca fortiter". It is an artistic crime. The mid-Victorian tunes are as much superior to their successors as singable tunes as Sullivan's operas are to their modern successors.

Perhaps not surprisingly Nicholson did not comment on this last point! He did however support his two colleagues' arguments in general, and in addition made some practical suggestions. "A New Edition should contain, as a maximum, not more than 600 hymns, as this seems to be the limit that can be well printed in a book of a convenient size and suitable price". Familiar versions of tunes and words should be given preference, and new hymns should only be included if they have been "tried out" and received general approval. Assessors should be appointed to aid the Proprietors in this important work of selection. The revision should be based on the new Shortened Edition (i.e. the music edition which was to be published in 1939): this would encourage "the adoption of the Dean of Winchester's valuable suggestion that, where possible, the most popular hymns should retain their familiar numbers". Nicholson agreed with Lowther Clarke that "the great thing is to avoid the introduction of new hymns that are not going to be used. So dead-wood accumulates, as it has in all books". He also agreed that the Royal School of Church Music could give valuable aid

in this context, for example, by issuing possible new hymns in pamphlet form to be tried out by affiliated choirs. In the first instance Proprietors and Assessors should agree on a list of not more than 200 hymns which must be included in any revision.

A completely new book of about 600 hymns, faithful to the Victorian tradition of H A & M but providing for twentieth century needs, popular in the best sense in that only hymns which would actually be sung would be included - these ideas were to be the consistent goals of the Proprietors over the next decade. As we noted in the last chapter, by the time Frere died, not a single living author was represented in the Standard Edition: ⁽¹⁾ this glaring deficiency of contemporary work must be rectified.

The guide-lines having been established, a hiatus ⁽²⁾ of about four years followed during which Nicholson and Phillips knocked together the first proofs. An undated memorandum by Phillips indicates the kind of problem which at this stage had to be faced.

A subject which we shall have to tackle very soon is that of the text of hymns. We dealt with it rather summarily in connection with hymns 1 - 160: but in our work on the later hymns we have not yet considered it at all ... As regards fidelity to authors' originals H A & M has always borne an ill repute. Recent close study of it has shewn me that it is far worse even

(1) This was admitted by Nicholson in his Chairman's Report, 30 March 1943.

(2) Why? The onset of war no doubt caused delays. Or perhaps it was simply a case of old men definitely not in a hurry. Cf Nicholson in his Chairman's Report, op. cit: "There is no need for hurry".

than I had imagined. No doubt our predecessors' intentions were excellent: and not infrequently their changes can plead justification. But often they are quite gratuitous - dictated apparently by mere caprice or the desire to iron out all hymns to the dead level of Victorian convention. The 1904 Compilers were aware of this and claimed to make a special point of restoring original texts: but examination shows that, with a few exceptions (including the fatal "welkin"), this claim is without serious foundation. Indeed, in quite a number of cases they made further changes still.

Phillips suggested that in the past compilers of hymn-books had shied away from altering familiar texts, on the grounds of expedience. Nowadays, however, congregations were familiar with texts which had already been "purified" in Church Hymns (which, as Phillips pointed out, had led the way), The English Hymnal and Songs of Praise. He therefore pleaded for a policy of faithfulness to original texts. He concluded by arguing - unsuccessfully, ⁽¹⁾ as events were to prove - for "scatter" as opposed to "disperse" in hymn 3. (Ken's "Awake my soul." The lines in question are:

Lord, I my vows to Thee renew;
Disperse/scatter my sins as morning dew.)

"This really is a test case. To tamper with a universally known classic simply to avoid a jolt in singing is surely a very grave step and one sure to be criticised severely".

(1) "Scatter", it had been in the Standard Edition; "Disperse" it was to be in 1950 and in 1983. The English Hymnal has "scatter". The verse is omitted in the Anglican Hymn-Book.

Nicholson showed himself to be very much aware of the likelihood that the Revised Edition would be unpopular - initially at any rate. In his Chairman's Report of 30 March 1943, he surveyed the past history of H A & M, noting the immediate and spectacular success of the first edition. Nicholson gave a somewhat tendentious account of the negotiations with Convocation and of the origins of the 1904 Edition, though no-one could quarrel with his entry for 1897: "Hostilities commenced". (1) The high ideals of the Proprietors were stressed, in that they were not prepared to hand their book over to Convocation "unless they could be convinced that it would be for the real benefit of the Church". And they were willing to risk financial loss by consulting widely - and therefore risking damaging early publicity - so as to ensure that the 1904 book would be as good as possible. The lessons of the past clearly suggested that a further revision could be as disastrous, in financial terms:

Judged by past experience a revision will certainly involve us in heavy financial loss, at least temporarily, and it might even permanently injure our position. All this we should be prepared to face so long as we undertake the task believing that we can produce a better book and one more worthy of its time-honoured name, and so render valuable service to the Church. But it would be wrong not to count the cost even though we are prepared to face it. We should recognise that this revision will be one of the most momentous steps in our history, for it is likely to be the most revolutionary that has been undertaken - more so even than that of 1904, which, in spite of a number of

(1) Cf Chapter 3 of this work.

changes, many of a minor character, which caused much adverse criticism, did in fact retain a larger amount of the material from the 1875 book and the first supplement than we are now contemplating.

Pregnant words! Nicholson here lays down the guiding principles of the 1950 Revision - excellence, irrespective of costs and of temporary unpopularity, but at the same time an awareness of the importance of good public relations and of ensuring that the book would be acceptable to church people.

With this latter aim in mind the Chairman set out his proposals for recruiting about ten Advisors, and for printing the words in book form - at the preliminary stage, before the music was added - for private circulation "amongst leading clergy and others for further criticism".

As for the music, Nicholson recognised that "the musical side needs strengthening", but reminded his audience "that purely musical considerations are not the whole matter. We may recall a saying attributed to Sir Hubert Parry in connection with the 1904 book, 'You will never get an acceptable hymn-book till the parsons choose the tunes and the musicians the words!' - an exaggeration of course, but there is some truth in it".

Nicholson concluded with a warning against excessive haste. "We are full of thoughts of a 'new and better world' both in the realms of religion and art, and it is very easy to be stampeded with attractive views of the 'sort of thing that will be wanted in the post-war world'. There will be no harm waiting till things settle down ...". The Standard Edition was still selling well,

indeed outselling its rivals, so "there is no need for hurry". Nicholson's last words were typically wise, sensible - and sadly prophetic:

Revision is clearly necessary, but it must be thorough and it must not be rushed. Even if some of us should not survive to see its completion it is our duty to concentrate our whole efforts on making it as good and as serviceable as possible, regardless of all else.

Nicholson now proceeded to put his strategy into action. A few weeks later, when the words of the proposed new book were being printed in proof form, he wrote to the people who had been selected as Advisors. ⁽¹⁾ His letter recapitulates many of the points made in his Chairman's Report. He summed up the Proprietors' aims: "The revision is to be undertaken in a conservative spirit and the Proprietors are most anxious to retain the best characteristics of a book that has so endeared itself to churchmen during the last eighty years. But at the same time they wish to meet the needs of the present day and, so far as can be foreseen, of the future."

Nicholson explained that the Advisors would be invited to meet him, that they would be handed a copy "of what has been provisionally settled" and would then meet at their own convenience, with a view to reporting their conclusions within six months. "The Proprietors will, of course, give most careful consideration to opinions expressed by the Advisors either collectively or individually, but they cannot divest themselves of full responsibility for the final contents of

(1) From the Chairman. Private and Confidential. 20 July 1943.
H A & M Archives, Norwich.

the book". The Advisers were promised £25 each plus expenses and Canon Adam Fox was named as Convener.

When the Advisers received their proof copies, they were also given a memorandum ⁽¹⁾ "by Dr. C. S. Phillips, Assessor and Literary Editor". This is a thought-provoking and, at times, entertaining document. Phillips explains that H A & M R (the title had been provisionally decided at this early stage, evidently) "is not an entirely new hymnal but is based on the existing H A & M and purports to retain everything in the older book that seems to be of permanent value (or, at the very least, a necessary evil). No doubt some of the omissions will be criticised, for experience proves that there is no hymn, however obsolete generally, which is not still a 'favourite' of the vicar or congregation of some obscure church". Nevertheless, only about 440 of the Standard Edition's 779 hymns were at this stage proposed for retention in the new book.

But H A & M R was in no sense a pioneer book, Phillips maintained. And its conservative nature was emphasised by adhering to the old numbering for the 'seasonal' hymns (up to about Hymn 170) - "thus obviating a grievance which seriously injured the chances of the 1904 revision". Similarly, the traditional emphasis on "ancient" Latin hymns was maintained, "but we have not attempted to supply a complete cycle of Latin Office Hymns as was done e.g. in the 1904 Edition, The English Hymnal and also in the Plain-song Hymn Book (published by the Proprietors in 1934 ⁽²⁾)". Translations have been improved where it seemed appropriate ("usually Neale's").

(1) H A & M Archives, Norwich. Undated, but the contents establish clearly when it was delivered and for whom it was written.

(2) It is amusing that Phillips thought it was necessary to point out to the Advisers what the Plain-song Hymn Book was. Clearly, he feared that they might never have heard of it!

Phillips, however, stressed the committee's desire to remain faithful to the original text of "the older native English hymns". H A & M "has come to have a rather ill repute in this respect", that is to say, in tampering with original words. However the committee "have been in favour of retaining their predecessors' changes in some few instances where these seem desirable on metrical or other grounds. E.g. 'Beneath' for 'under' in 'O God our help' verse 2, line 1. 'Offering' for 'present' in 'When I survey' verse 3, line 2 and a number of instances in 'Christians awake'". Phillips concluded by pointing out that there were a certain number of blank spaces where a suitable hymn was still to be found: "any suggestions will be welcomed".

Nicholson added a few business-like remarks to Phillips' memorandum. Certain hymns could only be included "subject to our being able to obtain the necessary permission". "This proof copy must be regarded as STRICTLY PRIVATE and must be RETURNED TO THE CHAIRMAN". Comments should be written in the margin, in strict confidence: all proof copies would be destroyed after the completion of the work. (1) Nicholson explained that a limited number of expression marks had been retained, subject to the following conditions: a line was never to be interrupted by an expression mark, they were only to be used in appropriate hymns and they were to be confined to p. mf. and f. In addition it was proposed to introduce a new mark "as a guide to phrasing, where the sense of a passage is not complete within

(1) So far as I have been able to discover, this was done, with the exception of a few sheets. See p 232.

one line and must be carried on to the next".

Nicholson explained that final decisions had not been taken on these two latter questions of detail, and the Advisers' opinion would be appreciated. As a matter of fact, Phillips was to argue in favour of postponing these issues until further experiments had been made. "I feel strongly we ought to have them (i.e. slur marks and marks of expression) - but feel they should be the business of the Musical Editor, not discussed interminably round a table". Similarly, he pleaded for a realistic policy with regard to Scripture references: he was on the whole against them, especially if they would upset the paging in the proofs - an interesting order of priorities! (1)

I conclude this section on the preliminary planning with a glance at a persistently recurring problem. "Dear Adviser", Nicholson wrote on 18 June 1944, "Canon Fox asks for a ruling on the question of the retention of number in Hymns 1 - 170. The question raised is one that the Proprietors have discussed long and often" - and they were to discuss the same question long and often in the months ahead. The problem was that the Advisers were divided - "but there is evidently a bias in favour of scrapping the principle of the retention of numbers. This I think is natural, for everyone would like to see a nice, tidily arranged book ... but the Proprietors and their publishers both feel that the retention of well-known numbers has considerable value, probably (as the Archdeacon of Chesterfield says) more psychological than practical. The Dean of Durham asks that 'the prohibited area be either relaxed or removed altogether'". Nicholson argued for a compromise: "the numbers retained are not all equally important. I should say that the following might be regarded as 'land-marks', not to be removed" (2) - and he proposed 33 hymns such as "Hail, Gladdening

(1) Phillips to Nicholson, 5 March 1944. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(2) Is the present author obtuse in being amazed that the Proprietors should be so obsessed with numbers? H A & M N S (1983) is cluttered with references to H A & M R numbers!

Light", "Abide with me", "When I survey", "Jesus Christ is risen today" and "Holy, Holy, Holy".

IV

No documents have survived with regard to the compiling of the first proof book. This, as we have seen, was ready for circulation by the time that the Advisers were appointed in the Summer of 1943. The circumstantial evidence is that this preliminary draft was knocked together by Nicholson and Lowther Clarke. Phillips' role as literary editor seems to have been to offer pertinent and constructive criticism and to co-ordinate the work of the Advisers, summarising their comments. These duties he performed with impressive thoroughness and with meticulous attention to detail. There survives in his writing a list of corrigenda in the proof book which is a typical example of his work. ⁽¹⁾ And, as we have seen, Phillips was an indefatigable correspondent; literally hundreds of his letters to Nicholson ("My dear Warden ... Love, Yours ever, C.S.P.") are to be found in the H A & M Archives at Norwich.

A fine monument to Phillips' thorough scholarship is his analysis of the recommendations put forward by the Advisers. The recommendations were entered into a hard-back note-book in Adam Fox's hand-writing, or circulated in memoranda. Phillips went to enormous trouble to sift these recommendations, add to them where appropriate and bring matters to a conclusion. For example, the Advisers recommended an introductory verse to Father Sedding's hymn "A work hath Christ for thee to do", ⁽²⁾ to fill a gap left in the proof copy. An explanatory

(1) See photocopy, Appendix 9.

(2) Sedding's original hymn can be found in God of the Mountain, S.P.C.K., (no date), entitled "The Blackbird's Song".

note has been attached - that is to say, gummed in - to the Advisers' comments in Phillips' hand-writing:

It may be desirable to explain the origin of the blank verse l. vv 2, 3, 4, represent the hymns as originally adopted by us. Fr. Sedding then said he would like to write an introductory verse, which was sent to me via W.K.L.C. This verse, however, seemed to me unsuitable for a children's hymn - especially a reference to a "crowded mart", which is hardly a place where children are expected to be! I therefore left it to C. to deal with Fr. Sedding in the matter, but we have heard no more. However, it is obvious that if anyone is to provide a new verse it should be Fr. Sedding himself. For myself, I should be perfectly willing to leave the hymn as it is printed - 2,3,4 becoming 1,2,3 - indeed I recommend this.

C.S.P.

Miss Cropper had produced one verse, Adam Fox had written another, Crum recommended that both verses should be added to Sedding's hymn. Phillips' recommendation was finally adopted as can be seen by reference to H A & M R 430: Seddings' original verses stand on their own.

Margaret Cropper's work in general was savagely mauled by her colleagues, only two of her hymns eventually surviving in H A & M R. Phillips set the tone with the comment, "As regards Miss Cropper's suggested hymns for children, nearly all are much too babyish - as well as being unduly short and scrappy. This section (in my opinion) is designed for all children of school age..." Fox thought "Miss Cropper's hymns too juvenile in the main, though some of them aren't

bad hymns in themselves", while Lowther Clarke commented, "Miss Cropper's children's hymns are admirable if we want a kindergarten book". (1) He returned to the subject in a letter to Nicholson: (2)

I doubt if we gave sufficient attention to the principles of children's hymns. Probably the Advisers didn't know our motives. We wanted to train children in the use of adult hymns and to avoid hymns for little children, who need a separate book. Also we moved some to the general section. I think our line is sound. Only we may not have thought sufficiently of the needs of small parishes which want one complete book.

This was fair comment. A glance at H A & M R shows that the section "For the Young" on the whole does not cater for little children - apart from two hymns by Margaret Cropper and the century-old hymns of Mrs. C. F. Alexander. Significantly, Walsham How's "It is a thing most wonderful" is in this section; Lowther Clarke observed to Nicholson: "In my church we often have 470 (which is exquisite) for adults, in spite of the 'child'. If we could substitute 'sinners' for 'child' it would make a badly needed addition to our Lent and Passion hymns". (3)

Much of the surviving correspondence concerns individual hymns. For instance, Phillips made some trenchant comments to Nicholson in a letter of 4 December 1943:

(1) Comments on this page are from the inside front cover of Phillips' note-book.

(2) Lowther Clarke to Nicholson, 26 September 1944. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(3) Lowther Clarke to Nicholson, 23 February 1945. H A & M Archives, Norwich. 470 was the proof book number for "It is a thing most wonderful".

I notice that Kipling's "Recessional" has not been included in the "National" section. I feel that this is probably an accidental omission, as it appears in all the modern books. Will the Proprietors please decide whether they wish to include it or not, so that I may strike it out of the copy if they don't I have ventured to shorten two of the Mission Hymns: (i) "I could not do without Thee." The two sloppiest of the six long verses omitted, thus reproducing form in The English Hymnal. (I feel sure you will approve here!) (ii) "Souls of men". Omit verses 1, 2 and begin with "There's a wideness in God's mercy". This is done in all modern books and makes a fine opening - the old theatrical question business is quite *démodé*.

Interesting light is thrown by this letter on Phillips' position as Literary Editor. His advice was not followed with regard to "Recessional", which was ultimately omitted from H A & M R, nor did Faber's hymn begin with the verse "There's a wideness in God's mercy" (see H A & M R 364), but with the "*démodé* theatrical question". ⁽¹⁾ His advice was followed, however, with regard to the excision of "the two sloppiest verses" in "I could not do without Thee". Nicholson has pencilled "Yes" against this paragraph in Phillips' letter. Another of Phillips' recommendations with which the Proprietors complied concerned his own work:

Another point. In making your list of hymns for excision, I suggest (indeed, I urge) that you should include my own 518 ("Son of a Virgin"). Alington opined that we had "too many hymns in this metre": and this is the one that could best be spared. I have done my best with a rather intractable original

(1) On both questions I believe that Phillips was right.

but it is not the sort of thing that most people want to sing nowadays. (1)

This particular letter accompanied "the MS book of Advisers' Suggestions", as Phillips called it. The note-book presents problems in that it is so very full of minutiae that it is difficult to know what to select for comment. C. S. Lewis supplied a long list of recommended textual emendations (e.g. "Around us hover" instead of "hover around us", in "New every morning", or "riches" (2) instead of "dainties" in "My God, and is Thy table spread", or "Call on" instead of "Charge for" in "Stand up, Stand up for Jesus".) Many of Lewis's suggestions strike me as unbelievably inept. Phillips had arranged for a panel of Proprietors and Advisers to pronounce on these suggestions, and in neat columns the panel gave their verdicts. Thus Crum, Knight, Fox, Frost, Smith, Lowther Clarke, Phillips and Nicholson all voted "No" to "Call on" - and the hymn is accordingly untampered with in H A & M R (307). They all voted "No" to "Around us hover," - and "hover around us" it is (H A & M R 4). Only Frost, however, voted for the retention of "dainties ", and so Doddridge's colourful choice of words is devalued, and you will find "Why are its bounties all in vain" (H A & M R 396).

In another table featured "other points to be settled". Phillips, for instance, was anxious to include the following verse in Addison's "When all Thy mercies" (H A & M R 177),

(1) Phillips to Nicholson. Boxing Day 1944. H A & M Archives, Norwich.
The hymn is not in H A & M R.

(2) Or "treasures" or "wonders" or "bounties" or "mysteries".

Ten thousand thousand precious gifts

My daily thanks employ,

And not the least a thankful heart

Which tastes those gifts with joy.

All the members of the panel voted "Yes" and the verse is in. Again there was unanimous support for Phillips when he pleaded for "My soul, there is a country": "It is beautiful and now widely known - and the late Archbishop's funeral may be regarded by many as having conferred on it canonical status". (H A & M R 286). Or again, everyone voted for symbols in "O Sion, open wide the gates" - "Let symbols disappear" (H A & M R 543): Caswall had translated "figurae" by "shadows", which is perhaps rather obscure. Everyone voted to include "Holy Spirit, gently come", as a much-needed Whitsuntide Processional hymn (H A & M R 614).

When we move on to the issue of hymns to be totally excluded or included, there are some interesting disagreements, and some remarkable results. For instance, Lowther Clarke, Selwyn, Knight, Crum, Fox, Smith and Frost all voted for "Away in a Manger". Phillips was doubtful: "Does this sort of thing come within the scope of our book? Line 6 is terrible". (1) "No" voted Nicholson and added by way of explanation, "Carol. Cf p 27". Page 27 concerns "In the bleak midwinter" which again had Nicholson in opposition, plus Lowther Clarke this time, Phillips again doubtful and everyone else in favour: "In the bleak midwinter" is in! (H A & M R 67).

(1) "The little Lord Jesus no crying He makes".

Selwyn, Knight, Crum and Fox voted in favour of a Lent hymn by Neale, Lowther Clarke, Frost and Smith against. Phillips was also in opposition and commented, "Neale at his most banal". It is hard to disagree with him, and the hymn was not included:

The Saviour's love to man we bless
His holy name we praise,
For dwelling in the wilderness
Through forty nights and days.

Alas, equally and disastrously banal was Margaret Cropper's hymn:
(I quote the first verse, and the comments in the margin).

When Jesus came to any little town	No	LC
	No	EGS.
I think the children all came running down,	No	GHK
	No	AF
They told Him things they'd done, and held his Hand,	No	AES
	No	CSP
They heard Him speak, and tried to understand.	No	MF

Perhaps this was too sentimental and feminine for the dry and donnish academics who passed judgement. But it is hard to see why only Fox voted for John Mason's "How shall I sing that Majesty?", Lowther Clarke, Phillips and Frost all voting against the inclusion of this seventeenth century classic.

There was, to my mind, surprising unanimity in turning down "Judge eternal", "Once to every man and nation", "Strong Son of God"⁽¹⁾ and "God of our fathers". One is tempted to wonder if the fact that

(1) "Crossing the Bar" having been dropped, there is no Tennyson in H A & M R.

all four would have to be transplanted from The English Hymnal influenced this unanimity. (1) Lowther Clarke and Selwyn voted against Barclay Baron's Toc H hymn "Go forth with God"; but everyone else voted in favour, and it is H A & M R 500. It seems strange that everyone voted against Songs of Praise 245, "Christ hath a garden walled around"; Frost arrowed "Christ" and wrote "No!", proving that he knew his Isaac Watts. (2) The Archdeacon of Chesterfield bravely suggested "I cannot tell why He whom angels worship", provoking a chorus of "No" from everyone else. It is not in H A & M R.

Nicholson wrote to Phillips on 14 January 1945, stressing the importance of throwing out hymns which were not wanted, irrespective of personal considerations:

I think in this matter it is essential to be absolutely impersonal: the whole point is, do we want the hymn, not who wrote it? But I agree with you that it would not do to base our choice entirely on what we feel is essential or likely to be looked for; we ought to try and provide some fresh contributions, such as one or two of these you single out as being a real gain; but these require almost more care than anything, for it is so easy to be captivated by what one feels is a discovery. Still you are better able to judge of literary merit or teaching than I am. I try to represent the ordinary "man in the pew".

(1) Did they vote to exclude "His dying crimson" from "When I survey" because it is in The English Hymnal?

(2) Watts wrote: "We are a garden walled around".

Wise words! As we shall see, however, perhaps the Proprietors did not go far enough in providing fresh contributions, nor was Nicholson, for all his modesty and good sense, infallible as the "man in the pew".

Nicholson is seen at his best in a correspondence with M. R. Newbolt, who had written "Lift high the Cross" for the 1916 Supplement, for which Nicholson had written the tune.

Dear Canon Newbolt, (1)

Your hymn "Lift high the Cross" for which I wrote a tune in H A & M has reached much popularity.

There is one line which never goes well, the second line in verse five. It happens that an accent high note comes on the last syllable of mystery, and also this word is often pronounced as a dissyllable, so that choirs very often muddle it.

We are working on a revised edition of our book, and if you could see your way to altering this line I am sure it would be an advantage. I suggest,

Thy mystery which angel hosts on high revere.

Actually, Nicholson's suggested improvement would have been disastrous. But one cannot but be impressed with the tact with which he suggested changes to the author: it was all the tune's fault! He went on to ask Newbolt to improve the last verse as well, where tune and words did not coincide happily.

(1) Nicholson to Newbolt, 14 February 1944, H A & M Archives, Norwich.

Newbolt adopted an entirely constructive attitude:

Dear Sir Sydney Nicholson, (Sic!)

Thank you for your kind letter and helpful suggestions about my hymn "Lift high the Cross". I am delighted to hear it is used. The line you quote - "The mystery which angel hosts revere" is certainly bad; I don't think "mystery" is a "singable" word at all. How would this do?-

"And Angels veil their faces to revere".

The last line is also weak, but I am not clear about musical accents. I should like to substitute a new verse -

"For Thy blest cross which doth for all atone
Creation's praises rise before Thy throne".

Please use your discretion about this and if the emendations are worse than the original either disregard them or let me have another try.

Yours sincerely,

M. R. Newbolt (1)

Nicholson replied at once, accepting Newbolt's suggestions with enthusiasm. The hymn - much improved - is 633 in H A & M R.

By the Autumn of 1944 matters were coming to a head, and Nicholson felt that final decisions could now be taken. In a memorandum to the Compilers he confessed his reservations about some of the proposed omissions: (2)

I have recently been carefully through the Original Edition (1861)

(1) Newbolt to Nicholson, 16 February 1944. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(2) Nicholson to Proprietors and Advisers, 23 September 1944. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

and the first Appendix (1868), and I am astonished to find how few of the hymns contained in those books have since fallen out of general use, and how many of them form the basis of the "well-known" hymns not only in our own but in practically all subsequent collections.

It seems to me that if a hymn has survived in continuous use for 80 years, we should not now turn it out without very grave consideration. The more I examine their work the more I am impressed with the wisdom and foresight of our predecessors.

Among the hymns of the 1861 - 8 book which I think should be carefully re-considered before they are finally rejected, I have picked out the following, most of which have survived in nearly all subsequent books and many of which would undoubtedly be missed ... Among these hymns (to take one collection only) at least fourteen of the most popular are included in The English Hymnal. It would indeed be a strange development if people who wanted to have these hymns, which were popularised in the Original Edition of H A & M and have remained a feature of it ever since, had now to turn to The English Hymnal to find them!

As always, one is impressed by Nicholson's reverence for tradition and for the achievements of the first Compilers - and by his good sense. Nevertheless, the issue which he raises illustrates how very difficult it must be to compile a hymn-book, in that there are bound to be so many border-line cases. The list of hymns, which Nicholson admires and pleads for, does not include many where one instinctively agrees with him: with regard to most, one can quite see why they had been proposed for excision. The following were in fact preserved, due to Nicholson's intercession:

<u>H A & M (Standard Edition)</u>	<u>H A & M R</u>
35 Again the Lord's own day is here (Neale)	40
36 O day of rest and gladness (C. Wordsworth)	41
128 The Lamb's High banquet (Campbell)	129
241 Hosanna to the Living Lord (Heber)	241
254 Art thou weary.. (Neale)	348
267 Lord, as to Thy dear Cross (Guerney)	334
303 When morning gilds the sky (Caswall)	223
314 O food that weary pilgrims (Compilers)	389
352 Christ is gone up (Neale)	470
365 O Lord of Heaven and earth (C. Wordsworth)	480
442 O God, Thy soldiers' (Neale)	516

These hymns may well have solid merit, but, significantly, only three have been retained in H A & M N S (1983): "O Lord of heaven", "Again the Lord's own day" and "When morning gilds the sky". The following were rejected, but, to Nicholson's clearly expressed disgust, are to be found in The English Hymnal: "Great God, what do I see and hear?" (Ringwaldt etc. The English Hymnal 4), "The roseate hues" (Mrs. Alexander, The English Hymnal 493), "O Lord, how happy should we be" (Austice, The English Hymnal 457), "A few more years shall roll" (Bonar, The English Hymnal 361), "O praise our great and gracious Lord" (H. Auber, The English Hymnal 461), "Saviour, blessed Saviour" (Thring, The English Hymnal 345), "The voice that breathed o'er Eden" (Keble, The English Hymnal 348). In neither H A & M R nor The English Hymnal are: "Once more the solemn season" (Chandler), "Come see the place where Jesus lay" (Kelly), "Jesu, Thy mercies are untold" (Caswall), "A living stream" (Keble), "Come sing with holy gladness" (Daniel), "Brightly gleams our banner" (Potter) and "For Thy dear Saint" (Mant).

When we examine the published version of H A & M R, we shall note the survival of "dead-wood". Knowing how Nicholson's mind worked, one can understand this survival: he clearly was reluctant to dismiss old friends. But it was not easy to distinguish between the not good enough to be retained and the not bad enough to be thrown out.

An important meeting of Proprietors and Advisers took place on 5 December 1944, at which various loose ends were tied up. The Proprietors were keen to introduce a version of Adam of Saint Victor's "Jesus noster, Jesus bonus", but had been refused permission to use Percy Dearmer's "Jesus, good above all other" (The English Hymnal 598). They proposed therefore Neale's version, "Jesus, kind above all other" - which was agreed (H A & M R 456). Similarly, Adam Fox's "Hands that have been handling" was approved - a translation from the Malabar Liturgy (H A & M R 494); the Proprietors had been refused permission to use another translation which they had initially preferred. C. S. Phillips' version of "Quem Pastores laudavere" was adopted, with some emendations (see H A & M R 596 : "Thou whom shepherds worshipped", whereas Neale had written "Him whom shepherds worshipped").⁽¹⁾ "I love to hear the story" (H A & M R 445) was brought in at the last moment. According to Nicholson, "It is much liked and I have a very attractive tune (by a choirboy) which might be added as an alternative to Gauntlett's".⁽²⁾ The choirboy was D. P. Symonds, of

(1) Both this hymn and H A & M R 494 (see above) are set to "Quem Pastores" which had been included in the 1916 Supplement. Now, however, the Proprietors borrowed the vastly superior English Hymnal harmonies.

(2) Decisions discussed in a Memorandum (undated by Nicholson).

Saint Michael's College, Tenbury (where he was a chorister under Nicholson). ⁽¹⁾ This is perhaps an example of Nicholson being swayed by personal considerations: neither words nor tune survived in H A & M N S 1983.

Nicholson received six pages of Phillips' minute, closely-packed hand-writing on 8 January 1945, proposing further changes which he has already sent to Crum who, Phillips trusts, will then send them on to Lowther Clarke - "I have chosen Clarke as being a Proprietor, Vice-Chairman, a wise and most competent person, and (not least) as one who, I think, does not usually share my own particular angle on these matters". Phillips concluded:

This is a long letter - both for you to read and for me to write. I wish we could discuss these things by word of mouth. That is the chief reason why we have proceeded so slowly - that our committee meets so seldom and all is held up between whiles.

Perhaps motivated, if not to say nettled by Phillips' complaint, Nicholson's next circular ⁽²⁾ to Proprietors and Advisers, accompanying the proof book with its latest emendations, included the following uncharacteristically peremptory orders:

May I ask you to deal with the matter as promptly as you can?

I do not think that the book should be kept by anyone for more

(1) Historical Companion, p 693.

(2) Nicholson to "My dear Colleagues", 21 January 1945. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

than four days. Perhaps it will simplify matters if I give a list of the latest days on which it should be sent to each member.

Despatched to Dean of Winchester	22 January
Should be sent to Canon Crum not later than	27 January
Should be sent to G. H. Knight not later than	1 February
Should be sent to the Reverend M. Frost not later than	6 February
Should be sent to Preb. Smith not later than	11 February
Should be sent to Canon Fox not later than	16 February
Should be sent to Canon Clarke not later than	21 February
Should be sent to Dr. Phillips not later than	26 February
Should be sent to the Chairman not later than	1 March

Preoccupied with the necessity to keep things moving, Nicholson must have found it sadly hard to disagree with Lowther Clarke who wrote about a very basic issue on 9 March 1945:

There is a question I should like settled before I begin sending cheques for leave to use hymns. When a publisher gives leave to use in one edition he likes to put something definite on the receipt. We ought to settle the name of our book. Would "Hymns Ancient and Modern: Revised Edition 1946" do? (Here Lowther Clarke paused to consider: he then crossed out "1946" and wrote "1947"). I should explain that war difficulties might cause postponement by a year or more. The English Hymnal have set the fashion of giving a date. All that is to be settled is the use of "new" or "revised". "New" in our minds is associated with 1904.

Lowther Clarke was proved in the event to be wildly optimistic in settling for 1947. No doubt war-time travel problems made difficulties with regard to more frequent committee meetings (see Phillips' letter of 8 January 1945), though one wonders why the telephone was not more used. Perhaps these elderly scholars were not used to the telephone, just as they were not customarily men of despatch. Then, as we have seen there were problems with paper supply, and there were to be severe copyright problems with regard to the music, to which we shall shortly turn.

In the meantime, Nicholson cannot have been pleased to receive an inordinately long and detailed letter from Crum ⁽¹⁾ about plainsong minutiae, written on the back of odd galley-proofs which were supposed to have been destroyed, and a rather silly letter from the Dean of Winchester ⁽²⁾ which, once again, illustrates the trials of co-ordinating the production of a hymn-book:

My dear Nicholson,

Many thanks for the draft Minutes

I am seriously exercised in mind over the decision to have a new sub-section entitled "Personal Devotion", and think it may seriously damage the book. The title has to my mind a "Methodist" ring and will frighten off boys and girls from many hymns which at present they accept quite happily, but which

(1) Crum to Nicholson 13 March 1945. H A & M Archives, Norwich.
See p 215.

(2) Selwyn to Nicholson, 12 March 1945. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

a title of that kind would make them regard as "pious".

Yours ever,

E. G. Selwyn, Dean.

P.S. And will "Jesu, my Lord, My God, my All" go into such a section? I trust not. But it is "Personal Devotion" with a vengeance. Surely half of our best hymns are!

The decision had already been taken that "Jesu, my Lord, my God, my All" should not be in the "Personal Devotion" section, as indeed had the decision that there should be such a section. One can see Selwyn's point, but one is equally astonished at his stupidity in raising such a radical issue at this late stage and at his theological snobbery. Actually, the documents suggest that Selwyn was less and less involved. In a letter written within a few days of Selwyn's to Nicholson which we have just quoted, Lowther Clarke also wrote to the Chairman, ⁽¹⁾ pleading for "Father of all, to Thee" : "Most people have voted to omit. But I often hear it in English Hymnal churches; it is a very good piece of late Victorian piety". Later in the letter, Lowther Clarke writes, "Selwyn is offended and won't play, as you will see from the papers when they reach you". In his next letter to Nicholson, ⁽²⁾ Lowther Clarke wrote, "I have told Selwyn about his hymn". There are no indications as to what the cause of the ill-feeling was; perhaps Selwyn submitted a hymn which was rejected, or severely mauled by his colleagues.

(1) Lowther Clarke to Nicholson, 23 February 1945. H A & M Archives, Norwich. His advocacy of "Father of all" was unsuccessful.

(2) Lowther Clarke to Nicholson, 9 March 1945. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

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The music in H A & M R was largely chosen by Nicholson before his death. ⁽¹⁾ There is little evidence that he consulted Dykes Bower or Knight. Indeed, the correspondence in the H A & M files is primarily between Nicholson and Lowther Clarke or between Nicholson and Phillips, so far as hymn-tunes are concerned.

When it became known that a radical revision of H A & M was in process, Nicholson predictably was bombarded with tunes from ambitious authors. For example, the Reverend Ernest H. Gallop sent him a tune for "Sing praise to God who reigns above" - "which I modestly submit to your judgement ... I don't claim that the tune is strikingly original, I can only say that my small parish of agricultural labourers and their families have found they can sing it, though I have no-one amongst them who can read a note of music.." ⁽²⁾ Alas, Gallop's tune was not included (see H A & M R 366).

Nicholson wrote in understandable exasperation to Shobert, of William Clowes and Sons Ltd on 13 June 1944:

As regards the hymns, ⁽³⁾ I think that if you get any more you had better reply that "we understand that the selection of words is now completed and that no further contributions can be considered, we therefore return your with thanks". It is

(1) Cf Lowther Clarke op. cit., p 86: "Nine tenths of the tunes had been chosen before Nicholson died in 1947."

(2) Gallop to Nicholson, 24 September 1941, H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(3) i.e. words.

no use sending on these innumerable efforts, nearly all very indifferent. I already have a drawer full of them and it will take ages to deal with them, and I don't want any more!

As to tunes, the case is even worse, but I am afraid we cannot avoid it, and they must continue to pour in unchecked for the present. However, it would help me if you could keep them all back, after acknowledging them, and send me them in a batch when we have decided what new tunes we want; I hope they will be few!

Rather more helpful were the opinions, advice and suggestions which Nicholson received from colleagues and well-wishers. Edward R. Dams, for example, who described himself as "a sub-normal organist" wrote recommending Greatorex's tune "Woodlands" for "Glory to God! The morning breaks", "Heathlands" for "Christ whose glory fills the skies", and pleading for tunes in a sensibly low key (Phillips wrote "Hear, hear!" in the margin). Dams also sounded a warning note:

Bach's harmonies, lovely though they are, do not seem to go down well with our people. I think the reason is that they need to be sung so very slowly, and most of our English hymns are too long. The result is that, either the chorale is hurried through and spoilt, or else the hymn seems to drag on interminably. (Phillips wrote, "I entirely agree").

Dams sent Nicholson another note with some rather dull tunes, which

were not adopted. (1) Neither was "Woodlands" included in H A & M R, which was perhaps a pity, nor was "Heathlands" substituted for "Ratisbon", perhaps fortunately. However, there are few Bach harmonies in H A & M R, and some tunes were put down into lower keys.

Maurice Frost sent some eighteenth century tunes; (2) Lowther Clarke passed on Father Sedding's wish that his hymn "O Father, we thank Thee", be set to "O can ye sew cushions", a request which was not granted (H A & M R 441). Phillips wrote several times for example recommending Mozart's tune "Bundeshid" (in vain), and questioning Nicholson's enthusiasm for Stainer's "Scientia Salutis". (4)

I'm afraid that I am not greatly impressed by your Stainer Easter Processional - certainly not enough to want it in. The tune is unequal - the second strain seems to be very weak: and surely we don't want any more ^pSaphics - especially such a lot of them. But I speak as a fool - you had better consult more competent opinion than mine.

Phillips was not a fool, and Nicholson should surely have listened to him. The Stainer hymn (tune by Sir John Stainer, words by his eldest son), is 604 in H A & M R: one doubts if it was ever used much and it has not survived in H A & M N S 1983.

(1) Dams to Nicholson, 18 January 1946 and 25 February 1946, H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(2) Frost to Nicholson, 31 October 1946. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(3) Lowther Clarke to Nicholson, Undated. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(4) Phillips to Nicholson, Undated postcard, and 8 January 1945. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

Indeed, with regard to the music, Nicholson was, perhaps understandably, opinionated and far less flexible than with regard to words. Sir John Arkwright ⁽¹⁾ sent him a leaflet containing his hymn "Fight on, fight on" with a tune by Frederick J. Parsons. Nicholson was not impressed; nor was Phillips who thought words and music "undistinguished". It is hard to disagree. On the other hand, Nicholson was surely wrong about the tune to Arkwright's popular "O valiant hearts", which he did not want to include in H A & M R. Nicholson wrote to Lowther Clarke ⁽²⁾ suggesting that permission should be sought for the words only where the tune was unacceptable. "This would cover a case like 'O valiant hearts': if Skeffington's try to insist we must have that abominable tune by Harris, then I think we had better jettison the hymn. No self-respecting book could include it". Nicholson showed unreasoning prejudice here. Harris' tune is not great music, but there are worse and it is the one everybody knows. In the event, "O valiant hearts" was set to Martin Shaw's "Julius", with Hopkins' "Ellers" as an alternative. Has the hymn ever been sung to either? (See H A & M R 584).

Several hymn-tunes can be found in the H A & M Archives with Phillips' comments. For example, Dams suggests that "Universal Praise" (The English Hymnal Appendix 56) is "surely preferable to either of those given in H A & M one of which in particular is much too high for congregational singing. ⁽³⁾ I have heard 'Universal Praise' sung

(1) Arkwright to Nicholson, 12 June 1945. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(2) Nicholson to Lowther Clarke, 14 January. No year given, but a reference to Lowther Clarke's move to Chichester suggests 1945. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(3) Dams meant Harwood's "Luckington".

with great effect in a country Day School..." Phillips commented "I don't greatly care for this. A pity Harwood's tune has so great a range and so many wide intervals - good for a good choir, but not much use for ordinary folk". Nicholson agreed, and "Universal Praise" was duly omitted from H A & M R. Phillips similarly damned "Credition" with faint praise: "I have never cared much for this tune - but it probably should go in somewhere"⁽¹⁾. It was omitted. On the other hand, Phillips commented favourably on "Stracathro": "We must have this lovely thing of course - but not for 517 Standard Edition. I should like it (as in The English Hymnal) for 'O for a closer walk'". Stracathro is in H A & M R, it is not set to "When all Thy mercies" (517 Standard Edition), but it is not set to "O for a closer walk" either, but to "O God of Bethel" (H A & M R 299). Against "Warrington" which Dams recommended for "Jesus shall reign", Phillips wrote: "Tune is almost certainly not for 'Jesus shall reign'. 'Truro' has 'arrived' and we mustn't break the connection. My children here love it". On revised harmonies for Smart's "Misericordia" and Gauntlett's "Laudate Dominum", Phillips wrote, "A question for the musicians".

What is interesting is that there is no documentary evidence for Nicholson consulting anybody else with regard to the tunes except Phillips who had no pretensions to musicianship. This was perhaps a pity, as Nicholson - despite his reputation for choosing singable tunes - did not always select wisely.

(1) "Universal Praise", "Credition" and other tunes which were considered and turned down, such as "Sussex" and "Da Christus Geboren War" are certainly singable, whatever their merits or demerits.

Others, however, were certainly involved over an issue which was to cause the Proprietors much anguish and deliberation: copyright. The number of tunes involved was very small, but the problem, as Nicholson sympathetically admitted to Lowther Clarke, was a veritable minefield.

Sometimes the problem was simply that correspondence had been lost. For example, Bishop T. B. Strong's letter to Canon Keymer, giving permission for his tune "Poplar" to be used in the 1916 Supplement, could not be found in September 1938. At this stage, Lowther Clarke negotiated with Sir Humphrey Milford and the Oxford University Press who had the copyright - as events proved, successfully (see H A & M R 332). Almost incredibly, there was copyright trouble over C. C. Scholefield's "Saint Clement" which had been in H A & M since 1889, but the Licence had been lost by the Proprietors. Again, this issue was satisfactorily resolved (H A & M R 33). (1)

Sometimes it was simply a matter of paying money - and this was necessary for words as well as for music. Lowther Clarke described the payment for "O valiant hearts" to Nicholson, not perhaps without a certain malicious amusement having just heard the Chairman's views on Harris' tune:

Skeffington's are apologetic (on the 'phone) for asking £10, but they say we shall make a lot of money out of our book and it will knock their leaflet out. Harris told me that of the music edition over 1,000,000 had been sold and he had cleared £1,000. (2)

(1) See Clement C. Robinson to Lowther Clarke, 5 September 1938.

H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(2) Lowther Clarke to Nicholson, 5 February 1945. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

In the same letter Lowther Clarke urged acceptance of Mrs. Charles Wood's terms, as Songs of Sion was about to be sold to America.

"Speedy acceptance of the conditions is necessary, or we shall have to start again with the American owner". The letter ended with the news that "The English Hymnal Co. Ltd write to say that their decision about hymns is connected with that about tunes ... They want their characteristic hymns to be wedded to their tunes. I think this is a good mark for them and should be respected. You might point out that we have refrained from trying to rival their book with their public, and only want a very few tunes which they have made classics. I am glad we are not asking for many".

Thus there appeared on the horizon a cloud no bigger than a man's hand. But it was to grow, until a storm broke. Lowther Clarke's letter crossed with one from Nicholson in which he too showed that he had no inkling of the trouble that was to come: (1)

Dr. Andrews, of New College, came over to see me on Wednesday. He is a Director of The English Hymnal. I think it is evident that they will adopt a much more friendly attitude. I told him that we do not in the least wish to rival them and quite recognise that they have a public which is different from ours. He reciprocated this and will certainly do his best to get us what we want. It really amounts to very little and I told him that we should want Vaughan Williams' tune to "For all the Saints" and "Come down O Love Divine" and the tune "Monksgate" for the

(1) Nicholson to Lowther Clarke, 5 February 1945. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

Bunyan words, and possibly one other tune by Vaughan Williams. (1)
We should want little more than leave to use some of their versions of the traditional tunes (French and English) so as to save producing unfamiliar versions where those in The English Hymnal have become well-known.

The chief concern of The English Hymnal, according to him, is not to help on a book that they feel is likely to lower the standard of hymns. I pointed out that I felt sure there was little danger of that and that many tunes which are in The English Hymnal would certainly not pass our critical standards. So I think things are very promising and I did not produce the correspondence with Ryley (Sic). Whether we shall be equally fortunate with our Oxford University Press copyrights I do not know.

When we recall the problems Nicholson had already encountered in his attempts to use Vaughan Williams' copyright tunes, we may well conclude that he was deceiving himself, in his optimism. Unfortunately, personalities and prejudices were involved, and Nicholson was right to sound a note of warning about the Oxford University Press which published both The English Hymnal and Songs of Praise. As we saw in the last chapter, The English Hymnal establishment had not been helpful, and Nicholson was aware of possible sniping by Songs of Praise. He wrote to Shobert, of William Clowes and Sons Ltd, in June 1944: (2)

(1) "Magda"? "King's Weston"?

(2) Nicholson to Shobert, 13 June 1944. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

There is no doubt that the news of the new book has got about, and it can't be helped. Canon Briggs of Worcester (the S. P. man) was most urgent to see me last week, and was very "friendly", "interested", "anxious to co-operate" and - incidentally to find out! I was very reticent, though friendly. I hope to goodness no-one shows him our proofs. I warned everyone most definitely that they were to be shown to no-one at all.

Shobert replied: (1)

I am sorry to hear about Canon Briggs, as he was I know one of the most active opponents of H A & M in the earlier days of Songs of Praise and I have no doubt is probably still. I have heard him speak in favour of Songs of Praise on more than one occasion and have felt that he was more outspoken and dangerous than Martin Shaw or Dr. Dearmer.

To what extent, therefore, the developments of April 1945 came as a surprise to Nicholson and Lowther Clarke, is debatable. Sir Humphrey Milford wrote to the latter in the following terms: (2)

You will be receiving a reply to your letter of 22 January from the Secretary of The English Hymnal Company probably during

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- (1) Shobert to Nicholson, 14 June 1944. H A & M Archives, Norwich. Briggs helped to edit Songs of Praise and wrote sixteen hymns in that book. Six of his hymns are in H A & M N S 1983.
- (2) Milford to Lowther Clarke, 18 April 1945. Copy in H A & M Archives, Norwich.

this week. From that reply you will see that what the Directors require is a complete list of words and tunes prepared for your new book, and until this is received neither The English Hymnal Company nor the Oxford University Press, so far as the words and tunes owned by it separately are concerned, can make any reply to your request.

Lowther Clarke passed on the news to Nicholson ⁽¹⁾ - that the Director of The English Hymnal company wanted to inspect a complete list of the proposed contents of H A & M R:

After reminders I have at last got a reply from the Oxford University Press, from Milford himself. Neither The English Hymnal Company nor the Oxford University Press separately can come to any decision about our applications until they have had a complete list of proposed hymns and tunes. At meetings of the Publishers' Association and of the Bible and Prayer Book group Milford behind his back was called "the Lord God". It seems to me a shocking piece of bad manners; but our duty is to produce a good book, not to think of our amour propre. The hymns which the Oxford University Press proposed to safeguard from the bungling of our musical editors include two which have been in our book since 1867. If you know Miss Bridges, you might get her at least to say that she would like us to have the use of Y. H. hymns... Canon Briggs has sent me a proof of a new book of hymns, all by himself⁽²⁾. I am sending it to Phillips with my remarks.

(1) Lowther Clarke to Nicholson 20 April 1945. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(2) Briggs' action perhaps explains his interest in the new book.

Lowther Clarke wrote again to Nicholson ⁽¹⁾ the following day:

I hope you will be able to talk the matter over with Armstrong ...
I draw a distinction between The English Hymnal Co. Ltd which
is entitled to drive a hard bargain, and the ordinary copyrights
of the Oxford University Press. I should like to ask him on
what principle the Presbyterians, e.g., are treated as ordinary
people and we, to whom two churches out of three of the Church
of England are wedded, can only exist on suff^erance of Oxford.
Do they really want to be dictators and control us as well as
themselves?

Lowther Clarke added a post-script:

If the facts became public we could evoke a great volume of
sympathetic opinion in our favour and odium against The English
Hymnal.

Lowther Clarke, who was obviously very upset about the whole business,
wrote again to Nicholson on 24 April with the draft of a possible
reply to Milford. He added a post-script: "I heard from a third
person that J. H. Arnold (a member of The English Hymnal Company)
was using wild words about us - talking of conspiracy, sly ways etc.
I know him of old as very difficult".

(1) Lowther Clarke to Nicholson, 21 April 1945. H A & M Archives,
Norwich.

Nicholson's comments were predictably and understandably forthright:

Words fail me! I could not have believed that Milford and The English Hymnal would make such an outrageous request. As Chairman I would never agree to such a thing. Who the blazes are these people to dictate to us! I consider the suggestion as gross impertinence and should like to tell them so and to go to h...! I should be inclined to prepare a statement of facts which could be freely circulated, and might be shown to Milford in case he wished to challenge it. Then it should be alluded to in the Preface of the new book, to place on record the attitude of The English Hymnal Company. In the case of a few hymns such as "Come done O love divine", I should add a footnote; "For the above hymn the tune 'Down Ampney' is recommended; it cannot be included here for reasons of copyright but can be found in The English Hymnal and other collections". This would be perfectly justified and they could not object to a gratuitous advertisement!

As to Briggs' hymns I should not vote either way. It might possibly be good policy to include one or two if they are considered up to the mark; they seem to me rather undistinguished but I don't profess to be a judge. I think I had better return the proofs.

Nicholson was scathing about the motives of Milford and his allies. "My impression is that they do not mean to co-operate, and this question of exactly what we want etc. is just a waste of time, and

obviously annoying to us." ... "I do not think anything further can be done through Andrews (not Armstrong). Personally he was most favourable to us, but from what he said I should not think he has any great influence and his attitude was rather one of apology for his superiors. If we are thwarted I think we should be perfectly justified in making it well known. It is obviously a question of trade jealousy."

The Chairman then vented his feelings by composing a letter to Milford which got as far as Lowther Clarke, but no further. In this draft Nicholson refused to reveal to the Oxford University Press the contents of the new book; it had clearly been approved "by a number of distinguished people", and the Proprietors did not want to run the risk of leakages which had doomed the 1904 Edition, "which never had a fair chance. The English Hymnal which appeared in 1906 benefited from this; the ice had been broken and many of the most criticised features that had been introduced in H A & M 1904 passed almost unnoticed in The English Hymnal, also several tunes which had been revived from almost forgotten sources in H A & M 1904, through the researches of Dr. Frere were included in The English Hymnal and won great popularity ... It is I think clear that The English Hymnal and all subsequent books do in fact owe a great deal to H A & M. In view of this it is surely not unreasonable to expect that when we want to improve our book difficulties should not be placed in our way". Nicholson went on to disarm suspicions that the new book would be a serious threat to The English Hymnal's trade interests. First he made the somewhat irrelevant point that H A & M was non-profit making. He then pointed out that the new book would not contain

introids, a full series of Office Hymns or the range of Welsh and "English Traditional Melodies" in which The English Hymnal specialised. Nicholson added a thoroughly offensive paragraph with regard to items not to be expected in H A & M R:

Hymns of the popular and emotional type such as those in Part VIII of The English Hymnal would with a few exceptions be excluded, and certainly we should not dream of using tunes of the Sankey and Moody type such as 573. ⁽¹⁾ (Incidentally it is difficult to reconcile the inclusion of such a tune as this with a desire to elevate popular taste!)

No wonder Lowther Clarke's comment ⁽²⁾ on receiving this draft was, "I could not take responsibility for your letter to Milford. The matter is important enough to demand the policy's being determined by the Proprietors at a formal meeting." He went on to report:

I have today had a letter from "The English Hymnal Co. Ltd" repeating what Milford said and adding "When they receive this list they will, without further delay, let you know the terms which they propose". I deduce that the financially-interested members under Milford's advice have settled the lines on which they will give permission, subject to the purists' being satisfied that they will be helping the publication of a good book. So they will make the best of both worlds.

(1) Nicholson was even more forthright in a letter to Lowther Clarke, 26 April 1945: "If you want an example of the very worst hymn-tune ever printed, see No. 573 (The English Hymnal) and there are others nearly as imbecile. Not only the melody but the harmony is simply illiterate."

(2) Lowther Clarke to Nicholson, 1 May 1945. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

Lowther Clarke ended with a highly pertinent post-script. "Can you find out from the minute books exactly what happened in 1904 - 6 about The English Hymnal? How many copyrights were concerned? Were they all tunes? Our refusal made the success of The English Hymnal by forcing them to get Vaughan Williams' tunes." This last is a delightful point: The English Hymnal people should be grateful to H A & M for being unco-operative in 1904 - 6!

Nicholson's reply ⁽¹⁾ shows that he soon recovered his good temper and common sense. He proposed to prepare a draft letter for approval by the Proprietors, to be sent to Milford. He suggested that Milford should be shown the Shorter Musical Edition (which had been in print for seven years!) which would be the basis of the new book's words and music, ⁽²⁾ but that they should positively decline "to detail the proposed additions except where we want something controlled by The English Hymnal or the Oxford University Press. This would surely be all they could wish". Nicholson continued:

But we are on difficult ground and in some ways it serves us right.

(Here he quoted the 1905 minutes in which it was decided by three to two not to grant Athelstan Riley's request for six hymns and Mr. R. V. Williams' request for forty four tunes for The English Hymnal). ⁽³⁾

(1) Nicholson to Lowther Clarke, 2 May 1945. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(2) This was on the face of it a highly misleading indication of the contents of H A & M R - as Nicholson knew perfectly well.

(3) See p 145, note 4, for the exact wording.

Evidently there was real hostility and it is interesting to note that the decision was only reached by three to two. I suppose old Keymer who was Chairman was against it, but I am rather surprised Frere was.

The idea of paying a very small royalty on the music editions might possibly be considered; it depends what they want, but if it were reasonable might be considered, if it put an end to hostilities. But I am absolutely against giving them virtually a veto on what we are to include.

"We are on difficult ground and in some ways it serves us right". Nicholson's reading of the story of the origins of the rivalry between H A & M and The English Hymnal is fascinating. It is far more honest and objective than, say, Lowther Clarke's. ⁽¹⁾ His letter ended with the suggestion that he himself and Lowther Clarke might invite Milford to an informal, off-the-record meeting when they could "try and talk over the whole question in a friendly spirit".

Nothing seems to have come of this constructive idea, but Nicholson seems to have been successful in persuading Milford and his colleagues to consider a financial settlement of the copyright issue. Now, however, The English Hymnal Directors played for time. Their Secretary notified Lowther Clarke:

I wrote to you recently that I hoped to communicate with you definitely in the middle of July, but one of our Directors

(1)Lowther Clarke, op. cit., pp 77 - 9. See also chapter 4 of this work.

is ill, and it is difficult to contact him. I think I should say how much we regret this delay, but I must ask you to hold the matter in abeyance for a still further period. (1)

Lowther Clarke's exasperation was understandable: (2)

I think The English Hymnal have behaved unreasonably. To postpone a decision until you have a 100% attendance at your board is absurd. We must charitably suppose that the absentee asked that the matter be postponed until he can be present.

I am glad that we have nothing of Briggs. Browne-Wilkinson was at a meeting last week where Briggs said the first requisite for the conversion of England was a new hymn-book. H A & M was hopeless and the revision would only make it worse. The English Hymnal was a tragedy. Then he stopped. Someone said, "How about Songs of Praise?" "Why, yes" (said Briggs), "the new book might be based on that".

Now Briggs has written me fulsome letters about H A & M, and what an honour it would be to be represented in it. I fear he is insincere.

Browne-Wilkinson says "God my Father, loving me" (3) is part of the game. He wants to be able to say: "The only hymn of mine H A & M wanted was my worst one".

(1) Lowther Clarke's copy to Nicholson, 17 July 1945. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(2) Lowther Clarke to Nicholson, 23 July 1945. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(3) Songs of Praise, 357.

The suspicions entertained by Lowther Clarke, Nicholson and Shobert of Briggs is a motif running through the correspondence about the negotiations for Oxford University Press copyrights. Perhaps they were right to be suspicious of Briggs: they were certainly anxious and on edge.

The Proprietors' anxieties were not ended by the reply which eventually arrived from The English Hymnal Company Ltd. over Ralph Vaughan Williams' signature as Chairman: (1)

In the belief that the list supplied to us comprises the full number of hymn-tunes and words required, and that no more applications will be made by you, the Directors have decided that they will agree to give consent to the use by H A & M (subject to certain conditions set forth below) of the following tunes:-

"Gosterwood", "Sine Nomine", "Forest Green", "Down Ampney", "Monksgate", "Randolph", "Es ist kein Tag", "Sussex".

As regards the tunes "Saint Clement" and "Saint Anatolius", they find that permission was given to use these before they were acquired by The English Hymnal and they do not desire to dispute this.

As to the Words, the Directors have considered your requirements most carefully and feel that the selection you have made demands

(1) Copy in Lowther Clarke's hand-writing, dated 15 August 1945, H A & M Archives, Norwich. "Saint Anatolius" was presumably another tune where the permission had been lost. It had been in H A & M since 1868.

more of a sacrifice of their book's distinctive character than they are prepared to grant. They feel there is a difference between granting permission for the use of tunes which have become well-established to words which are in effect the common property of all important collections of hymns, and the breaking fresh ground by H A & M in the inclusion of a set of words which are an essential and distinctive part of The English Hymnal.

They therefore much regret that they are unable to give permission for the following sets of words, four of which were written by the founders of the book: "Father, see Thy children", "Ye watchers and ye holy ones", "Jesus, good above all other", "O faith of England", "Lord God of hosts". This does not apply to translations for which permission will be given, and they are "Wake, O wake", "O Light of Light", "Strengthen for service".

The conditions regarding the use of the tunes are:-

1. That no alteration shall be made without the consent of this Company.
2. That our tunes and arrangements shall be set to words we approve.
3. The Directors further stipulate that the source of the melody or the words and acknowledgement shall be placed wherever it is customary. As to the price they suggest: A Royalty of £2 per 1,000 copies for all music editions, £1 per 1,000 copies for melody editions, 5/- per 1,000 for words only editions.

There is a memorandum in Lowther Clarke's hand-writing in the H A & M Archives, undated, headed, English Hymnal offer. Pros and cons.

Pros.

1. The tunes would greatly enrich our book.
2. Oxford University Press would have an interest in its permanent prosperity.
3. The royalties would not ruin us, especially with the (probably permanent) higher level of prices.

Cons.

1. The royalty basis is unheard of in the hymn-book world.
It makes us a tributary state to Oxford University Press.
2. I doubt if disclosing our sales would really do us harm, but it is undoubtedly humiliating. We used to advertise them; but it is more objectionable when we should disclose the sales of one out of several editions instead of lumping them together.

3. It is impossible to say what our sales will be in the future, but if we got back to pre-war figures, and if the new edition ousted the old in time, we should be paying (say)

on 50,000 at £2 per 1,000	£100
50,000 at £1 per 1,000	£ 50
500,000 at 5/- per 1,000	£125

—
£275 yearly

And this presumably for the lifetime of Dr. Vaughan Williams plus fifty years. It is particularly galling to be refused the use of words and have to pay royalties on words only editions.

Nicholson was in no doubt: The English Hymnal terms should be refused.⁽¹⁾

(1) Nicholson to Lowther Clarke, 22 August 1945. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

"The only tunes that we really need are 'Sine Nomine', 'Down Ampney' and 'Monksgate'". These three tunes were not sufficient grounds for "placing ourselves in a position of a sort of tributary company to the Great Combine". A cash settlement should be offered, with the threat that if it was refused, the reasons would be stated in the new book's Preface why certain tunes were missing. "The more I think of it (i.e. The English Hymnal's terms) the more strongly I am against it".

Support for the Chairman's intransigence came from the Publishers. Shobert wrote, ⁽¹⁾ "It does not look to me as though you will ever be able to come to any satisfactory arrangements with The English Hymnal Company or the Oxford University Press, as they deal with these matters purely on a commercial basis and it would be virtual suicide to them to let you include the outstanding features in their books in H A & M, as it is only these that keep their circulation going at all". A malicious and tendentious comment!

Nicholson decided to attempt a different approach; he wrote personally to Vaughan Williams, as he had done eight years previously. "My dear Vaughan Williams" - who could tell, perhaps such a direct appeal might be successful this time.

Nicholson tactfully expressed understanding for the attitude which Vaughan Williams and his colleagues had adopted: ⁽²⁾ "As regards

(1) Shobert to Nicholson, 27 August 1945, H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(2) Nicholson to Vaughan Williams 30 August 1945. H A & M Archives, Norwich. It is interesting that there is no record of Nicholson consulting, say, Lowther Clarke before writing this letter.

the words, we quite understand the reasonableness of your decision. Dr. Dearmer's hymn 'Jesus, good above all other' will we feel be a special loss...". Then Nicholson turned to the tunes - "the three we specially want are your own 'Sine Nomine' and 'Down Ampney' and 'Monksgate' which has become so associated with the Bunyan words as to be almost inseparable; we should also very much like to have your 'Magda' for 'Lift up your hearts' to which it is set in the U.S.A. Hymnal, and for which it seems to me by far the best setting".

Nicholson then went on to explain that "our real difficulty lies in the terms you propose for payment". The problems were that the payment of royalties was a new idea to the Proprietors, that it might well conflict with H A & M's status as a charity, involving complications with regard to income tax and donations to other charities. After thanking Vaughan Williams for "your willingness to help us make our book as good as it can be", Nicholson eventually came to the point:

I feel that it would be far more satisfactory for us, and in the end would be simpler for you, if we could agree to pay a fixed sum down for the use of such of the words and tunes as you can agree to our using. Could you see your way to suggest such a sum as you would think adequate, and we could give it our most careful consideration? Let me assure you that it is not in our minds to get off without making a proper payment.

Nicholson concluded his letter with expressions of hope for better relations in the future. "I should like to see a feeling of friendship

rather than rivalry between The English Hymnal and H A & M. There is plenty of room for both: and there has been much to regret on both sides in the past in our relations". And, as a parting shot, Nicholson suggested that one day there might be a revised English Hymnal, and Vaughan Williams or his successors might wish to incorporate "finds" in H A & M R. "I should like to think that when that time comes your committee will find the Proprietors as ready to be helpful as I am now asking you to be".

What an eloquent and statesmanlike letter! One can but admire Nicholson's tactical and literary excellence: if there was anything to be gained by such an approach, it had certainly been well made.

Vaughan Williams replied on 2 September - more or less by return - in his own hand: (1)

Dear Nicholson,

Thank you very much for your letter. I am sending it on to Milford who deals with the financial problems. My tune "Magda" does not belong to The English Hymnal but is, I think, my own property - in which case, provided the Oxford University Press have no objections I should be glad for you to include it to the words "Lift up your hearts". It was originally written for "O Valiant hearts" in Songs of Praise. I had asked G. Holst to write a tune for those words - but he fell ill and I took it for granted that he could not do it - then just as mine was finished, his arrived!

Yours sincerely,

R. Vaughan Williams

(1) Vaughan Williams to Nicholson, 2 September (no year: it was 1945).
H A & M Archives, Norwich. And an execrable hand it is!

Nicholson passed on to Lowther Clarke the news that he had received "a very nice reply from Vaughan Williams ... Evidently he himself is friendly, and perhaps as Milford is retiring he may be inclined to be helpful..." (1) These hopes were, however, not fulfilled. Nicholson wrote to Lowther Clarke (2) a week later to the effect that the offer to pay a substantial cash settlement had been refused. He directed Lowther Clarke to consult the other Proprietors, and again give his own opinion that The English Hymnal's terms were unacceptable. Selwyn and Knight agreed with Nicholson: Crum failed to reply. Lowther Clarke wrote to the Secretary of The English Hymnal Company Ltd. to the effect that "we cannot accept your offer of 15 August".

So it was that H A & M R did not include "Sine Nomine", "Down Ampney", "King's Weston" and "Monksgate". In his letter of 14 September, Nicholson put a brave face on the sad outcome:

I much regret that we shall not be able to include certain things we should all like; but I don't feel the loss is probably quite as serious as we are inclined to feel. Fashions do change in hymns as we know well. Barnby's tune to "For all the saints" was in its day far more popular than Vaughan Williams, and I have even heard of some people who are getting a little tired of the latter. We do so tend in our choice of hymns to over-do anything that takes on: e.g. "Richmond" or "University", besides

(1) Nicholson to Lowther Clarke, 7 September 1945, H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(2) Nicholson to Lowther Clarke, 14 September 1945, H A & M Archives, Norwich.

"Sine Nomine" and "Monksgate". With regard to the latter Taylor (B.B.C.) told me how strongly Thalben - Ball felt the superiority of our (2nd) tune for the Bunyan words. So long as we get something good and singable for every hymn I think that is the main thing: if our tunes aren't liked we know perfectly well people will use others that they prefer: just as many churches that adopt The English Hymnal use the old H A & M tunes. And so it will be in the future.

I have covered the story of the failure to get permission for the use of "Sine Nomine", "Monksgate" and "Down Ampney" at some length. It seems to me to be an interesting and significant story. It is worth telling for three reasons.

First the absence of these three tunes - and to a less extent, of "King's Weston" - is a serious defect in H A & M R which has often been remarked upon. Nicholson was quite wrong in his philosophical musings, just quoted, however understandable his attitude. "Sine Nomine" is still firmly established as the tune for "For all the Saints"; Barnby's "For all the Saints" and Stanford's "Engelberg" - the two tunes published in H A & M R - are seldom sung. Still less is "Bunyan", (H A & M R 293); "Monksgate" reigns supreme. And has anyone ever heard "North Petherton" sung to "Come down, O Love divine"? (H A & M R 235). "King's Weston" is a magnificent tune, with its singable melody and clever but simple construction; but its absence was less of a tragedy since H A & M has carried W. H. Monk's spacious and effective "Evelyns" for "At the name of Jesus", since he composed it for the 1875 Edition. ⁽¹⁾ The two other Vaughan Williams tunes,

(1) Ironically both "King's Weston" and "Evelyns" have in recent times been superseded by "Camberwell".

however, and "Monksgate" were bound to be sadly missed in H A. & M R, and it is worthwhile to explain these regrettable absences. The Proprietors in fact remained faithful to the tunes set in the Standard Edition; Nicholson did not commission new tunes for these hymns, nor did he follow Frere's example and dig up a German chorale from what Phillips delightfully called "Walter's rag-bag".

Secondly, it is interesting to discover how hard Nicholson and Lowther Clarke tried to get "Sine Nomine", "Down Ampney" and "Monksgate". Whatever Nicholson might say afterwards, he was clearly only too well aware of the value of the tunes in question. Whether The English Hymnal Company's terms should have been met in the event, is a matter of opinion; certainly, the Proprietors were willing to go a long way in order to get the tunes.

Thirdly, it is hard to resist the conclusion that the Oxford University Press and The English Hymnal people were deliberately unhelpful. What the precise rôles of Milford ("The Lord God"), Briggs and Vaughan Williams were, it is impossible to say. But clearly the Proprietors' unhelpfulness in 1904 - 6 had not been forgotten, and one should recall that Vaughan Williams had been at the receiving end of this unhelpfulness; he may well have enjoyed answering Nicholson's personal appeal with nothing more than evasive friendliness and an anecdote. The fact is that "Down Ampney", "Sine Nomine" and "Monksgate" are all in the Methodist Hymn-Book (1933), while "Sine Nomine" can also be found in the Evangelical Church Hymnal (1917). The refusal of the tunes for inclusion in H A. & M R was therefore all the more pointed, even if, as Nicholson observed to his colleagues, it was to a great extent their own fault.

The story of these unhappy wrangles long ago is now merely a matter of history. Relations between H A & M and The English Hymnal have been transformed during the last few years. A very definite entente cordiale has led to an alliance which would have amazed Nicholson and Vaughan Williams. But these developments must wait for a later chapter. (1)

VI

So we come to the book which finally emerged from the years of planning and discussion, Hymns Ancient and Modern Revised 1950.

It is a more attractive and convenient book than its predecessor, the Standard Edition. The Compilers' policy of keeping the total number of hymns below 650 meant that, as had been hoped and intended, the print is larger, and the lay-out easier on the eye. In the Musical Edition there is never more than one hymn to a page, and the longer hymns have a whole double page each. The confusing division of the old book into supplements was completely abandoned, and the organisation of material is rational and easy to follow: 1 - 159 are "seasonal", 160 - 341 General (though sub-divided into topics), 342 - 364 Personal Devotion, 365 - 502 Special Occasions and Services, 503 - 576 Saints' days, 577 - 585 National, 586 - 590 Litanies and 591 - 628 Processional. The book concludes with eight "Processional - General" hymns. There are no "Amens".

(1) See p 360 note 1 for the views of a member of the Council of H A & M about the new English Hymnal: "I only hope it sells."

Expression marks are given, but far less lavishly than in the Standard Edition. "Slur marks" are included where there is no break in the sense at the end of a line:

Thus spake the seraph; and forthwith,
 Appeared a shining throng
 Of angels praising God, who thus
 Addressed their joyful song.

The authors of hymns are named both in the Musical Edition and in the words-only Edition normally found in churches; though there is a cheap words-only version in which authors are not named. The first words of the original Greek, Latin, German etc. are given, ⁽¹⁾ in rather unattractive heavy type; this information had not been given in the Standard Edition, and, unbelievably, it is not now given in H A & M N S. Metrical versions of the Psalms are indicated, even when they are as free as Baker's "The King of Love" (H A & M R 197 - Psalm 23), but Montgomery's and Watts' debts to Psalm 72 are not mentioned vis à vis "Hail to the Lord's Anointed" and "Jesus shall reign". ⁽²⁾ Biblical texts are totally excluded at the head of hymns, even when the inspiration from Scripture is self-evidently close. All the indexes are still at the front of the book. ⁽³⁾

(1) Hymn 91, "Christian, does thou see them..", is attributed to J. M. Neale, with no mention of a Greek original. The English Hymnal 172 says: "J. M. Neale. From the Greek", but with no Greek given. So much for Neale's alleged original source **οὐ γὰρ βλέπεις τοὺς ταραττοντας ;**

(2) Baker's "O praise ye the Lord" (H A & M 376) is, however, "based on Psalm 150 "and Lyte's "Pleasant are Thy courts above" is headed "Psalm 84".

(3) The English Hymnal, Songs of Praise, Methodist Hymn-Book and Anglican Hymn-Book all have indexes at the back; of twentieth century hymn-books, I only know of Church Hymnal which followed H A & M in this respect, i.e. by having indexes at the front.

The Preface is written in a mood of sober optimism, based on restrained pride in the past merits and achievements of the Compilers of H A & M. First, there is a brief history of the various editions. Then there follows an explanation of the appointing of the Proprietors under a Trust Deed and of the Proprietors' customary payment of the book's profits to various charities, especially the Central Board of Finance of the Church of England. Tribute is paid to Sir Henry Baker, Bishop W. H. Frere and Sir Sydney Nicholson as Chairmen, and to Dr. W. H. Monk, Dr. C. Steggall, Mr. B. Luard Selby and Sir Sydney Nicholson as Musical Editors. "In the preparation of the new edition now published Sir Sydney was assisted by Mr. G. H. Knight and Dr. J. Dykes Bower".

More contentiously the anonymous author (or authors) of the Preface briefly outlines the thinking behind the new edition.

The cumbrous device of the two supplements was inconvenient in itself and had made the book too large. It will be seen that the hymns are now arrayed in one series of not much over 600 in all. In order to effect this reduction and to make room for new matter the Editors were obliged to leave out a good number of hymns. These fell into two distinct classes. The first was of those which had never really found favour. It was easy to cut them out, but there were not enough of them to meet the whole of the necessary reduction. The second class was of those which the Editors felt could well be spared, yet undoubtedly they were endeared to quite a number of congregations. Most of these had to go on the assumption that they were not likely to last much longer. They were bound in the end to be discarded, the

Editors thought, and by a justifiable anticipation might be discarded now. Sometimes a favourite hymn may therefore seem to be missing (sic!), but the Proprietors believe that prevailing tendencies would have swept it away before long. (1)

The spirit of Walter Howard Frere lives on. If a hymn has no right to be popular, it will "seem to be missing". Just how many of such hymns in the category of "popular but undeserving" there were among the omissions, we shall shortly see.

The author of the Preface⁽²⁾ makes the interesting point that the majority of new hymns in the book are in fact quite old. Of these "the greater number ... have been successfully resuscitated in one place or another and have won a wide acceptance and so have become such as no hymn-book could well omit." It is then added, almost as an afterthought, that the Editors "have brought in a certain number of new hymns, mainly to satisfy a particular need or occasion, or to match a good tune with fitting words". However, "a few hymns which have recently become popular are absent owing to copyright difficulties".

The question of the alteration or restoration of texts is then discussed. The present Editors "see no reason to go back on the practice of their predecessors" in making alterations "to meet the requirements of a hymn-singing congregation". "Many of the great

(1) Quotations are from the Preface, Musical Edition, pp VI, VII, VIII.

(2) Who wrote the Preface to H A & M R? There is no indication in the correspondence at Norwich, so far as I am aware. Cyril Taylor thinks that it was probably Lowther Clarke or Fox.

Charles Wesley's hymns have hardly ever been sung as he originally wrote them. Not a few authors, including Dr. Neale, have agreed that for the purpose of a hymn-book the versions of their hymns in H A & M were, on the whole, improvements". Nevertheless, "in many hymns the author's text has been restored".

Whether Dr. Neale actually went so far could be debated. Nevertheless the Preface is a thoroughly reasonable statement of what the book's character and aims amounted to, and no-one could quarrel with the pious hopes expressed in the concluding paragraph:

In concluding what has been the labour of many years, the Proprietors would express a hope that in this new book the Church will find the same endearing and enduring qualities as in the old, the same heartfelt yet sober tone, so much in keeping with English-speaking Christianity. At the same time they believe that what is new in sense and sound will commend itself as a real augmentation of the rich treasury of hymns and hymn-tunes which are now employed in the divine praises and catholic teaching of the Christian Church. The new book does not aim at breaking fresh ground or exploiting novel ideas. The hope is that it may prove to be, as it was before, a consolidation of all that has been gained over many a long year since the wholesome practice of hymn-singing won an accepted place in Church, School and Home.

This is an extremely sensible introduction, making modest, limited claims. We shall see to what extent some of the claims can be questioned, but one cannot fairly disagree with the overall tenor. It is hardly a classic piece of prose comparable to the great John Wesley's Preface,

nor does it begin with the splendidly concise aggression of the Preface to the 1933 Edition of the Methodist Hymn-Book - "Methodism was born in song". Nor, however, are there the unfortunately complacent expressions of gratitude to Almighty God which Frere had so unwisely introduced into his Preface to the 1904 Edition. It is low-key and unpretentious, and ended with what might be thought an unnecessarily modest provision: "The old or Standard Edition will continue to be printed as long as the demand for it continues". A very cautious expedient!

The Musical Preface is even more down-to-earth. The criticism is anticipated by the author - again, unnamed - that not all the tunes are of the highest musical class. "No hymn-book designed to meet popular requirements can be an anthology of perfect hymn-tunes any more than it can be an anthology of fine poetry: it must cater for a variety of occasions and for all sorts and conditions of men". For similar reasons, the Musical Editors have included settings of German chorales which were not too elaborate "to be rendered by a congregation supported by a choir of average ability" rather than settings "which, although perhaps even more beautiful, would not fulfil this condition". Similarly, the extremely ornate products of the eighteenth century have been simplified "to meet the capacity of the ordinary congregation of today". Nevertheless, quality has been maintained:

The best of English hymn-tunes, from those of the Tudor period to the compositions of living musicians, occupy an important place in this book. It may fairly be claimed that the book is rightly named Hymns Ancient and Modern. In a few cases only

have copyright difficulties prevented the use of tunes which might otherwise have been included.

As we have seen, the tunes missing due to copyright difficulties were unfortunately of the highest quality. Nevertheless the claims made here for the new book's music were not extravagantly expressed, as will be demonstrated shortly. Certainly no-one could fault the admirably clear instructions which follow the Musical Preface on the singing and accompaniment of both modern and plainsong tunes - drawn from A Plainsong Hymnbook published "under the inspired guidance of the late Bishop Frere". (1)

We will now proceed to analyse the book, and to discover whether the claims here made for it were justified.

At once we realise the truth of the claim that the book does not break fresh ground; indeed, "it is not a new book". The impression of conservatism is not merely conveyed by the retention of some 440 hymns from the Standard Edition. It is indeed reinforced because another claim put forward in the Preface is abundantly true: of the "new" hymns the greater number are old hymns which have been successfully resuscitated elsewhere. There are nearly 200 hymns which make their first appearance in H A & M. Of these only 56 were published in the twentieth century. Of the rest, a very large number are yet more translations from the Roman and Greek churches - 44, to be precise. 18 date from the seventeenth century, 7 are by Isaac Watts, 6 by Charles Wesley, 8 come from the pens of other eighteenth century

(1) All editions carry the same general Preface, so far as I know.

Musical Preface is to be found on p IX, the Notes on the Music on pp X and XI, of the Musical Edition.

writers such as Doddridge and Newton, and 53 date from the nineteenth century. In no way, therefore, can it be argued that the Proprietors seized the opportunity of drastically updating H A & M. Rather, they preserved the tradition of incorporating all that was best and most acceptable to congregations from the hymns of all ages in the Church's history.

This impression is further reinforced if we examine closely the 56 modern hymns, dating from this century. Lowther Clarke, it will be recalled, had advised his Chairman, "Not too much Nicholson". It is amusing to discover that no less than 34 of the twentieth century hymns were written by the Proprietors, or by their Advisers. And of these a high proportion were hymns for Saints' days or special occasions, by their very nature not likely to be sung very often, or to make much of an impression. Nicholson's "How joyful 'tis to sing" (493) for choirs, Fox's "Hands that have been handling" (494) for Servers, Phillips' "Stalwart as pillars" (511) for Evangelists and his "Not by far-famed deeds alone" (562) for Saint Barnabas the Apostle, Alington's "God, whose city's sure foundation" (574) for Saints, Martyrs and Doctors of the Church of England, Crum's "Gabriel to Mary came" (547) for the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary - the list could easily be extended. These modern hymns are alike in their suitability for occasional use only, alike in their donnish, academic dryness and, with the single exception of Fox's "Hands that have been handling", alike in that every single one has been dropped from H A & M N S (1983). Their impact on congregations in the last thirty five years has been, one suspects, virtually nil.

When this point has been made, however, it should be admitted that H A & M R contains a handful of well-loved twentieth century

hymns - or at least hymns that have indeed made an impression on the church-going nation . Sir John Arkwright's "O valiant hearts" - tendentious, sentimental, full of bad rhymes - has nevertheless spoken to people bereaved in war, as has no other hymn: Armistice Day services are still incomplete without it (584). ⁽¹⁾ Alington's "Good Christian men, rejoice and sing!", a very different hymn in the best objective tradition, had been popularised by Songs of Praise - and now it deservedly took its place in H A & M. William Canton's "Through the night thy angels kept" (429) is only just a twentieth century hymn (published in 1902); it appeals by its simplicity, though whether it avoids childishness is a matter of taste:

Give me food that I may live;
Every naughtiness forgive;
Keep all evil things away
From thy little child this day.

"I vow to Thee my country" (Spring-Rice) and "Rejoice, O land" (Bridges) are popular while Barclay Baron's "Go forth with God!" (500), now has a dated ring, but possesses a certain vigour. F. B. Macnutt's "Let all the multitudes of light" (150) - another recruit from Songs of Praise - is a fine Ascensiontide hymn. Margaret Cropper's "O Christ, whom we may love and know" (450) is a children's hymn which says something and has a coherent structure - knowledge of Christ leading

(1) Incomplete too without Harris' tune of which Nicholson so violently disapproved. Tendentious? Not all the fallen fought because they had heard "God's message from afar", and some would dispute whether they necessarily fought "to save mankind". Nor do soldiers invariably display "knightly virtue".

to friendship with Him and with each other, His love leading us to love each other and His purity to shield and inspire us:

Give us Thy love, that loves us all
And dared the glorious Cross,
That we may love to share and know
Each other's joy and loss.

Yet, when all is said and done, these hymns - indeed only a handful - are as unimpressive in quality as they are in quantity. Either Lowther Clarke ⁽¹⁾ was right in arguing that the first half of the twentieth century was not a great hymn-writing age, or the Proprietors and their Advisers lacked the will and the vision to find first-rate modern hymns. Probably there is some truth in both explanations. While it is difficult to point to hymns which should have been included (the work of G. W. Briggs and P. Dearmer? Kipling's "Recessional"? Chesterton's "O God of earth and altar"?), Nicholson, Phillips and Lowther Clarke lacked Percy Dearmer's intellectual catholicity and liveliness - or indeed the willingness to spot and recruit modern talent shortly to be displayed by their successors who edited A Hundred Hymns for Today and More Hymns for Today. ⁽²⁾

When we turn to the claim in the Preface to include old hymns which "have won a wide acceptance and so have become such as no hymn-book could well omit", we have, I think, to be impressed. The choice of such hymns which appear in H A & M R is sensible and wide.

(1) Lowther Clarke, A Hundred Years of H A & M, op. cit., p 84.

(2) But the "hymn-writing explosion" of the 1970's had yet to come.
See p 325 below.

(2) Continued...

In 1960 Arthur Pollard could reasonably argue: "Whilst no figures are available, it is reasonable to assume that in our own less pious century the writing of hymns is a much rarer occupation than at any time in the past three hundred years" (English Hymns 1960, pp 8 - 9). This was still fair comment in 1960. Furthermore there was not only the question of quantity, but also quality. Fred Pratt Green writes: "the two major English hymn-writers of the first half of the twentieth century are Percy Dearmer (1867 - 1936) and G. W. Briggs (1875 - 1959)" (Hymn Society Bulletin, April 1980, p 138). On both counts Dearmer and Briggs are probably the closest approaches to "major English hymn-writers" in the period which we are considering. The following statistics are therefore of some significance - and hardly to the credit of the Proprietors of H A & M, who were responsible for the Revised Edition. In particular Briggs' "Come, Risen Lord" (H A & M N S 349) would have strengthened the Holy Communion section in the 1950 book. I doubt if there would have been copyright difficulties. As we have seen (p 245 above) Briggs was anxious that his work should be included but was mistrusted by the Proprietors. Dearmer had died in 1936.

	<u>Briggs</u>	<u>Dearmer</u>
<u>H A & M R</u>	0	0
<u>Methodist Hymn-Book</u> (1933)	2	3
<u>Public School Hymn-Book</u> (1949)	2	11
<u>Anglican Hymn-Book</u> (1960)	5	6
<u>Songs of Praise</u>	16	25
<u>H A & M N S</u>	6	4

It is particularly noteworthy that the 1933 Edition of the Methodist Hymn-Book included hymns by Briggs and Dearmer. It was ecumenical before ecumenicalism was invented. (See my article in the Times Educational Supplement, 14 December 1984, "'Tis done, the Great Transaction's done".)

Here is a selection: "Immortal, Invisible", "City of God, how broad and far", "All creatures of our God and king", "My song is love unknown", "Immortal love, forever full", "Father, hear the prayer we offer", "Let all mortal flesh keep silence", "The God of Love my Shepherd is", "He wants not friends that hath Thy love", "Hills of the North, rejoice", "It came upon the midnight clear", "In the bleak midwinter", "Behold, the great Creator makes". This list could easily be doubled, or trebled. Anyone who has been involved in planning services knows how infuriating it is when an appropriate and popular hymn turns out not to be available in the hymn-book provided. With all its undoubted merits, the Standard Edition was highly defective in this respect. Though I have noted and agreed with the Publishers' claim that the Standard Edition is a dangerous book to under-estimate (it does indeed include a remarkably wide selection), nevertheless it had become increasingly out-of-date, as the kind of hymn listed above established itself in popular esteem. Now the Compilers helped themselves with both hands to the riches of The English Hymnal, in particular, and of other collections: they were right to do so. The inclusion at last of so many "ancient" (as opposed to "modern") popular hymns is perhaps the greatest and most obvious superiority of H A & M R over its predecessor.

An interesting aspect of this policy of including hymns from previous centuries is the selection of Watts and Wesley in H A & M R. Given the paucity of good Easter hymns in the English language, it is amazing that Charles Wesley's "Love's redeeming work is done" had been omitted from previous editions: now at last it was included. The Compilers showed a penchant for Watts' concise, epigrammatic style and included seven of his hymns for the first time between H A & M covers: "God of the morning" (8), "And now another day is gone" (36),

"Lord of the worlds above" (248), "The heavens declare Thy glory, Lord" (252), "Eternal power, whose high abode" (621), "'Twas by Thy blood, Immortal Lamb" (634), "From all that dwell below the skies" (630). It is as though the Compilers turned with relief from the subjective emotionalism of so many Evangelical outpourings and from the mealy-mouthed indecisiveness of so much modern "God of nature" apologies for hymns to the four-square Christian decisiveness of Isaac Watts. One might almost claim that there is a restrained Anglicanism in the great Dissenter, typical of H A & M at its best.

From all that dwell below the skies
Let the Creator's praise arise:
Let the Redeemer's name be sung
Through every land by every tongue.

Eternal are Thy mercies, Lord;
Eternal truth attends Thy word:
Thy praise shall sound from shore to shore,
Till suns shall rise and set no more.

Even higher praise is due to the Compilers for including "Still nigh me, O my Saviour, stand" (90). This they ascribe to Charles Wesley. The 1962 Historical Edition tells us that "this is a composite hymn from the Wesleys' Hymns and Sacred Poems, 1739. Stanza 1 is the fourth stanza in 'Peace! doubting heart; my God's I am'. Stanzas 2 and 3 are the eighth and ninth stanzas in 'Jesu, Thy boundless love to me' which is a translation of Gerhardt's 'O Jesu Christ, mein

schönstes Licht'". The Methodist Hymn-Book ⁽¹⁾ credits both hymns to John Wesley, and is surely right: in any case, Charles had no German. Whoever the author or authors, the cento which appears in H A & M R is a magnificent hymn. It combines with matchless eloquence and brevity the themes of trust in God's goodness, redemption through Christ's death, triumph through suffering and the Christian's confidence in the face of death:

In suffering be Thy love my peace,
In weakness be Thy love my power;
And when the storms of life shall cease,
Jesus, in that tremendous hour,
In death as life be Thou my guide,
And save me, who for me hast died. ⁽²⁾

Apart from the absence of good, modern hymns in any number, which we have noted, it is fair to claim that H A & M R is a strong selection of hymns from the storehouse of Catholic Christianity. There are gaps, most of them, one fancies, deliberate gaps. There is a notable absence of revivalist Evangelicalism. The one hymn in the Standard Edition by Mrs. van Alstyne ("Rescue the perishing") was now omitted, nothing by P. Bliss (Cf The English Hymnal 570, "Ho, my comrades") was included, and out went Elizabeth Clephane's "Beneath the Cross of Jesus". The Hymns of Personal Devotion are

(1) Methodist Hymn-Book 500, where the verse most reminiscent of Isaiah, 43

v 2, is included: When passing through the watery deep,
I ask in faith His promised aid,
The waves an awful distance keep,
And shrink from my devoted head;
Fearless their violence I dare;
They cannot harm, for God is there.

According to the Historical Companion "tremendous" (last verse) was originally "important".

(2) Anglican Hymn-Book (149) attributes verse 1 to C. Wesley, VV 2 & 3 to J. Wesley.

a very restrained collection; the Dean of Winchester had no need to worry. (1) Incidentally, here was included for the first time in H A & M Ray Palmer's "Jesus, these eyes have never seen". Similarly, the Compilers turned a deaf ear to the social-gospellers. Kingsley's "From Thee all skill and science flows" (479) gets in under "Hospitals: The Sick", but there is little else which Percy Dearmer would have enthused over; A Hundred Hymns for Today had not yet arrived.

The section on Holy Communion was strengthened by the inclusion of "Let all mortal flesh keep silence" (390) and "Deck thyself, my soul with gladness" (393), though not by Gladstone's "O lead my blindness by the hand" (The English Hymnal 322). Nor were Charles Wesley's "Saviour, and can it be.." and "With solemn faith we offer up" retained from the Second Supplement.

One of the book's strongest sections is "For the Young". Not before time, Walsham How's hymn "It is a thing most wonderful" found acceptance between H A & M covers. It is memorable for its simplicity and directness of evocation of Christ's suffering at Calvary (435):

I sometimes think about the Cross,
And shut my eyes, and try to see
The cruel nails and crown of thorns,
And Jesus crucified for me.

And equally unforgettable is the puzzling logic, almost a non-sequitur,

(1) See p 232 of this work.

in the verse:

It is most wonderful to know
His love for me so free and sure;
But 'tis more wonderful to see
My love for Him so faint and poor.

Perhaps only the last verse, "And yet I want to love Thee, Lord" makes sense of the previous verse. The hymn has everything - the good news of the Cross, the eloquence of the true poet and something to make one think.

Not quite so successful but nevertheless worthy of study are Father Sedding's hymns "A work hath Christ for thee to do" (430) and "O Father, we thank Thee for Jesus Thy Son" (441). And H. E. Hardy (Father Andrew) wrote verse of powerful directness, which manages to avoid sentimentality, in "O dearest Lord, Thy sacred head With thorns was pierced for me" (436). "Thy sacred hands" and "Thy sacred feet" lead us to the conclusion:

O dearest Lord, Thy sacred heart
With spear was pierced for me;
O pour Thy Spirit in my heart
That I may live for Thee.

There is a higher proportion of twentieth century writers among the children's hymns than in any other section of the book. Perhaps this

is coincidence, pure and simple. Or perhaps the elderly dons who produced H A & M R could only dare to entrust the young to present-day hymnographers. As it happens, Margaret Cropper, Erskine Clarke and the rest have served children very capably.

If, then, we can conclude that the right things are in H A & M R, (which, on the whole, they are), what of the omissions? There are many, when one reflects that only 56% of the Standard Edition survived in the new book. About 340 hymns from that work were rejected. We will consider first these rejects from H A & M.

We can at once admit the claim made in the Preface that a high proportion of hymns were omitted because they were indeed, to use a term frequently bandied around by Nicholson and his colleagues, "dead-wood". I will risk provoking the reader and ask whether he has ever sung, or heard sung, the following (all from the Standard Edition, all debarred from H A & M R): "Righteous Father, we have wronged Thee" (Standard Edition 767), "Life and strength of all Thy servants" (Standard Edition 616), "Forty days thy seer of old" (Standard Edition 503), "There is one way and only one" (Standard Edition 411) and so on. Many of these "dead-wood" hymns are for Saints' days⁽¹⁾ and they prompt the observation that the Compilers of

(1) If one had to write a hymn about Saint Bartholemew the Apostle, no doubt one could not do very much better than John Ellerton. Even so this hymn is not very impressive:

"In the roll of Thine Apostles
One there stands, Bartholemew....
Was it he, beneath the figtree
Seen of Thee, and guileless found.." etc.

H A & M R threw out other people's dead-wood from the Standard Edition, and substituted their own. This may well be true. But it does not in any way contradict the assertion that much dead-wood was indeed legitimately discarded.

But what of the second category, that is to say, hymns that are likely to become dead-wood in the near future, "and if not, why not?". Here judgement is bound to be subjective and frequently tangled up with difficult questions as to what is a good hymn and what should come in a good hymn-book. Thus, I would deplore the rejection of Tennyson's "Crossing the Bar" (Standard Edition 694), though I realise that the occasions when it could appropriately be sung by a congregation are virtually non-existent.

One is perhaps on stronger ground in regretting the absence of several sound congregational hymns which one would have thought would be likely to remain popular. What is wrong, for example, with Isaac Watts' "Awake, our souls! away, our fears"? Christian fortitude shines through this admirably masculine hymn:

Swift as an eagle cuts the air,

We'll mount aloft to Thine abode;

On wings of love our souls shall fly,

Nor tire along the heav'nly road. (Standard Edition 682)⁽¹⁾

(1) Should anyone argue that this hymn belongs to the "dead-wood" category, I can testify that it has been sung often, recently, and with enthusiasm. And it has been restored to H A & M N S 436.

We have already noted the departure of "Beneath the Cross of Jesus" - emotional, sentimental perhaps, nevertheless a hymn which speaks to the mind as well as to the heart: (Standard Edition 667)

I take, O cross, thy shadow

For my abiding-place;

I ask no other sunshine than the sunshine of His face,
Content to let the world go by,

To know no gain nor loss -

My sinful self my only shame, My glory all the Cross.

If Miss Clephane is too intense, Bishop Walsham How's hymn for children, "Behold a little Child" (Standard Edition 727) is admirably restrained and simple without being patronising, belatedly recruited in 1916 for H A & M and, surely, prematurely deposed in 1950. Less well-known, belonging arguably to the "dead-wood" department, is George Rawson's "Come to our poor nature's night" (Standard Edition 524) - one of that rare breed, a hymn to the Holy Spirit and therefore deserving of a better fate than rejection by H A & M R:

We are sinful - cleanse us, Lord,

Sick and faint - Thy strength afford,

Lost, until by Thee restored,

Comforter Divine.

Lowell's "Once to every man and nation "may not be everyone's choice, but it is a courageous attempt to face up to the apparent injustices in God's world (Standard Edition 689). And the dismissal of Christina Rossetti's "What are these that glow from afar.." kept her total in H A & M down to one; it is ironic indeed that the highest number of

this Anglo-Catholic saint's works of genius are in the Methodist Hymn-Book. (1) "Sweet the moments rich in blessing", "The voice that breathed o'er Eden", "Father of all, to Thee" (by Julian, of Dictionary fame: surely he deserved better than to be ejected!), "O for a Faith that will not shrink", "I am not worthy, Holy Lord" (by Baker, of all people) - all rejected.

I could easily prolong this list, having noted at least thirty hymns which strike me as being popular in the very best sense. The point is taken and conceded that, strictly speaking the author of a hymn is totally irrelevant, compared to its Christian content and suitability for congregational use: Rossetti, Tennyson, Wesley, Baker, Julian, Lowell. Perhaps these writers erred by witnessing to their own personal experiences in a way that was foreign to the tradition of H A & M.

O come! in this sweet morning hour
Feed me with Food Divine;
And fill with all Thy love and power
This worthless heart of mine.

Despite Baker's impeccable Tractarian background, was this too "Methodist" for the Dean of Winchester?

Less serious, but equally intriguing, is the omission of verses from hymns which are included. We have noted the debate about Watts'

(1) Standard Edition 684. There are six hymns by Christina Rossetti in the Methodist Hymn-Book (1933). "In the bleak midwinter" replaced "What are these?" in H A & M R.

verse, "His dying crimson". (1) Unfortunately, the wrong solution was adopted: it is not in. Lowther Clarke (2) complacently congratulates himself and his colleagues for omitting from "Kindly spring again is here" (607):

Lord, afford a spring in me,
Let me feel like what I see;
Speak, and by Thy gracious voice,
Make my drooping soul rejoice.

One takes his point that "like what I see" is inelegant but one would prefer a just perception of John Newton's success in conveying an important idea quite effectively. Predictably, "the rich man in his castle" is banished from the hymn-book, though he is there sure enough in real life (442); but credit is due to the Compilers for including Mrs. Alexander's other "heretical" verse, "There was no other good enough To pay the price of sin" reminiscent as it is of Isaiah 53 (3) and substitutionary atonement. Percy Dearmer's absurd reasons (4) for rejecting verse 2 of "O Thou who camest from above" (329) are fortunately not accepted, but alas the same author's "O for a thousand tongues to sing" does not include the best verse:

(1) This work, p 224, note 1.

(2) Lowther Clarke, op. cit., p 87.

(3) To say nothing of Acts VIII, 26 - 40.

(4) Choirs cannot sing "Inextinguishable".

He breaks the power of cancell'd sin,
He sets the prisoner free,
His Blood can make the foulest clean,
His Blood availed for me.

Again, this testimony based on personal experience was too much for H A & M R which still continues the traditional policy of cold-shouldering Wesley's magnificent conclusion to "Hark, the herald", "Come desire of nations" and Anglicans are still denied the pleasure of singing "Indissolubly joined" ("Soldiers of Christ, arise", 303).

The omission of verses, however, is, as we have suggested, less alarming than the failure to include such great hymns as John Mason's "How shall I sing", Watts' "Join all the glorious names", Charles Wesley's "And can it be" ⁽¹⁾ and Rossetti's "None other Lamb" - among others. But not perhaps too many: H A & M R is, as we have said, a sensibly conceived book, and, when all is said and done, opinions differ.

What of the music? The selection of tunes in H A & M R is a considerable improvement on the Standard Edition. The most striking difference is the introduction of some fine modern tunes. John Ireland's "Love Unknown", which appears twice - for Walsham How's "Thou art the Christ, O Lord" (555) as well as for Crossman's great hymn for which it was composed (102) - is singable, and has a marvellously subtle change of key. Equally dramatic though rather less subtle is the change of key in W. H. Ferguson's "Wolvercote" (331), a masculine tune which goes well to "O Jesus, I have promised";

(1) Or was it John Wesley? Methodist Hymn-Book 371 for Charles.

and the same composer's "Ladywell" has similar strength. W. H. Harris' "Alberta" has a well-shaped melody building up to an impressive climax: it is an unforgettable experience to hear a large congregation sing it to "Lead, kindly Light" (298). While the negotiations for "Monksgate", "King's Weston", "Sine Nomine" and "Down Ampney" were ultimately unsuccessful, ⁽¹⁾ Vaughan Williams' "Magda" is included though its air of resignation and peace makes it far more suitable for an evening hymn than for Montagu Butler's "Lift up your hearts" (341). ⁽²⁾ On the other hand, Cyril Taylor's majestic and singable "Abbot's Leigh" is exactly right for "Glorious things of Thee are spoken" (257): congregations take to it at once, so that "Austria" can be reserved for "Praise the Lord, ye heavens adore Him". Gordon Slater's "Saint Botolph" (450) has a lovely shape to the melody, and interesting internal parts too. Parry's "Jerusalem" (578) - hackneyed and sentimental as it is - is rightly included, as is his equally hackneyed and sentimental "Repton" (184); both tunes have effective climaxes, though Repton's is disastrously inappropriate for the last verse of Whittier's hymn ("O still small voice of calm"). Perhaps the best climax in the book comes in Charles Hylton Stewart's "Corona" (224), in the penultimate line.

"Beware of too much Nicholson". Despite the claim that Lowther Clarke's point had been well taken, there is too much Nicholson.

(1) This work, pp 240 - 259.

(2) Cf The English Hymnal, where it is appropriately set to "Saviour, again". In H A & M R the thinking is presumably that two tunes are enough (31) - "Ellers" (Hopkins) and "Pax Dei" (Dykes). But "Pax Dei" is not one of Dykes' better tunes. For "Lift up your hearts", either "Birmingham" or "Woodlands" or "All souls" would be better. None are in H A & M R.

Nor are Dykes Bower's and Gerald Knight's tunes really worth their place: "Standish" (407) is the best, but none of them has survived into H A & M N S (1983). Some of Nicholson's tunes had appeared in the 1916 Supplement, but "Bow Brickhill" was a recent composition and is eminently singable: one might almost say that it made up for there being too much second-rate Nicholson. It is happily married to Kelly's "We sing the praise", for which "Breslau" had never seemed quite right (215).

There are other twentieth century tunes in H A & M R such as Martin Shaw's "Marching" (182), some of them excellent: we have only noted a selection here. Suffice it to say that, when it came to introducing new work, the musical editors were on the whole more successful than their literary colleagues. The modern tunes are definitely one of H A & M R's strengths.

To what extent does the book score by its retention - or, indeed, introduction - of older tunes, not of a high musical calibre but always popular with congregations? Nicholson's foolish snobbery with regard to Harris' tune to "O valiant hearts" has been noted and does not inspire confidence in the musical editors ⁽¹⁾ common sense. Actually, the selection of "popular" tunes in H A & M R is quite generous. "Cwm Rhondda" has sensibly been introduced for "Guide me, O Thou great Redeemer" where it marches happily with Elvey's noble and little used "Pilgrimage". The advice "pecca fortiter" has been creditably observed, and there is a generous

(1) Few organists have not been infuriated by the absence of a popular and well-known tune which they have had to locate in some obscure pamphlet because the tune does not meet with the approval of hymn-book editors.

and wholly realistic provision of Victorian tunes by Dykes, Monk, Stainer and their contemporaries. As one would expect in H A & M, many of the original 1861 tunes are still there - "Eventide" (27), "Ewing" (278), "Melita" (487) and so on.

Are there omissions from the Standard Edition which are to be regretted? There are some fine tunes which have disappeared because their words have been omitted, such as W. H. Monk's "Milites" (Standard Edition 541). Room should surely have been found for "Saint Petersburg", set in the Standard Edition to Isaac Watts' "Awake, our souls": it is a useful long metre tune of grandeur and tunefulness. "Crediton", as we have seen, did not appeal to the editors, but its omission is unfortunate. The failure to recruit Thrupp's tune "Epiphany" from the Appendix of The English Hymnal was a mistake: it is the tune which everyone knows and likes to sing to "Brightest and best of the sons of the morning". And the same could be said for "Bullinger", also in the Appendix of The English Hymnal and not in H A & M R, ("Art thou weary, art thou languid?"). "Day of Rest" likewise is singable and often sung: its absence will have been missed (Standard Edition 271).

There are, on the other hand, scores of tunes which the musical editors have rightly dropped from H A & M. In the Standard Edition but absent from H A & M R are: "Kenilworth" (326), "Saint Francis" (325), "Life and Love" (578), "Stoke" (605) and so on. The list of such boring and undistinguished tunes would be almost endless: there is indeed much musical dead-wood in the Standard Edition which Nicholson, Knight and Dykes Bower were absolutely right to cut out.

H A & M R is richer for their absence. (1)

For the opportunity was there to introduce better tunes to replace the dead-wood. We have noted the excellence of some of the modern tunes introduced. Among older tunes which make their first appearance in H A & M, the following have been appreciated by choirs and congregations: "Stracathro" (299), "Westminster Abbey" (574), "Sandys" (337), "Saint Denis" (372) etc. "Truro" (220) had appeared in the 1904 Edition, but had been cold-shouldered in 1916 and 1922; now it belatedly and rightly re-appeared - another popular recruit from The English Hymnal.

Unfortunately, the musical editors did not go far enough in some instances, retaining dead-wood from the Standard Edition, or even introducing their own dead-wood. There are plenty such tunes; and if it be thought that the present writer is unjustifiably giving vent to his own prejudices and opinions, it is worth pointing out that the musical editors of H A & M N S (1983) agree, by not including them. The following fall into this category, among many others: "Hosanna" (241), "Almsgiving" (204), "Ealing" (387), "Dominus Vobiscum" (489), "Newland" (433). We have noted Nicholson's rude remarks about the tune for 573 in The English Hymnal; (2) but in truth we can find several that are as dull in his own book.

(1) But the Proprietors' claim is surely inordinately complacent:

"It is unlikely that any tune which has been discarded will be missed". H A & M R 1950, Clowes and Sons Ltd 1950. (No page numbers).

(2) See p 247 above, note (1)

Mention must be made of the plainsong melodies in H A & M R. There are 43, compared with 116 in The English Hymnal, and 28 in the Standard Edition of H A & M. The Anglo-Catholic tradition of the Original Edition is thus maintained. The accompaniments are tasteful and easy to play, and, combined with the helpful introductory instructions, ensure that the hymns will be as effective as possible. That is to say, if anyone ever uses them.

The musical editors have also provided some excellent descants. This is a new departure for H A & M, nor are descants provided in The English Hymnal, Songs of Praise, Church Hymnal or the Methodist Hymn-Book. H A & M thus led the way, and others, such as the Anglican Hymn-Book have followed. A curious feature is that the composer of the descant is sometimes named, sometimes not; perhaps it depends on the copyright. Thus Alan Gray is credited with the descant to "Hanover" (167), but no composer is given for the descants to "Wareham" (245) or "Darwells 148" (371). There is no indication in the indexes where descants may be found. (1)

The musical editors did not see fit to comply with the suggestion that Attwood's "Come Holy Ghost" should be included, to be sung perhaps as an anthem; similarly, as we have noted, Parry's "Sunset and Evening Star" was not continued from the Standard Edition. Stainer's setting to "Hail, Gladdening Light" (18), however, is included, and so are both Strong's and Nicholson's settings to "God be in my head" (332).

(1) E. G. Monk's "Angel Voices" (246) has no descant, so that H A & M R in this respect is inferior to the Anglican Hymn-Book (Cf Robin Sheldon's descant).

A defect of the Standard Edition was partially put right when several tunes were published in a lower key. Thus "Yorkshire" ("Christians awake", 61) is now set in C, instead of D, and the congregation has only to cope with top E, as opposed to F sharp. "Easter Hymn" likewise is put down from D to C, with similar merciful results for the congregation (134). "Ewing" (278) on the other hand is still in D, "Saint Theodulph" is still in C, and "Winchester New" (50) likewise. All these tunes are far too high. As a result, it was necessary to issue a special version of the tunes, all transposed down a tone. This measure had been adopted for the Standard Edition; it had now to be adopted for H A & M R. This is a glaring example of a lesson not being learned. There is no other collection of hymns where such a step has proved necessary. Every one of these tunes is published in a sensibly lower key in H A & M N S: so after more than a century of use and experience, realism has at last prevailed.

On the other hand, some improvement was achieved over the question of repetition of tunes. "Melcombe", it will be recalled, had been used no less than eight times in the Standard Edition. This was now reduced to two. Similarly, "Saint Flavian" makes only two appearances in H A & M R, as against seven in the Standard Edition, "Rockingham" is down from five to three appearances. These reforms and improvements reflect the intelligent rationalising policy of the musical editors.

To sum up, H A & M R is a credit to its editors, both literary and musical. It is full of fine music and fine poetry, while at the same time being thoroughly suited for congregational worship. One is always pleased to see it, when worshipping at a strange church. And, to the present author's knowledge, several cathedrals and churches have abandoned The English Hymnal in favour of H A & M R.

As we have seen, the Proprietors took the challenge of The English Hymnal very seriously - and they were right to do so. For over forty years they had lived off the capital of the excellence of the Standard Edition. Now, however, they went back to the drawing board and produced a new book. H A & M R compares favourably with The English Hymnal, even if one still has a sneaking suspicion that the latter is the better book.

Perhaps one could summarise by pointing out how wrong Lowther Clarke ⁽¹⁾ had been to claim that The English Hymnal was self-evidently a pre-war book (i.e. pre World War One). To be objective, The English Hymnal is astonishingly undated. Indeed, in a strange way, after only thirty years, H A & M R has a more dated air about it. This presumably the Proprietors have recognised by drastically pruning it, in the process of producing H A & M N S (1983). Whether they have been wise to do so, remains to be seen. Perhaps it is significant that demand for the Standard Edition continued into the 1960's, though as we have seen this was realistically anticipated by the Proprietors. Certainly H A & M R was not a disaster in the way that the 1904 Edition had been. The Proprietors proved that it was possible to reform the Standard Edition, introduce new material and retain the affectionate loyalty of thousands of worshippers, used to the H A & M tradition.

(1) See p 206 of this work.

The Church has indeed surely found "the same endearing and enduring qualities ... the same heartfelt yet sober tone, so much in keeping with English-speaking Christianity". (1)

VII

In 1958 the School Edition was published - an abbreviated version of H A & M R with appropriate additions including some carols. There were also some helpful directions for conducting School Assemblies.

The other major development before we move on to a radically new concept of H A & M (i.e. A Hundred Hymns for Today: see next chapter) was the publication of a new Historical Edition. The Historical Companion to H A & M was published for the Proprietors by William Clowes and Sons Ltd, and edited by Maurice Frost in 1962.

The most noticeable difference from Frere's 1909 Historical Edition is that hymn-tunes are not published, only the words. Presumably this was to save space. The book is indeed very full, a mine of fascinating information. The alphabetical lists of authors and composers has not only been extended by the incorporation of the recent recruits; but additional information has been added to the entries already in the 1909 Edition (we have noted the extra details in the 1962 version of J. A. Macmeikan's career, such as his driving success at the age of 82). The index of first lines and the alphabetical index of tunes include details of precisely in which editions of H A & M the words and music have appeared. (2) There

(1) Preface, H A & M R, p VIII.

(2) The Index of First Lines is not infallible, "Father, whose creating love" is listed as 643 in the Standard Edition. It certainly is not 643, nor does the hymn appear in the Standard Edition.

is also an index of plainsong of which W. H. Frere would have been proud. Again, the complete Latin, Greek, German etc. texts are given, as in the 1909 Edition.

The strangest part of the book is the Introduction. The early sections appear over the names of such authors as Egon Wellerz and Ruth E. Messenger, though no attempt is made to explain who these people are, or what their qualifications are.⁽¹⁾ The middle sections - very learned and rather dull - are anonymous. But a comparison with the 1909 Edition demonstrates that they are, word for word, the work of W. H. Frere, though in the text there is no acknowledgement. The last section (Chapter XIX, "Hymns Ancient and Modern") begins in the words of Frere, but on page 122 his account is merged into a description of events up to and including the publication of H A & M R. Frere could hardly have written the latter part of this as he died in 1938, and, sure enough, the whole of the last section is attributed to W. K. Lowther Clarke. The Preface is by Maurice Frost who explains that his purpose has been "to retain in his (Frere's) own words as much as possible of what the Bishop wrote", ⁽²⁾ while a few chapters of the Introduction have been re-written entirely. It all seems very confused and untidy. Surely the opportunity should have been seized to re-write completely the Introduction.

(1) According to Cyril Taylor, Ruth Messenger was an American scholar of erudition, but generally considered to be unreliable. Wellerz was a Byzantine specialist.

(2) Historical Companion, p (111).

Most of the illustrations - both in the text of the Introduction and the accompanying pages of photographs - are likewise borrowed faithfully from the 1909 Edition: again, another missed opportunity. However, photographs are added of Frere, Keymer, Nicholson and Richard Redhead (an incongruous choice: perhaps he is included because of his services to the discovery and performance of plainsong). The frontispiece consists of an enormous photograph of the Reverend Doctor W. K. Lowther Clarke (Chairman 1947 -). There is also a full-page illustration of "An Eighteenth Century Choir", by Samuel Hieronymous Grimm, a bizarre and grotesque picture: it presumably appealed to Doctor Frost's sense of humour, as the purpose of its inclusion in full-page size is otherwise obscure. ⁽¹⁾

The Historical Companion is fascinating and repays study: indeed, it is hard to put down. It is a worthy successor to Frere's pioneering work, and is worthy of the hymn-book which it analyses and describes.

Before we take leave of H A & M R, mention of Frere provokes a final comment. There is evidence to suggest that H A & M has moved steadily away from its original High Anglican background to a far more middle-of-the-road position theologically. H A & M R marks a crucial stage in this process. It is significant that the amount of plainsong has progressively declined, until there is virtually none in H A & M N S(1983) - though we have seen that there was slightly more plainsong in H A & M R than the Standard Edition. There are,

(1) Frost was in fact a dying man when he edited the Historical Companion. This may account for the anomalies.

however, fewer hymns for Saints' days - another trend which has been developed further in H A & M N S. This move to a more broad-church tradition of worship and practice is perhaps reflected and caused by increasing lay influence. If Baker dominated the evolution of the 1861 book, Frere the 1904 Edition and Keymer the Standard Edition of 1922, the corresponding figure in 1950 was Nicholson, even though he had died three years previously. And what was Nicholson's approach?

We shall not attempt to include a complete series of Office Hymns, and the use of plainsong will be relatively small. We do not propose to provide for Introits as in your Section XII. We quite realise that this will make our book unacceptable to many churches that use yours. (1)

Granted that H A & M had never been a party book (hence its popularity), nevertheless, one could hardly imagine Baker or Frere positively glorying in the book's lack of Office Hymns and Introits. One wonders similarly whether the churchmanship of the clergy involved in presiding over H A & M has not become broader. Lowther Clarke and Phillips (2) were certainly no "spikes" and it is significant that Max Warren should have been invited to serve as an Adviser, as he was definitely Evangelical.

It was at any rate possible for a broad-church Archbishop of Canterbury to commend H A & M R in an introductory pamphlet published

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- (1) Nicholson's proposed draft to Sir Humphrey Milford, August 1945. H A & M Archives, Norwich, in which he argued that H A & M was not a commercial threat to The English Hymnal.
- (2) Phillips was a "Book of Common Prayer traditionalist" according to his pupil, the Reverend W. Curtis.

by William Clowes and Sons Ltd. in 1950:

The collection known as H A & M has so well served the Church of England and has so deeply established itself in popular use and affection that a new edition is an important matter. The Preface to this edition describes the reasons which called for it and the lines on which the revision has been made, and may inspire every confidence that it has been wisely made. The hymns which accompany our worship do much to express and stimulate devotion both personal and corporate. I commend this edition in full trust that it will renew and extend the debt which church people owe to H A & M.

This generous appreciation is significant against the background of the negotiations between Convocation and the Proprietors of H A & M fifty years earlier, ⁽¹⁾ and against another broad-church Archbishop's condemnation of The English Hymnal for heresy. ⁽²⁾ Although H A & M was never to become the Church of England's official book, it could justly claim to be more generally representative in 1950 than at any other time.

(1) See above pp 49 - 52

(2) See above, p 170 note 1

Chapter 6

The New Standard Edition, 1983

I

A Hundred Hymns for Today

The genesis of A Hundred Hymns for Today and, therefore, of the New Standard Edition of H A & M can be traced back to 8 March 1963. On that date John Robinson, Bishop of Woolwich, wrote to Canon Lowther Clarke, the Chairman of the Proprietors of H A & M. The letter,⁽¹⁾ as one would expect from the author of Honest to God, was vigorous and thought-provoking. It was to have far-reaching consequences.

The Bishop began by postulating the "need for some completely new hymns which will express what the Spirit is saying to all the churches today". Ignoring the problem that by no means everyone would agree what precisely the Spirit is saying, the Bishop complained that the current hymnody was worse than useless. "Hymn-singing in the past has been one of the front-line weapons of change and revival in the Church, whereas today it is dragging decades behind, so much so that there is almost nothing in many fields which we can use which will not actually have a reverse effect, let alone being the cutting-edge of any advance".

(1) I have found no trace of this letter in the H A & M Archives at Norwich. However, a copy was lent to me by Canon Cyril Taylor.

Robinson then pinpointed areas where the theological revolution had not penetrated to hymnody: Biblical Theology, the Liturgical Movement, The Church and the Ecumenical Movement.

With regard to Biblical Theology (as he understood and interpreted it) Robinson argued that most hymns inculcated a completely unbiblical attitude. For instance, there was little suggestion that baptism involved incorporation in the Church and "all that goes with it", stress rather being placed on individualistic motifs. Robinson quoted as "an extreme example":

I do belong to Jesus,
I am the child of God,
I have a home in heaven
With Jesus Christ the Lord. (1)

Robinson claimed that this hymn was typical of "the ghastly individualistic other-worldly eschatology which I fear is all that most of our hymns reflect and bears almost no relation to the corporate inaugurated eschatology of the New Testament".

At this stage in his letter the Bishop permitted himself a sharp attack on H A & M. He claimed that he could always tell whether a church which he was visiting episcopally was using H A & M or The English Hymnal, by the words of the last verse. "One can be pretty sure that in The English Hymnal the last verse will be a 'Gloria' and that in H A & M it will be something about heaven, thought of in the worst and most unbiblical individualistic terms!"

(1) Robinson quotes three verses of this hymn which he says can be found in Festival Hymns: First Series, published for The Church of England Children's Council by the Church Information Board.

This led Robinson to condemn the "basically unbiblical... theology of the Spirit" in "our hymn-books". "I doubt whether there are any hymns which really bring out what seems to me the distinctive thing about the Spirit in the New Testament, namely, that it is a corporate possession, and is essentially the Spirit of the one body. I suspect again that almost all our hymns are fundamentally individualistic in their teaching about the Spirit and its gifts..."

Turning to the Liturgical Movement, the Bishop claimed that "particularly in eucharistic theology there is a tremendous amount of leeway to make up". The key-words "which sum up the emphases on the eucharist which are missing", Robinson suggested, are to be found in his Liturgy coming to Life - "action, society, matter." He commended Patrick Appleford's eucharistic hymns for "pointing in the right direction" and took another snipe at H A & M R for not including "Strengthen for service, Lord the hands" ("one of the few post-communion hymns which makes any relation to the world in which the Holy Communion has got to be lived out") and G. W. Briggs' "Come risen Lord and deign to be our guest" ("which at least says something about the eucharist as the Holy Meal"). (1)

When he considered hymns on the Church, Robinson condemned "most of the foreign missionary hymns" as "utterly unsuitable" and "totally outdated". Furthermore:

There is nothing really convincing either on the ordained or the unordained ministry of the people of God. I suppose it would be too much to expect that we should yet be producing hymns on "Holy Worldliness" or "Religionless Christianity", but again,

(1) "Strengthen for service" is 329 in The English Hymnal
"Come risen Lord" is 266 in Songs of Praise.

if these rightly important emphases of our day are really going to be brought out of the lecture halls into the pews, hymn-singing has a vitally important part to play. I think Songs of Praise a generation ago made a real effort to produce a hymnody of the Kingdom and not merely of the Church as an inward-looking organisation, but this job must be done again.

As for the Ecumenical Movement, "if this is the great new fact of our time, certainly it hasn't been reflected yet in our hymn-books". All we have is Wesley's "Jesus Lord, we look to Thee" which is in Songs of Praise but not in H A & M R or for that matter the Methodist Hymn-Book, and in any case "it is not in the slightest in our modern idiom, and we must produce something of our own century". There is always "The Church's one foundation" which "contains some astonishingly good biblical theology from the nineteenth century, but it really won't do for every purpose". We therefore badly need good hymns "which really set forth and set forward our new insights into the unity that we all seek, both in the field of Faith and Order and in that of life and work".

Robinson concluded with the hope that H A & M would "subsidise a competition or other encouragement, both for the words and the music, particularly among youth". He reiterated that he was not worried "by the fact that we might produce some ephemeral stuff". Earlier in his letter, Robinson had expressed a preference for "new hymns in contemporary idiom with contemporary tunes" which could well be out-of-date in twenty years. "I think any pioneering job has got to take the risk of this, and it must be left to the next generation to see what is chaff and what is wheat. But unless someone

does something we shall go on churning out the dreary irrelevant stuff which is making it increasingly difficult for our generation to see any point in church-going, and for those of us who sympathise with them to give them any encouragement to try".

Contemporary idiom, contemporary music, incorporation in the Church through baptism, the Spirit as a corporate possession, updated missionary hymns, ecumenicalism - all these ideas are to be found in A Hundred Hymns for Today. So are the emphases on the eucharist as the centre of Christian worship and the necessity of the Church being an outward-looking organisation. I have quoted Robinson's letter at length because it was so influential. As we shall see, the Proprietors accepted his arguments to a great extent and put them into practice. Even their willingness to incorporate words and music which seemed ephemeral within months of publication can be traced back to John Robinson's eloquent plea for "relevance" at all costs. (1)

Lowther Clarke's immediate reaction was to pass Robinson's letter on to Erik Routley for his comments. These were in due course expressed in a memorandum, (2) much of which was devoted to proving that the Bishop did not know what he was talking about. "I imagine that he knows as much about hymns as any intelligent churchman, but no more. He did not notice, for example, that although 'Strengthen for service' is not in H A & M, another version of the same original is". (3) Routley demolished Robinson's case against H A & M with

(1) Cf his description of current hymns as "irrelevant".

(2) This memorandum was also lent to me by Canon Cyril Taylor.

(3) Adam Fox's "Hands that have been handling". H A & M R 494,

H A & M N S 278.

regard to its alleged unbiblical and subjective approach to heaven. He analysed the 182 hymns in the "General" section of H A & M R, pointing out that 68 of them did not mention heaven, death or judgement at all, 14 ended with doxologies or Glorias, 58 contained teaching on heaven which Bishop Robinson by his own lights should accept and that therefore only 42 remain which "may be open to the Bishop's charge". Of these 42 "vulnerable" hymns, Routley argued that only 3 contained truly objectionable phrases: "hereafter heavenward soaring" from J. M. Neale's "To the name of our salvation" (H A & M R 190), the opening lines of Zinzendorf's "Jesus, still lead on, Till our rest be won" (206) and the closing line "And reign together in the sky" of Coffin's "O Lord, how joyful 'tis to see" (244).

However, Routley agreed with Robinson that there was a serious shortage of good eucharistic hymns and that with regard to the doctrine of the Church, "much could be added to existing collections by a closer look at the dissenting hymnals". Furthermore, "I very heartily endorse the Bishop's plea that Songs of Praise be taken seriously. Having done my own share in the past of vilifying it (following Bernard Manning), I now feel that what it was trying to say could, by skilful and sensitive editing, be said better now if editors got behind its surface frills".

Routley made a fair point when he suggested that "a good deal of what he (i.e. Robinson) says applies to hymns as they are chosen by careless incumbents rather than to hymns as they actually are". And many would agree with Routley's caution about the sheer ugliness of modern liturgical literature. "I do wonder how many people are edified by a litany which (1964) contains the injunction to thank God for 'the ecumenical movement'. Zeal has entirely cast out any

sense of public speech. One finds it again and again. Can we encourage the writing of hymns which include Geneva-jargon in every other line? I profoundly hope you won't ... don't some of us want to scream when we hear words like 'involvement' and 'situation'... I do not want to restore worms and bowels. I want to get rid of 'sky', 'meek' and quite a number of transformed words. But I profoundly hope that the response to the Bishop's challenge will not be undertaken without considering whether we have necessarily lost, in our time, the gift of public speech".

On the other hand, Routley showed that he had not read Robinson's letter carefully when he objected to language which soon became out of date. ⁽¹⁾ "What is our 'modern idiom'? The Bishop says Wesley does not write in it. What is it? Is it this?

And let us remember the chorus that swells
From hooters and hammers and whistles and bells,
From fierce-panting engines and clear-striking clocks,
And sirens of vessels afloat in the docks.

(Methodist School Hymn-Book, 261)

That has a lot to be said for it in that it gets rid of the notion that you can only be a Christian in the countryside: but nowadays engines don't pant; they snort in the diesel age. The same hymn talks of street-lamps 'twinkling'. They don't. They give a sodium glare. That is one example of how an attempt at modernity produces anachronisms - or what become anachronisms very soon."

(1) See the subsequent discussion in this work of Richard Jones' "God of concrete".

Robinson had, however, anticipated this criticism: "I am not in the slightest worried by the prospect that some of these (hymns) may be out of date in twenty years. This applies to most theological writing". Nor can Routley's argument be accepted as satisfactory that baptismal hymns may indeed be inept, but do we need them at all? Not, that is, if one accepts Robinson's premise that hymns are didactic and, in the past, have spear-headed revolutionary theological movements.

Indeed, while Routley makes some valid points, his memorandum is not a particularly perceptive document. While he boasts that "I am personally on record, in the 'Honest to God Debate', as having defended the Bishop of Woolwich's gesture towards relevant theology", he shows no sympathy or understanding for Robinson's basic argument. The Bishop's letter showed the same impatience and indignation with, as he saw it, irrelevant and indeed harmful religious practice that Saint Paul clearly felt in his letter to the Galatians. Routley is like a conservative Jewish Christian who might have pointed out that only three converts had in fact been circumcised.⁽¹⁾

(1) It may be felt that this comparison is highly flattering to John Robinson. But the same exasperation is there, both in Galatians and in Robinson's letter. Whether one agrees with Robinson is another matter. Similarly, Routley's opinions on hymns were often highly questionable. In a letter to Lowther Clarke, dated 10 February 1964, he said of the forthcoming Cambridge Hymn-Book: "One thing it will certainly be is a direct, and possibly pleasurable, contrast to the Anglican Hymn-Book. I have had a lot of letters from its secretary asking where to look for copyright owners of tunes, and the objects of their search fill me with miserable foreboding. It is not easy to see how a hymn-book of this sort is needed in the Church of England, but I shall be much relieved if it does not exemplify many of the less agreeable consequences of "Evangelicalism".

Whatever one's reactions to Robinson's plea for "relevant" hymnody, of one thing there can be no doubt: the Proprietors of H A & M accepted the validity of the Bishop's arguments. As we shall see, this is the inescapable conclusion to be drawn from an examination of the two Supplements, A Hundred Hymns for Today and More Hymns for Today. It is also very apparent in a letter ⁽¹⁾ which Lowther Clarke composed in October 1964, appealing for suitable hymns.

For some time past we (the Proprietors and Assessors of H A & M) have been considering the question of producing a Supplement of "modern" hymns. The question of new tunes is perhaps as important, but in our opinion the words should come first; an inspiring hymn may suggest an appropriate tune.

"Modern" may be taken in several ways: (a) an author without any conscious striving may write differently because he is a mid-twentieth century man; (b) he may be modern in the sense that he avoids traditional ideas and expressions which he feels evoke no response today; (c) he may be positively modern in that he sets out to meet needs which had not arisen over the horizon of the classic hymn-writer.

Clearly echoing John Robinson, Lowther Clarke explained that "the proposed Supplement will need to be revised and enlarged before long and that only some of the new hymns will find a permanent place in Church hymnody". There was no present intention of producing a new edition of H A & M.

(1) Copy lent to me by Canon Cyril Taylor.

The basic premises of the Proprietors' policies were then set out - again clearly demonstrating Robinson's influence:

- (1) The new and fruitful biblical theology movement is practically unrepresented in existing books;
- (2) outworn eschatology pervades hymns on the "last things";
- (3) the Church appears largely as an inward-looking institution and not one going out into the world;
- (4) nearly all missionary hymns are hopelessly out-of-date, and the ecumenical movement is not represented.
- (5) generally speaking, the social and corporate implications of Christianity and the Sacraments are neglected.

Lowther Clarke explained that the Proprietors were agreed that hymns "should not be a sermon, but should be a spontaneous expression of praise; the congregation's response to the call to worship. Hymns should be corporate not personal" - a debatable and most significant assertion. Greater caution, however, was expressed over the problem of words being simple without being "slang" - "how to be colloquial without being 'cheap'". Without doubt, "the language of everyday speech is needed in hymns", but "this is a difficult problem".

No punches were pulled over missionary hymns - "might be written by members of the Church overseas. Must stress service, not superiority or condescension. Missionary work is needed at home as much as overseas". And a similarly assertive line was taken over communion hymns:

Most eucharistic hymns fail to express "the family"; they are too personal ... the language of the offertory hymns must be related to the world of today. Hymns on the breaking of bread are needed. Post-communion hymns should look outwards into the

world: the vision seen in such hymns must be all-embracing, expressing the opportunity given to God's servants to do His exciting work in the world.

Lowther Clarke's letter concluded with the pious hope that "hymns for young people need the modern idiom without verging on the trite".

By the time the Supplement was published in 1969, Lowther Clarke was dead. It says much for his intellectual liveliness that, despite being in his eighties, he had presided over and indeed forced through the necessary preliminary stages of A Hundred Hymns for Today, by H A & M standards a revolutionary book. He was no over-cautious conservative. It is an interesting reflection that Lowther Clarke provided so significant a link with H A & M R in the production of which, as we have seen, he played a major part.

He was succeeded as Chairman by John Dykes Bower, Organist of Saint Paul's Cathedral. There is, however, no dominant personality in the story of the production of the two Supplements (1969 and 1980) and of H A & M N S - no-one to compare with Baker, Frere or Nicholson, or even with Lowther Clarke. Dykes Bower was liked ⁽¹⁾ and respected, but was a shy, withdrawn man, an appalling public-speaker and by no means an assertive Chairman. The documentary evidence suggests that Canon Cyril Taylor was highly influential so far as detail was concerned. He handled the correspondence with regard to both words and music, which he was well qualified to do: he had edited the B.B.C. Hymn-Book, was knowledgeable on the subject of the words of hymns

(1) I still have a charmingly helpful letter which Dykes Bower wrote to me on 12 April 1955 in answer to a query of mine about a broadcast he had given on the Forces Broadcasting Service, Cyprus.

and was the composer of several successful hymn-tunes. But he too preferred to remain in the background. Increasingly influential behind the scenes was Edgar Bishop, an accountant who had worked for Lowther Clarke at S.P.C.K. and had been recruited by him as a Proprietor of H A & M because of his business acumen. The main intellectual force behind H A & M was now Henry Chadwick who has held professorial posts at Oxford and Cambridge. He was to succeed Dykes Bower as Chairman. Yet even he shuns the limelight. "I shall be in the boiler-room", he told Cyril Taylor recently, before attending a Lambeth conference. (1)

Significantly Chadwick has taken over the writing of H A & M Prefaces. Those at the beginning of A Hundred Hymns for Today and More Hymns for Today appear over the names of five Proprietors. The Preface for H A & M N S is completely anonymous. All in fact were written by Chadwick. (2) The Preface to A Hundred Hymns for Today is clear and forceful: (3)

(1) Newspaper gossip alleged that both Henry and Owen Chadwick turned down Canterbury and other bishoprics such as Oxford. Cf Private Eye, 24 February 1984, "Bishop of the Month" (the Right Reverend P. C. Rodger, Lord Bishop of Oxford): "Many thought it would obviously be Henry Chadwick, the honey-toned Dean of Christchurch. Others guessed it would be the Dean's brother Owen Chadwick, Master of Selwyn".

(2) My source is Cyril Taylor (21 August 1984).

R. W. W: "Who wrote the Preface to A Hundred Hymns for Today?"

C. V. T: "Chadwick".

R. W. W: "Who wrote the Preface to More Hymns for Today?"

C. V. T: "Chadwick"

R. W. W: "Who wrote the Preface to the New Standard Edition?"

C. V. T: "Need you ask?"

(3) Chadwick's Preface interestingly echoes John Robinson's views.

Today's Christians need today's songs to sing as well as yesterday's. The great hymns of the past need no patronage or recommendation. But we cannot live only on the achievements of the past. A collection of hymns has to be both modern and ancient if it is genuinely to express the full mind of the people of God.

Chadwick explains that the Supplement was designed both to incorporate hymns from other established collections which had failed to appear in H A & M R and to introduce hymns which would probably be new to worshippers of all traditions. The book includes about forty of the latter, so it is claimed. However, "it does not go so far in the direction of modernity as to include those written in an idiom likely to be so short-lived that any book containing them will be dated within months of publication. We have tried to steer a middle course, therefore, between re-statements of the traditional and ephemeral or 'pop' productions."

If it be thought that this sounds more like Routley than Robinson, the balance was soon redressed:

The book does not assume, as older hymn-books did, a society more agricultural than industrial, untroubled by questions of race relations and human rights. Nor does it pre-suppose a church untouched by the fierce conflicts of the century.

The Preface ends with the significant admission that words had been harder to find than music. Chadwick argues that is is extremely

difficult to write modern hymns.

The vocabulary and idiom of words used in liturgy and worship become limited by familiar associations. To try and say something wholly fresh is therefore to run the risk of sounding bizarre, if not grotesque. Then there is the fact that the metres and rhymes of an older age are no longer employed by modern poets. Finally, there is an inherent nature of religious language. Hymns tend towards aspiration and interjection. They have never easily endured clear and precise propositional statement. Yet a good Christian hymn will always say something coherent, and will not merely express passing feelings and momentary attitudes. At a time of search for new ways of expressing Christian faith, it is not easy to carry out these explorations within the limits imposed by the form of a hymn. However, the new hymns contained in this volume, have seemed to stand out by their quality, and the editors are confident that their presence here will be warmly welcomed by many users.

Eleven years later these cautious and sober sentiments would have seemed dated, and the Preface to More Hymns for Today is far more confident that good modern hymns are available. By then "the explosive years for hymnody"⁽¹⁾ had come and gone, and there was no shortage. In Cyril Taylor's words, "in 1980 it was a struggle what to keep out, but in 1969 it had been a struggle what to put in". Taylor confesses that he would now be "perfectly happy to see at least twenty-five hymns go from A Hundred Hymns for Today ... But in 1969

(1) The title of Eric Sharpe's paper read to the Hymn Society. Bulletin 153, January 1982.

the desire for something new was so enormous that you would have got away with anything".

So it is perhaps with some apprehension that we turn to A Hundred Hymns for Today. Had the struggle to find suitable material been worthwhile? Had John Robinson's cri de cœur for relevance been answered? Were Erik Routley's fears that modern hymns must inevitably be jargon justified?

Immediately it is clear that the Supplement is quite unlike anything else that had been issued under H A & M colours. No less than 60 of the 100 hymns were by living authors. It will be recalled that the Standard Edition did not include a single hymn by a living author, and the concessions to modernity made by the Compilers of H A & M R were limited in the extreme. Now "modern" predominated over "ancient" with a vengeance.

Some of the hymns by contemporary authors were conservative, uncontroversial and unprovocative. Indeed, as befitted a Hampshire man, John Arlott, the cricket-writer, must have offended John Robinson by writing as an unashamed countryman: (1)

Take our ploughing, seeding, reaping,
hopes and fears of sun and rain,
all our thinking, planning, waiting,
ripened in this fruit and grain.

No-one could take exception to this harmless piece of deism, though it is by no means clear what the author means when he invites God to "take the finest of our harvest" etc. (2)

(1) H A & M N S 370. "God whose farm is all creation".

(2) Contrast this hymn with H A & M N S 249. "Take my life and let it be Consecrated..."

There are six of H. C. A. Gaunt's hymns in A Hundred Hymns for Today, in all of which spiritual regeneration is stressed, without any disturbing implications with regard to living the Christian life:

Scattered flock, one Shepherd sharing,
lost and lonely, one voice hearing,
ears are open to your word;
by your blood new life receiving
in your Body firm, believing,
we are yours, and you the Lord. (1)

Perhaps there is a trace of fashionable ecumenicalism in the first line, yet this hymn could have been written a century earlier (though perhaps not in that metre). Gaunt's hymn for All Saints, "Glory to Thee, O God," (2) again, avoids the issue of how the saints are to measure up to the world today:

Lord God of truth and love,
"thy Kingdom come", we pray;
give us thy grace to know thy truth and walk thy way:
that here on earth
thy will be done,
till saints on earth and heaven are one.

(1) H A & M N S 416, "Praise the Lord, rise up rejoicing".

(2) H A & M N S 363.

Patrick Appleford is one of the few major contributors to the two Supplements who is an Anglican priest. ⁽¹⁾ In his "Father all-loving", he brings in the social gospel in a general way:

Blessed Lord Jesus, thou camest in poverty,
sharing a stable with beasts at thy birth;
stir us to work for thy justice and charity,
truly to care for the poor upon earth.

On the other hand, Appleford's "Lord Jesus Christ" adheres strictly to the other-worldly, individualistic message of which John Robinson so disapproved:

Lord Jesus Christ,
you have come to us,
born as one of us,
Mary's son.
Led out to die on Calvary,
risen from death to set us free,
living Lord Jesus, help us see
you are Lord.

Lord Jesus Christ,
I would come to you, etc. ⁽²⁾

(1) He is at present Director of Education in the Chelmsford Diocese.

(2) H A & M N S 391.

Another Anglican priest, Timothy Dudley-Smith,⁽¹⁾ is similarly conservative and moderate in his handling of the Magnificat, "Tell out my Soul".

Tell out, my soul, the greatness of his might:
powers and dominions lay their glory by;
proud hearts and stubborn wills are put to flight
the hungry fed, the humble lifted high. ⁽²⁾

Actually, what Hugh Dalton called "our great socialist hymn the Magnificat" is far more disturbing. "He hath put down the mighty from their seat" is a different story to "powers and dominions lay their glory by". Nor does Dudley-Smith mention the rich being sent empty away.

There are, however, some very different hymns to these in A Hundred Hymns for Today. Take, for instance, Fred Kaan's version of the Magnificat which is far more faithful to the original. It is provocatively entitled "Magnificat now", and has the striking first line "Sing we a song of high revolt". ⁽³⁾

(1) Now Bishop of Thetford.

(2) H A & M N S 422. The hymn is based on the New English Bible translation.

(3) H A & M N S 419.

By him the poor are lifted up;
he satisfies with bread and cup
the hungry man of many lands;
the rich are left with empty hands.

He calls us to revolt and fight
With him for what is just and right,
to sing and live Magnificat
in crowded street and council flat.

Percy Dearmer would have applauded, John Robinson presumably did applaud and, one would think, Sir Henry Baker turned in his grave. Here indeed is the social gospel, here indeed the "urban idiom". Fred Kaan enjoys pointing out that the hymn goes well to the "Red Flag", ⁽¹⁾ though the musical editors of H A & M have not yet been able to act on this suggestion: perhaps in the next edition.... Eric Sharpe's comments on this hymn are pertinent:

You yourself may never have lived in a council flat or a high-rise block, but these conditions do represent (and therefore symbolize) a big slice of modern experience. It is perfectly proper, therefore, even for middle class, semi-detached suburban dwellers to sing such words, because they issue a challenge to a large sector of contemporary life by saying that Mary's song Magnificat belongs as much to crowded street and tenement building as to evensong in parish church or college chapel. ⁽²⁾

(1) I am grateful to my friend, Laurence Taylor, for this information. He knows Kaan well. My colleague, Trevor Drake, points out that the Salvation Army do, in fact, sing hymns to the "Red Flag".

(2) "The explosive years for hymnody in Britain", Hymn Society Bulletin, 153, p 17.

Donald Hughes unhesitatingly argued that wisdom belongs to the poor and humble, especially in our sceptical twentieth century:

When to thy people thou didst come
among the humble was thy home,
and with the poor and simple men;
nor wealth, nor power, nor majesty,
but wisdom found its way to thee,
and shepherds knelt around thee then.

The little fashions of our day
have turned in unbelief away,
and we are in the age of doubt;
yet still with humble men of heart
and all who know their need thou art,
for such thou never wilt cast out. (1)

Even more critical by implication of the "establishment" is Hughes' "Creator of the earth and skies", though he surprisingly and illogically concludes: "We long to end this worldwide strife". Who are we? In verse 2:

We have not known you: to the skies
our monuments of folly soar,
and all our self-wrought miseries
have made us trust ourselves the more.

(1) H A & M N S 390.

Albert F. Bayly effectively versifies Micah's stern injunction to men of power - "Do justly, Love mercy, Walk humbly with your God".

Rulers of men, give ear!

Should you not justice know?

will God your pleading hear,

while crime and cruelty grow?

Masters of wealth and trade,

all you for whom men toil,

think not to win God's aid,

if lies your commerce soil. (1)

Notice the crack at the ad-man, always a popular aunt-sally for modern social gospellers. The picture of men toiling for masters of wealth is painted in even darker colours by Russell Bowie:

O shame to us who rest content

while lust and greed for gain

in street and shop and tenement

wring gold from human pain,

and bitter lips in blind despair

cry, "Christ hath died in vain". (2)

(1) H A & M N S 432. "What does the Lord require?" (Micah 6. 6 - 8).

(2) H A & M N S 409. "O holy city, seen of John .. "

Even more "relevant" and, perhaps, acute is the Baptist Sydney Carter's critique of capitalist, western, white complacency. His hymns had been recommended to Lowther Clarke by Routley in his comments on John Robinson's letter of March 1963. Routley equated Carter's tunes with the twentieth century Light Music popularised by Father Geoffrey Beaumont, but much preferred Carter's words, "which seem to me to recover the old sense of poetry without conceding anything to stuffy archaism". There is indeed nothing archaic or stuffy about "When I needed a neighbour, were you there, were you there?", Carter's effective paraphrase of the "in as much as" passage in Matthew 25, headed "Christian Aid" in H A & M N S:

I was hungry and thirsty, were you there,
were you there?

I was hungry and thirsty, were you there?

When I needed a shelter, were you there,
were you there?

When I needed a shelter, were you there? (1)

Equally pointed is Carter's carol "House full" (his tune is called "Camden"):

Jesus Christ has gone to heaven;
one day he'll be coming back, sir.
In this house he will be welcome,
but we hope he won't be black, sir:

(1) H A & M N S 433.

Wishing you a merry Christmas

we will now go back to bed, sir.

Till you woke us with your knocking

we were sleeping like the dead, sir. (1)

Carter claims that "the outward form of my own faith and doubt is religious rather than political". (2) Nevertheless, as Eric Sharpe points out, "these songs had political overtones, often of protest", though Sharpe goes on to claim that Carter "can express anger, but never in an aggrieved manner, as in so many secular 'protest songs'; he can stab viciously at the ills in our society, but there is irony and often laughter in his rebuke". (3)

None of Carter's words are included in Hymns for Today's Church. Michael Baughen, Bishop of Chester, who was consultant editor, agrees that Carter's are "popular hymns and can be effective challenges to the mind", but "the doctrinal emphasis of some of Sydney Carter's words raises the eyebrow". (4) Eric Sharpe admits that the theology of "Every star shall sing a carol" has been questioned:

Who can tell what other cradle

high above the milky way

still may rock the King of Heaven

on another Christmas Day?

(1) H A & M N S 400.

(2) Sharpe, op. cit., p 19.

(3) ibid. Can one laugh as one stabs viciously?

(4) Letter to the present author, 10 September 1984.

Who can tell what other body

he will hallow for his own? (1)

Carter's reply, "Why shouldn't there be an incarnation on Saturn?" (2) is certainly a "challenge to the mind".

Carter's most popular hymn, "I danced for the scribe" is (3) likewise far from biblical. Like "Every star", I suspect that its popularity is largely due to Carter's catchy tune. Why Christ should be described as "Lord of the dance" is far from clear. (4) "They cut me down and I leap up high" is certainly a striking but not a very happy image. Perhaps this is one of the 25 hymns in A Hundred Hymns for Today which Cyril Taylor would happily see dropped. It seems dated now. (5)

The best example of a dated hymn is perhaps Richard Jones' "God of concrete, God of steel". Here is a most determined attempt to fit God into an industrial society.

God of concrete, God of steel,
God of piston and of wheel,
God of pylon, God of steam,
God of girder and of beam,
God of atom, God of mine,
all the world of power is thine. (6)

(1) H A & M N S 354.

(2) Sharpe, op. cit., p 19.

(3) H A & M N S 375.

(4) Dancing symbolises joy, perhaps?

(5) Perhaps significantly none of Carter's hymns are in More Hymns for Today.

(6) H A & M N S 366. "What does 'of' mean?" John Wilson asked Cyril Taylor. Taylor told him not to be so pedantic (conversation reported to the present author by Cyril Taylor, 21 August 1984).

This is already out-of-date: there is no mention of silicon chips. Perhaps an updated version could appear with each new edition. Alternatively, the hymn can be omitted as for example in Hymns and Psalms which Richard Jones has edited. Some may feel that this is a pity and that the hymn is more than ephemeral: it certainly has vigour, especially when sung to the tune set in A Hundred Hymns for Today, Cyril Taylor's "Minterne".

On the other hand, several of the new hymns in A Hundred Hymns for Today will surely not date. Despite its quotation from the New English Bible version of the Sermon on the Mount, Rosamond Herklots' "Forgive our sins as we forgive" ⁽¹⁾ has an appealing timeless simplicity:

How can your pardon reach and bless
the unforgiving heart
that broods on wrongs and will not let
old bitterness depart?

In blazing light your Cross reveals
the truth we dimly knew,
how small the debts men owe to us,
how great our debt to you.

"If you want to write a hymn, first of all you must have something to say". ⁽²⁾ Rosamond Herklots exemplifies her own teaching.

(1) H A & I M N S 362.

(2) From a paper delivered at All Saints, Denmead by Rosamond Herklots.

It is significant that over a quarter of A Hundred Hymns for Today are for Holy Communion. This is what John Robinson had demanded, and this high proportion reflects the movement among Anglican clergy towards the "one service", as against Matins, Evensong and non-liturgical Evangelism. Among these hymns are ancient compositions such as "Strengthen for service" ⁽¹⁾ (again, as recommended by Robinson) and new works such as H. C. A. Gaunt's "Dear Lord, to you again our gifts we bring". ⁽²⁾ This is a striking construction based on the episodes, "He took", "He blessed", "He broke", "He gave".

Our lips receive your wine, our hands your bread;
you give us back the selves we offered you,
won by the Cross, by Calvary made new,
a heart enriched, a life raised from the dead.
Grant us to take and guard your treasure—well
that we in you, and you in us may dwell.

It is instructive to compare this clever, complicated hymn with John Bright's classically simple "And now, O Father". ⁽³⁾

(1) H A & M N S 421.

(2) H A & M N S 352.

(3) For some mysterious reasons modern compilers fight shy of the last two verses, "And now for these" and "And so we come" - asterisked in H A & M N S and totally omitted from Hymns for Church and School (206). Yet these verses are effective. Cf B. L. Barnby's unpublished work on hymns where he has this comment on "There is a green hill": "The popularity of this hymn is evidence that a simple answer is all that most people need".

More straightforward is G. W. Briggs' "Come, risen Lord, and deign to be our guest", which meets all of John Robinson's stipulations with regard to the corporate nature of Communion:

One body we, one body who partake,
one church united in communion blest;
one name we bear, one bread of life we break,
with all thy saints on earth and saints at rest. (1)

Robinson, too, must have approved of the six hymns for Baptism - or so the subject index claims. None, however, is so specifically pertaining to Baptism as Dean Alford's "In token that thou shalt not fear", (2) omitted from H A & M N S.

Notable among the old-established hymns included for the first time in H A & M are "Thine be the glory", "Help us to help each other, Lord" and "Jesus, my Lord, how rich thy grace". It will be recalled that Bishop Robinson had regretted the lack of hymns about social obligations and church unity; Charles Wesley and Philip Doddridge combined here to fill the need for such hymns. Even more to the point is Richard Jones' "The God who rules this earth", (3) headed "Race Relations", and certainly addressed to the problems of the present day:

(1) H A & M N S 349.

(2) H A & M R 424.

(3) H A & M N S 425.

But sin infects us all,
distorts the common good;
the universal fall
corrupts all brotherhood;
so racial pride and colour strife
spread fear and hate throughout man's life.

Between the West and East,
yet neither black nor white
behold, God's Son released!
in whom all men unite.
He comes with unrestricted grace
to heal the hearts of every race. (1)

Like the same author's "God of concrete, God of steel", this is courageous, though vulnerable to criticism and liable to become dated. In general, however, the Compilers avoided the pitfalls of trendy modernity of which Erik Routley had warned them. (2)

One's overall impression is that A Hundred Hymns for Today is a thoroughly usable collection - striking in an attractive way, without becoming ludicrous or gratuitously provocative. This supplement has been in use at All Saints, Denmead (3) since its publication, where a methodical

(1) Also included in the Supplement is Oxenham's "In Christ there is no east or west". (H A & M N S 376).

(2) Cf the Monty Python satirical parody: Every sperm is sacred,
 Every sperm is great,
 Every sperm that's wasted,
 God gets quite irate.

(3) The vicar at present is John Herklots, Rosamond's nephew.

record has been kept of hymns sung at all services, Sunday by Sunday. Not too much should be made of evidence from one parish, but Denmead is just the kind of middle-class dormitory suburb where the Church of England should be able to evangelise effectively. The evidence suggests that A Hundred Hymns for Today has been remarkably acceptable. Only eight hymns have never been sung and twenty-six have been used on more than fifteen occasions.

However, it by no means follows that the music set to the hymns has also been widely used. ⁽¹⁾ Surprisingly, given Chadwick's assertion in the Preface that "new words have been more difficult to find", the selection of tunes in A Hundred Hymns for Today is conservative, and less enterprising than the choice of words. Perhaps the idea was not to put people off the words by imposing too much unfamiliar music on them. But I have no evidence as to the popular use of the tunes.

Only thirty tunes out of a hundred are by living composers. Thirty-two are old tunes which were now recruited for H A & M and no less than thirty-eight had already appeared in H A & M R. Three of the latter actually appear twice in A Hundred Hymns for Today in addition to their use in H A & M R - "Surrey", "Kingsfold" and "Quem Pastores". Particularly when the supplements have been incorporated in H A & M N S, it seems a sad waste

(1) "I can't stand the tune and we don't sing it", said the Vicar, John Herklots to me about Cyril Taylor's "Minterne", to "God of concrete, God of steel" (H A & M N S 366).

of an opportunity to be so unenterprising: a wider selection of more interesting tunes would have been welcome. (1)

Not but what the new tunes in A Hundred Hymns for Today are lively, varied and, for the most part, likely to last. There is nothing ephemeral about Herbert Howell's "Michael" (H A & M N S 336), Erik Routley's "Wansbeck" (H A & M N S 385) or Walter Greatedorex's "Woodlands" (H A & M N S 422). Perhaps more vulnerable to changing fashion are Sydney Carter's and Patrick Appleford's melodies, though they have proved popular enough up to the time of writing. A strange phenomenon is the relative cold-shouldering of Cyril Taylor's tunes; for instance, "Beweley", "Bushmead", "Mead Howe", "Eirene" and "Portland" all feature in the Anglican Hymn-Book, but at no stage in H A & M. (2) But then while Dykes Bower has two tunes in A Hundred Hymns for Today and four in More Hymns for Today, of the other Proprietors, Gerald Knight has only one tune (in More Hymns for Today) and Dakers and Wicks none at all. Perhaps "not too much Nicholson" was a warning of which his successors were mindful.

Be that as it may, the music in A Hundred Hymns for Today is worthy of the words. There is little dross. New tunes, old tunes making their first H A & M bow, tunes borrowed from the Revised Edition combine in an attractive whole. "Cannons" and "Maccabaeus" by Handel march with Stanton's "Hambleton" (3) and the old Gaelic "Bunessan". The book repays study at a piano.

(1) Appleford to Taylor, 7 January 1979 (H A & M Archives, Norwich) refers to "the boring tune in A Hundred Hymns for Today to 'God is love'."

(2) "Yes, it is odd, I can't explain it". Taylor to present author, 21 August 1984.

(3) Routley to Taylor, 18 November 1978 (H A & M Archives, Norwich). "I was sorry too that Walter Stanton has left us - but he's left a lot with us... 'Hambleton' is the tune I would never let die".

To sum up, A Hundred Hymns for Today is a notable achievement. Certainly John Robinson's demands were met, while for the most part Erik Routley's fears were proved pessimistic. By H A & M standards the book was a revolution. Indeed one suspects that the incurious majority of worshippers who used A Hundred Hymns for Today had no notion of its connection with H A & M. Whoever reads Prefaces?

II

More Hymns for Today (June 1980)

"It's a much better book than the other". Henry Chadwick's preference for More Hymns for Today at the expense of A Hundred Hymns for Today is interesting. Cyril Taylor, to whom this verdict was delivered, remembers Chadwick's aversion to "hymns which bang the desk". Certainly, the later collection is less strident, and this perhaps explains the Chairman's opinion.

Alternatively, the second supplement, if indeed it is superior to the first, might owe its quality to the wider choice available. Chadwick's Preface to More Hymns for Today refers to the "unexpected, fresh and exciting output of English hymns" since 1969 - and quite legitimately he suggests that A Hundred Hymns for Today might have helped to bring this about. Chadwick is convinced of the lasting quality of this output:

Naturally enough, many of these new hymns are and have been intended by their authors to be experimental ... but among these recent hymns there are those that have about them something of the elusive quality which seems to mark them with a more enduring quality.

Chadwick explains that the editors' "intention is again double: to fill a few further gaps in H A & M R (1950) and to draw the best from the rich store of material generated since 1969. So Isaac Watts, Charles Wesley, and Athelstan Riley are here together with many writers of the late twentieth century". It was hoped that More Hymns for Today would be used alongside H A & M R and A Hundred Hymns for Today, and not as a replacement. "Like its predecessor the book seeks to be forward-looking without abandoning ordered restraint; to be sensitive to the changing needs and renewed vitality of the Church in a turbulent world, while being rooted in the long, living tradition of the people of God". The Preface ends with a tribute to Gerald Knight who had died in September 1979.

Eric Sharpe called the decade 1970 - 1980 "the explosive years for hymnody in Britain". Certainly much more was available now, compared to the situation eleven years earlier. Cyril Taylor's observation will be recalled that in 1969 the problem had been what to put in, while in 1980 the problem was what to leave out. There was far more deliberation, therefore, about the right hymns to be selected for More Hymns for Today. Eighteen consultants were canvassed by Cyril Taylor: seven Parish Priests (Canon R. S. Wilkinson, David Parkes, Geoffrey Wrayford, R. A. Babington, Canon Cyril Witcomb, Alan Luff and Richard Hurford), the Bishop of Hulme, the Provost of Blackburn, Canon Derek Ingram Hill, Doctor Geoffrey Cuming (who represented Theological Colleges), Mrs. Jean Mayland (who was the wife of a Parish Priest), Mrs. Gillian Hancock (a school-teacher), Dame Betty Ridley, Mrs. Elizabeth Montefiore, Mrs. Margaret Daniel of The Church Times, Dame Diana Reader Harris and John Wilson, Treasurer of the Hymn Society and formerly Director of Music at Charterhouse. Taylor processed the consultants' opinions and circulated the conclusions to his fellow Proprietors. He also corresponded freely with hymn-writers, discussing possible improvements or additions.

For example, Patrick Appleford wrote at length, offering several of his own hymns for incorporation in the new supplement. None of them was accepted ⁽¹⁾ - perhaps an indication that what had been good enough in 1969 would not pass muster in 1980.

For a different reason Albert Bayly's "Lord of the boundless curves of space" had been omitted from the 1969 Supplement (despite having been written as early as 1949), but was now to be included in the 1980 book. According to Eric Sharpe, "so startlingly new were such ideas that no denominational hymn-book dared to print them until 1975!" ⁽²⁾ Presumably Bayly's original "Thy mind conceived the galaxy, The atom's secret planned" was altered in More Hymns for Today to "Your mind conceived the galaxy, Each atom's secret planned", because "the atom's secret" might offend C.N.D. ⁽³⁾ In a letter to Taylor, ⁽⁴⁾ Bayly, at the age of seventy-seven, was still seeking improvements. The fifth verse is set out there in his quavering hand:

Science explores your reason's ways,
and faith can this impart,
That in the face of Christ our gaze
Looks deep within your heart.

In an earlier letter he had written, "I agree that the 'You' form is desirable". ⁽⁵⁾

(1) Nor was Appleford's date of birth corrected when H A & M N S appeared. "A Hundred Hymns for Today shows me b 1924 and I'm actually a year younger b 4 May 1925!'" Appleford to Taylor 7 January 1979. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(2) Sharpe, op. cit., p 14.

(3) H A & M N S 493.

(4) Dated 9 October 1978. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(5) Bayly to Taylor, 12 July 1978. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

Timothy Dudley-Smith was less accommodating, and refused to allow Taylor to turn his hymn "Faithful vigil ended" into "You" language. His reason was on the face of it surprising and paradoxical - he wanted to be faithful to the New English Bible on which the hymn is based: "The only reason I used Thees and Thous in the first place is that in this context that is the language of the New English Bible". And sure enough, the New English Bible translation of Luke 2. 29 reads "This day, Master, thou givest thy servant his discharge in peace" - the archaism presumably being deliberate. Anyway, Dudley-Smith would not relent and told Taylor that he "would perfectly understand if you prefer not to use it at all rather than in the Thou form". The hymn is there in More Hymns for Today (453 H A & M N S), in the "Thou" form. (1)

Basil Bridge was prepared to be flexible over the last verse of his wedding hymn "Jesus, Lord, we pray", (2) accepting Taylor's criticism that "help them now as they are taking solemn vow, your spirit making love etc" was too complicated. Bridge wrote: "The only suggestion I have at the moment is:

Let the ring serve as a token
of a love sincere, unbroken,
love more strong ... "

Taylor gladly accepted Bridge's happier second thought, having written to an unidentifiable third party "the last verse is quite impossible, I've no idea what its construction is". (3)

(1) Dudley-Smith to Taylor. 25 July 1978. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(2) H A & M N S 475.

(3) Bridge to Taylor, 20 February 1978. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

Fred Kaan was another author who refused to agree to alterations. John Wilson had offered his good offices in persuading Kaan to alter "fight" to "strive" in the fourth verse of his hymn on "The family of nations", "We turn to you, O God of every nation". (1) But Kaan explained in a letter to "Dear Cyril Taylor": "I cannot, on reflection, see what the trouble is with the word 'fight'. People rightly fight for many things. Even I as a pacifist have no quarrel with the word". Kaan had his way and fought successfully.

Taylor and John Bowers conferred at length about the latter's "Glory to God! all heav'n with joy is ringing", in particular as to whether "eucharist" could be used in the last verse. Bowers described a discussion at a lunch-club with the local Baptist and Methodist ministers: "they said they would be perfectly happy doctrinally to sing the last two lines as they stood (i.e. with 'eucharist' in); the Baptist minister was happy with the word 'eucharist' but said it would be strange for his people, so he would prefer 'Christ in this sacrament' (but he stressed there was no doctrinal objection to the word 'eucharist')."

Bowers had then telephoned a fellow Rural Dean - "a very good conservative Evangelical" who predictably was most unhappy with "eucharist". Perhaps significantly the final version is "eucharist". (2)

(1) H A & M N S 522.

(2) H A & M N S 462: There are several letters from Bowers to Taylor in the H A & M Archives at Norwich. I have quoted 8 November 1978. In his letter of 26 July 1978 Bowers asks Taylor if he saw the sung eucharist from Canterbury - "I am glad your tune ended the service, but by now I am sure you despair of people ever singing the last line correctly!" ("Abbots Leigh"?)

Fred Pratt Green wrote to Taylor to suggest the Old 107th as the tune for "To mock your reign, O dearest Lord" (H A & M N S 517), and "Twigworth" for "God is here, we are his people" (H A & M N S 464). Neither suggestion was adopted. However, Green's wish that his texts should not be altered was respected. He explained his concern about alterations by referring to a problem to which we shall return -

Women's Lib:

I am worried about variants, especially when insisted upon by American denominations terrified of Women's Lib! I suggested to the Lutherans that the only solution of one problem was to turn "God in his love for us lent us this planet" to "X in its ? for us lent us etc". What nonsense! (1)

The third of the "Three Giants", (2) Brian Wren, was pleased that his hymn "Lord God, your love has called us here" (H A & M N S 489) was to be included in More Hymns for Today: "It took perhaps the most thought and work of anything I've written, though it's not among the most popular". (3) This hymn is "a re-statement in contemporary terms (but not a replacement) of Wesley's hymn ('And can it be..?'). The hymn sees God's gracious love in the context of sin built into socio-economic structures, but also of Christian hope". (4) The hymn is "an attempt to express in contemporary language and from a twentieth century person's perspective what it means to encounter the grace of God, which liberates

(1) Pratt Green to Taylor, 6 April 1979. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(2) Taylor's description of Pratt Green, Kaan and Wren. When he so described them at a Hymn Society Conference, George Timms said to Taylor, "I can't think why you call them giants".

(3) Wren to Taylor, 15 July 1978.

(4) Brian Wren, Faith Looking Forward, Oxford 1983. Notes to Hymn 6.

us from guilt and condemnation". (1) Not surprisingly Wren resisted Taylor's wish to cut the hymn down:

You ask if you can use verses 1, 3 and 4 only of the hymn. I understand the problem that congregations may find a 5 verse 6 liners off-putting (or do you mean clergy??) even though there are of course several such among the more well-sung items in H A & M! My problem is twofold. Firstly, truncated versions of hymns may get perpetuated - especially if they're given currency by such a weighty hymnal as H A & M. And, secondly, the version you'd like to print would be truncated - to omit verse 2 reduces the thought to the individualistic level I've wanted to move away from, so that the hymn becomes just another rather conventional hymn of approach to the table, redeemed only by the last line of the present verse 3. Verse 2 is important in expressing a whole concept of sin as both individual and corporate (or rather collective), both deliberate and conditioned. (2)

Wren was prepared for verse 5 to be omitted and for verse two to be "starred". In the event, both verses are included, both with asterisks. Wren's suggestion of a title for the hymn was adopted: "By grace alone".

Erik Routley was similarly delighted that his hymn "The tree of life" was to be included (H A & M N S 514). "I confess that I am even more gratified that you should want the Tree. Did you get it from Cantate Domino? I am not sure whether you have Westminster Praise but

(1) Wren to present author, 12 September 1984.

(2) Wren to Taylor, 30 March 1978. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

'Diva Servatrix' is the tune it is set to there - I love that tune (John Wilson doesn't)." Routley's hymn is indeed set to "Diva Servatrix". He continues his letter with some pertinent comments on the unpredictability of success ("I don't know whether you've had the same experience - was it like this with ABBOTS LEIGH - but when I've written anything I have NO IDEA AT ALL whether it will communicate") and with some uncomplimentary remarks about the present Chairman of H A & M which tell us more about Erik Routley than about Henry Chadwick. (1)

As publication drew nearer, Edgar Bishop wrote to Taylor pleading for Hymns for the Present Day as a title for the new supplement. More Hymns for Today, he believed, would put people off who had not brought A Hundred Hymns for Today. (2) Bishop's pleas were unsuccessful.

Meanwhile John Piper corresponded with Chadwick with regard to the design for the cover. Chadwick wrote to him suggesting a similar pattern, but different colour. "We have been tentatively wondering whether you

(1) Routley to Taylor, 18 November 1978. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

On Chadwick "The other theme in this list of counterpoint is that I feel quite differently about any judgement of the mighty Chadwick. Twenty years ago I wrote an inconsiderable book ... attempting to try to form some lines of connection between theology and church music: the Royal School of Church Music sent it to the man Chadwick, D. D., Mus. B for review and he was exceedingly sniffy and impatient... Anyhow, my reaction is that if Henry Chadwick doesn't like it that's too bad, but if you don't I concede at once! So there!" The book is Church Music and Theology, 1959. Cyril Taylor remembers Routley being "very nettled by that review". (Conversation with the present author, 21 August 1984).

(2) Bishop to Taylor, 12 January 1978 and 28 January 1978. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

would be quite serene if for the new book we put a red cross for the blue in the centre, and blue at the four corners where this is now red.. the essential point is that the Directors would like the new book closely to resemble its predecessor, but at the same time to be visually quite distinct". (1) Piper readily agreed. (2)

When we examine More Hymns for Today perhaps we are struck more by the similarities than by the contrasts with A Hundred Hymns for Today: "the same again, only more so", might be fair comment. There is the same preponderance of hymns by living authors - 66/100 as against 60/100 in the earlier book. Whereas the earlier book offered a quarter of its contents for Holy Communion, almost a half of the later book consisted of Communion hymns.

The degree of agonising, debate and consultation which preceded the publication of the later book, which we have recorded, indicates the abundance of material available. It is significant that the doyens of "the explosive years for hymnody", "the three giants", (i.e. Pratt Green, Wren and Kaan) contributed 21 hymns to the later book, as opposed to 8 in A Hundred Hymns for Today. We have noted the absence of Carter and Appleford in the later book. This enabled the editors to include four hymns by Charles Wesley (only two in the earlier supplement) and eight by Watts (none in the earlier book). Room too could now be found for Mason's "How shall I sing that majesty?", which Percy Dearmer had first advocated half a century before. (H A & M N S 472).

Is it a better book than A Hundred Hymns for Today? It is a matter of opinion: one must respect Chadwick's. As we have suggested, it is

(1) Chadwick to Piper, 27 December 1977. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

(2) Piper to Chadwick, 2 January 1978. H A & M Archives, Norwich.

perhaps less abrasive, but it is still strikingly modern. The impact is more theological, the challenge less political. Thus in W. H. Vanstone's "Morning glory, starlit sky", there is a vivid picture of "the crucified God", verging on the heretical: (H A & M N S 496).

Therefore he who shows us God
helpless hangs upon the tree;
and the nails and crown of thorns
tell of what God's love must be.

Here is God: no monarch he,
thorned in easy state to reign;
here is God, whose arms of love
aching, spent, the world sustain.

Is this patripassionism, as has been suggested? The hymn prompts one to recall William Temple's retort to the charge of patripassionism: "And a jolly good heresy too!" (1)

Similarly, some might find hard to take Brian Wren's "Life is great! So sing about it.." (2) Granted that Wren faces the problem of suffering in verse 2, concluding:

Life is great if someone loves me,
holds my hand and calls my name.

(1) I am grateful to Canon B. L. Barnby for this anecdote.

(2) H A & M N S 482.

One still wonders whether the terminally ill and the recently bereaved could identify with the hymn. ⁽¹⁾ Be that as it may, the same author must surely be credited with a wonderfully striking effect in the hymn which we have already noted, "Lord God, your love has called us here" (H A & M N S 489).

Lord God, in Christ you call our name,
and then receive us as your own,
not through some merit, right or claim,
but by your gracious love alone.
We strain to glimpse your mercy seat,
And find you kneeling at our feet. ⁽²⁾

Of the tunes by far the largest category is old tunes brought into H A & M for the first time: the total, 53, includes "Blaenwern", "Glasgow", "Epworth" and "Jackson". There are 23 which can be found in previous editions of H A & M, including "Creditor" and the four-line version of "Saint Petersburg" which had been dropped in 1950. Indeed "Saint Petersburg" accompanies Isaac Watts' "Awake our souls", which had also failed to make the transition from the Standard Edition in 1950. There are 34 tunes by living composers in More Hymns for Today, notably "East Acklam" by Francis Jackson, "Lauds " by John Wilson and "Haresfield" by John Dykes Bower.

(1) John Wilson can no longer sing "All things bright and beautiful", knowing what he now knows about nature. So Cyril Taylor has told the present author.

(2) My italics.

To sum up, More Hymns for Today is a useful and attractive anthology, perhaps the more attractive because it does not "bang the desk" as much as its predecessor. Nevertheless, its resemblance to A Hundred Hymns for Today is unquestionable and therefore its departure from H A & M tradition.

III

The New Standard Edition

It could be argued that the irony is entirely appropriate that, after the revolutionary experiments of A Hundred Hymns for Today and More Hymns for Today, H A & M tradition should reassert itself in 1983: in line with well-established precedents, the Supplements were tacked on to the old book.

But with a difference. In contrast to the progressive enlargements caused by adding the 1889 and 1916 Supplements, the overall size of the new book was spectacularly reduced by a drastic holocaust of allegedly unwanted and inadequate hymns. So it was that H A & M R contained 636 hymns, while H A & M N S, including the two Supplements, numbers a mere 533.

As we have considered the two Supplements - which were added without any alterations whatsoever - our first concern must be with the excisions from H A & M R. In the completely anonymous Preface, Chadwick has this to say:

The classical hymns that constitute the core of H A & M and its Supplements are presented in this volume. When the first edition

of 1861 appeared, a few critics disliked the modern part of that book; but some of the best hymns which were modern in 1861 have achieved a permanent position, and they are here now. But the 1950 volume retained many hymns that have been shown, by a careful survey, to be used today little or not at all. These are omitted.

This is clear enough. The criterion, it seems from the unequivocal statement in the Preface, is popularity. As Chadwick remarks earlier in the Preface, "a good hymn-book is necessarily an endeavour in high democracy".

What did this "careful survey" amount to? Cyril Taylor refers to Lionel Dakers' role in keeping the Council of Management in touch with the parishes: "he is our Nicholson".⁽¹⁾ Another member of the Council writes that in the matter of selection of words and music "the real power lay, and lies, with Henry Chadwick and Cyril Taylor - the former by virtue of a great brain and much experience and the latter because of his unrivalled knowledge of Hymnody from every tradition. But having said that there is a great wealth of individual support from all sorts of experts, poetic, literary and musical which poured into the work of the Proprietors".⁽²⁾ Gordon Knight says that the Council carefully consulted such major figures of the world of hymnody as John Wilson, Fred Pratt Green and Alan Luff. They then made up their minds.⁽³⁾ In default of any detailed documentary evidence in the Archives at Norwich, one has to make what one can of the somewhat vague explanations

(1) In conversation with the present author, 21 August 1984.

(2) This member of the Council wishes to be anonymous. Letter to the present author, 18 September 1984.

(3) In conversation with the present author, 21 September 1984.

recorded above. I confess to a slight feeling of unease about that "careful survey"; I am not sure that the ghost of Walter Howard Frere has been entirely exorcised.

Gordon Knights has shown me a rough list of people who were to be invited to be members of the advisory group, whom the Council would consult on selection and omission of hymns. The list reads as follows:

Canon John Bowers,
Canon Alan Dunstan,
Reverend Alan Luff,
Reverend Dr. Kenneth Stevenson,
Reverend Dr. Erik Routley,
Reverend F. Pratt Green,
Archdeacon Timms,
Reverend Dr. Geoffrey Cuming,
Mr. John Wilson,
Miss Elizabeth Cosnett,
Mrs. Montefiore,
Mrs. Jean Mayland,
Mrs. Lionel Dakers,
Mrs. Allen Wicks.

Dunstan was Precentor of Gloucester Cathedral, Stevenson was Chaplain of Manchester University and Mrs. Mayland was a member of the General Synod. The rest are (or were) well-known in the world of hymnody as authors or composers, with the exception of Mrs. Montefiore, Mrs. Dakers and Mrs. Wicks whose distinctions presumably amount to their marriages to a progressive bishop, and to members of the Council of H A & M.⁽¹⁾ Was this Chadwick's "careful survey"? If so, one cannot complain about their erudition, though it is perhaps significant that only Bowers is an Anglican parish priest. The increasing role of women in H A & M affairs

(1) To be fair, Mrs. Dakers is a distinguished musician.

is also of interest, especially as Brian Wren ⁽¹⁾ was to complain of sexist treatment of his own hymns. This list, however, reminds one of a misprint in Hymns for Today's Church, "Loud roar the wives". Certainly, whoever advised and whoever was consulted, nearly half the hymns in H A & M R were swept away.

Not that there are that many surprises among the casualties from H A & M R. Cyril Taylor had written in 1981, "The Proprietors are bound to be on the march again. H A & M R (1950) - the parent book - nags at them - 636 hymns of which half, at the most, are used, and the question of another major revision will not go away". ⁽²⁾ No doubt he was correct and in most instances the right hymns have been discarded and retained. "When, his salvation bringing", (H A & M R 437), "He sat to watch o'er customs paid" (H A & M R 563), "Let us thank the Christ for all who did their duty" (H A & M R) - there is plenty of dead-wood to be excised for all Nicholson's boasts as a dead-woodsman. And yet.... Apart from one's preferences or aversions which are so often purely matters of opinion, one has to doubt whether all the casualties were - and are - unused, as Chadwick claims. As it happens, I heard "Soldiers of the Cross, arise" on my car radio a few weeks ago, on the B.B.C.'s morning service.

I have mentioned in the first section of this chapter All Saints, Denmead, where a reliable survey has been kept of hymns used since 1969. These are the hymns which have been dropped by the Compilers of H A & M N S,

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- (1) See below p 344. The presence of Nonconformists such as Green and Routley is even more noteworthy given the, at times, bigoted attitudes of H A & M Compilers.
- (2) C. V. Taylor: "H A & M: a continuing saga", Hymn Society Bulletin, September 1981, p 222.

but have been frequently in use at Denmead: "God is working His purpose out" (40 times), "Jesu, my Lord, my God, my All" (38), "Faithful Shepherd, feed me" (30), "Lord, her watch Thy Church.." (24), "Draw near and take the Body" (23), "O help us, Lord, each hour of need" (19), "Conquering Kings their titles take" (18), "Revive Thy work, O Lord" (18), "Jesu, meek and gentle" (18), "Soldiers of the Cross, arise" (17), "Lord of our life and God of our Salvation" (16), "The day is past and over" (16), "I bind unto myself this day" (14),⁽¹⁾ "Fair waved the golden corn" (13). As I have written earlier, not too much should be made of the experience of one parish. Yet I suspect that in most of the instances recorded above, the hymns would prove quite popular everywhere.

The impression that Chadwick's Preface is somewhat disingenuous was reinforced by Cyril Taylor's comments ⁽²⁾ on the omissions quoted above. He frankly admitted that hymns were indeed left out on other grounds than their popularity (or unpopularity). "God is working His purpose out" is intensely disliked by Chadwick who considers it to be the worst kind of nineteenth century hymn, and that it is "ludicrous to sing it today". Taylor regards "Soldiers of the Cross, arise" as an unfortunate echo of the East End slums of London when Walsham How was bishop there. "Faithful Shepherd, feed me" has "pappy words". In "Draw near and take", Taylor cannot understand who is addressing whom. And so forth. Taylor makes no bones about the hymn-book editor's responsibility of providing congregations with edifying material and depriving them

(1) Should H A & M, with its roots in History, be without "Saint Patrick's Breastplate"?

(2) Conversation with the present author, 10 September 1984.

of "all things harmful". (1)

"O valiant hearts" was dropped, so Taylor argues, because it is heretical (the soldier's death is put on a par with Christ's), it is only meaningful now to a fast-departing generation and "all attempts to separate it from that frightful tune by Harris have failed". Taylor was equally forthright over the omission of Nicholson's "How joyful 'tis to sing" which he described as "piffle". Here one must agree that the hymn was seldom sung, and the chief reason for retaining it would have been sentimental loyalty to a past Chairman. (2)

I questioned Cyril Taylor about the failure to follow Keble's advice and make H A & M more comprehensive. Why, for example, was "And can it be that I should gain" still cold-shouldered? Taylor pointed out that More Hymns for Today includes ten hymns by Watts and Wesley, and Brian Wren's "re-statement" of "And can it be". (3) Wren himself, however, writes, (4) "No doubt a comprehensive hymn-book would want to include the Wesley hymn". Taylor defended the failure to include "And can it be" by arguing that it is too much a Methodist hymn ("if you can call Charles Wesley a Methodist"), whereas H A & M has always been, to use Chadwick's words, a "metropolitan" book. Furthermore,

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- (1) When I quoted Cromwell "What's for their good, not what pleases them", Taylor grinned broadly. (Conversation on 21 August 1984).
- (2) Taylor's view of Nicholson is irreverent: "A cantankerous misogynist". He has written in his own copy of H A & M R against the last verse of Nicholson's hymn ("Then in the praise of God Let boys and men unite") a spoof rubric: "On no account must the word 'girls' be substituted for 'boys'."
- (3) It will be apparent that I found Cyril Taylor good company. I have thanked him in the Preface for his kindness to me; I repeat my thanks here.
- (4) Letter from Brian Wren to the present author. 12 September 1984.

Taylor added, there is the problem of "Sagina", "one of the worst tunes ever written", which everyone wants with the hymn. "Even the Methodists are ashamed of it". (1)

Perhaps the policy of preserving the "metropolitan" characteristics of H A & M explains the failure to include hymns by Christopher Idle, Michael Saward and Michael Perry - whose hymns appear in such numbers in Hymns for Today's Church. Taylor's claim that this book had not been published when More Hymns for Today was being compiled is invalid; the Jubilate team's hymns had already appeared in print. The Bishop of Chester can throw no light on these omissions - "nor why mine are not in it!". (2) Michael Saward writes: "It is easy for us to assume that they didn't want Evangelicals but that might be quite wrong. It could be that they live in a ghetto and didn't really know of our work or that they knew and thought it to be sub-standard". (3)

When one considers what is and what is not in H A & M N S, the crux of the problem is in fact the decision not to produce an integrated book. The Council defends this decision on the grounds that it is still too early to judge justly the hymns in the Supplements and that the cost of re-designing the book would be reflected in a prohibitive price. The best solution is therefore to keep the size down by drastically pruning H A & M R and tacking on the Supplements. The New Standard Edition is frankly described by Cyril Taylor as "a holding operation"... "Perhaps the best is yet to come."

(1) When I remonstrated with Taylor, he produced as proof Hymns and Psalms where "Sagina" is joined by "Didsbury", commissioned specially for the book, and composed by one C. V. Taylor.

(2) Bishop of Chester to the present author, 10 September 1984.

(3) Michael Saward to present author, 19 September 1984.

Both the Bishop of Chester and Michael Saward claim that H A & M N S was produced in a great hurry (and therefore there was no time to integrate), "particularly in response to the production of Hymns for Today's Church".(Chester). Or as Saward says, "We were not really impressed because the whole thing seemed to us like a gambler's throw to try to stop Hymns for Today's Church. Indeed one of the key figures in the H A & M project admits that it was a tactical ploy to hold the line and my own view is that it was a chance missed." (1)

These are biased judgements. If one is objective, one would have to admit that H A & M N S has impressive merits. We have noted the interesting words and music in the Supplements. It should be added that virtually all the tunes in the book are now set in a realistically low key. The dates of authors and composers are given (they were not in H A & M R). Music and words are pleasantly set out and easy to read. The original numbers of hymns in H A & M R and the two Supplements are added, so that the new can be used alongside the old books. (2) The indexes are now at last in the right place, at the back of the book (3) (for the first time in H A & M).

Perhaps a fair criticism is that the ephemeral nature of some of the hymns is accentuated by their inclusion between the stiff covers of an edition of H A & M. In the original gaily coloured soft-backs they seemed charming and challenging. Now, say, Carter's hymns seem out

(1) Letters from the Bishop of Chester and Michael Saward, op. cit.

(2) Again, the obsession with numbers as in the planning of previous editions. But perhaps there is sense in such precautions. Recently the Vicar of Paignton caused consternation at a wedding by announcing Hymn 298 ("Praise my soul the King of Heaven" in the Standard Edition). But the congregation had H A & M R where 298 is "Lead kindly light". (Letter from A. R. Day to the author, 6 February 1984).

(3) The first editions contain misprints including a spectacular mistake in the tune of "God save the Queen". (first line, last chord). 293.

of their class. One might not go all the way with Michael Saward who claims that the H A & M N S editors "should have ditched about half of the 200 supplemental hymns". But even Cyril Taylor, it will be recalled, "would be perfectly happy to see 25 go from A Hundred Hymns for Today". One need not necessarily accept Saward's opinion that "Every Star shall sing a carol" is "sentimental sci-fi", that "Lord of the dance" is a Hindu title for the god Shiva and that "When I needed a neighbour" should not appear in a Christian hymn-book since it includes "the creed... won't matter". But he is surely right to argue that such hymns "had more validity in a small song-book which can perhaps afford to ride looser to theology". The anomalous nature of some of the new hymns is further accentuated by the relatively small number of traditional hymns. Gordon Knights defends his colleagues' consultation of a select few by criticising the Methodists "who consulted everybody and ended up with a book containing a thousand hymns". Such a book, however, may be inconveniently bulky, but it can carry a few debatable anomalies more gracefully than a book half the size.

Cyril Taylor explains how he and his colleagues did their best to omit hymns which would provoke and distress thoughtful worshippers. He singles out for condemnation hymns which take biblical words out of context - "biblical bullets", he calls them. Yet it is impossible not to give offence, especially when so many hymns in the Supplements are "in the protest idiom". Alternatively, hymns will be condemned on literary grounds: "Kaan's 'Sing we a song of high revolt' ends in banality".⁽¹⁾ Or the authors themselves complain that their wishes have not been consulted, so not even they are satisfied with the book:

(1) Michael Saward to present author, 19 September 1984.

One thing I am bothered about is the More Hymns for Today and H A & M N S have taken the earlier, unrevised versions of my hymn texts and perpetuated them. As you will see from Faith looking Forward I have revised a number of texts to make language more inclusive, having become convinced that the continued use of "man/men" and the male pronouns as "generic" is now entirely unwarranted by usage and increasingly felt to exclude women. (1)

Chadwick deals sensibly with this problem in the Preface to H A & M N S:

Feminine authors of the Victorian age liked to use "brothers" where we would normally say "brothers and sisters". The poverty of English vocabulary makes for difficulty... English has only one word "man" to carry three distinct meanings: (a) the human race as a whole, (b) an individual human being, (c) an adult male as opposed to a woman or a boy. Some voices of feminine emancipation have come to object to the first two meanings, not to the third. But we have not thought it right to alter the words of hymns to meet this objection.

So Brian Wren's "Dear Sister God" is not included, nor are his hymns cleansed of sexism.

In a more light-hearted vein Fred Pratt Green agrees with Chadwick:

How can we sing the praise of Him who is no longer He?

With bated breath we wait to know the sex of Deity.

(1) Letter from Wren to the present author, 12 September 1984.

Our Father is our Mother now, and Cousin too, no doubt.

Must worship wait for hymnodists to get things sorted out?

O rise not up you men of God! The Church must learn to wait

Till Brotherhood is sisterised and Mankind out-of-date.

O may the You-Know-Who forgive our stunned ambivalence,

And in our sexist anguishing preserve our common sense. (1)

Many will smile in agreement with Pratt Green. But Brian Wren is not the only author who complains that his best work is not in H A & M N S. Fred Kaan writes: "I do not think that H A & M have selected my best hymns". (2) The caution of the Compilers of H A & M N S is understandable - in not incurring the additional expense of producing an integrated book and in not including more "hymns that bang the desk". But the criticisms of social and religious left-wingers such as Kaan, Wren and Saward that the New Standard Edition has not gone far enough will no doubt become more strident in the next few years.

My final observation on the 1983 book is that its emergence created surprisingly little stir. "Hardly a dog barked". (3) The contrast with 1904 could not have been greater. Perhaps this was partly because the Supplements had been available to congregations for some years. Partly it was due to the conservatism of the Compilers mentioned above, in their refusal to do battle against sexism, racism and the international arms (4) industry. Partly it was because the lessons of 1904 had been learnt:

(1) The Hymns and Ballads of Fred Pratt Green, 1982.

(2) Letter to the present author, 26 September 1984.

(3) Contemporary comment on Cromwell's dissolution of the Rump in 1653.

(4) Wren's note-paper describes him as, "Educator, speaker and writer on world development, worship and peace".

the alternative, "international" version of "God save the Queen" marches with the old-fashioned version as well, so that we can still ask God to frustrate the knavish tricks of our enemies, if we so desire. (1)

Yet the removal of over three hundred hymns from H A & M R passed almost unnoticed - a significant illustration, perhaps, of the secularisation of our society. (2) The implications for the future of this remarkable muted reception are not entirely reassuring from the point of view of the Council of H A & M.

(1) H A & M N S 293. But see 470 for the updated "Hills of the North".

(2) It made the inside front page of the Daily Telegraph (15 July 1983).

Chapter 7

Hymns Ancient and Modern - Present and Future

I

In 1975 the century-old partnership between H A & M and William Clowes and Sons Ltd. was dissolved. The New Standard Edition ⁽¹⁾ is published by Hymns Ancient and Modern Ltd., a company with charitable status administered by a Council of Management ⁽²⁾ with offices at Saint Mary's Plain, Norwich.

According to Edgar Bishop, ⁽³⁾ the divorce was brought about because Clowes were taking too much profit due to their monopoly. Furthermore, Bishop was confident that there were great opportunities for expansion. It seems that the facts have proved him right, and that the decision to go it alone has paid off. He claims that both turnover and profit have approximately doubled since the break with Clowes.

Another cause of the termination of the Clowes connection was the retirement of Mark Clowes as Chairman. A reception was held at the Berkeley Hotel on 5 February 1975; it was indeed the end of an era, as Clowes was immediately taken over by McCorquodale. Edgar Bishop resented the way that business was apparently to be conducted ⁽⁴⁾ and disapproved

(1) There are in fact five versions - the full Music Edition, the Melody Edition, the Words Edition, the two Supplements issued together as Hymns for Today and the truncated version of H A & M R without the Supplements; according to Edgar Bishop, the last named version is a "flop".

(2) The Very Reverend Dr. Henry Chadwick (Chairman), E. W. Bishop, the Reverend Canon C. V. Taylor, Dr. L Dakers, Dr. A. Wicks, Company Secretary: G. A. Knights.

(3) Conversation between Bishop (aged 91) and the present author, 21 August 1984.

(4) Bishop describes McCorquodale as "soulless" and adds that H A & M would have been a very small cog in a very big organisation - conversation with the present author, 21 August 1984.

of McCorquodale's address: 13, Commercial Way, Colchester. You couldn't publish a great hymn-book from such an address, Bishop believed.

So he recruited the necessary staff and acquired the premises at Norwich where H A & M now has its headquarters. Edgar Bishop approves of the address - Saint Mary's Works, Saint Mary's Plain, Norwich. (1)

The visitor to Saint Mary's Works today will not perhaps be impressed by the surroundings. However much Bishop likes the address, Saint Mary's Plain is a shabby part of Norwich. However, the visitor will hardly fail to admire a striking notice to the effect that the Canterbury Press is situated in the H A & M building. He may well wonder what precisely is the Canterbury Press.

The Canterbury Press is H A & M. It is simply a cover name for other publishing ventures undertaken by H A & M Ltd. And the latest venture concludes our story with perhaps the strangest twist of all. For the Canterbury Press is about to publish the new English Hymnal.

Gone are the bad old days of bad blood and bad tempers. Relations have improved between the Proprietors of the two books during the last three decades and this is the culmination. The name "Canterbury Press" was tactfully adopted so as not to offend The English Hymnal management;

(1) Clowes and H A & M were widely associated together. Mrs. Rita Shephard (23 January 1984) writes that she procured two goldfish from Mr. and Mrs. Clowes at an Open Day at his house at Alton, which she proposed to name after them. As an afterthought she said, "better still, we'll call the fish 'Ancient and Modern'." Mrs. Shephard continues, "Sadly, Mr. Clowes died later, and one of the fishes was hooked out of the pond by a cat, leaving just the one who is now quite big, but I never could decide which was left, 'Ancient' or 'Modern.' However, the remaining one has another fish for a friend but quite a bronze colour".

(letter to the author).

to publish the book with H A & M specifically designated in their new role would appear strange. One can only guess what Frere, Riley, Dearmer, Vaughan Williams and Nicholson must be thinking. Sadly, a move by Bishop and Taylor to call it the Monkland Press was defeated by their colleagues.

The new English Hymnal will be published, it is hoped, in Spring 1985. The Words Editor is George Timms, the Musical Editor is Christopher Dearnley. The book will appeal to Anglo-Catholics with its emphasis on plainsong, hymns for the Eucharist and Proper Hymns for Saints' days.⁽¹⁾

II

What, then, will be the role of H A & M? To a certain extent in the past The English Hymnal and H A & M duplicated each other because they were rivals. Although H A & M was never so overtly a High Church book as The English Hymnal, it has always maintained a tradition of plainsong and of devotion to Catholic Anglicanism. Churches have changed from one to the other without any suggestion that this implied a change of liturgical direction.

But it makes far less sense for the two books to cover similar ground, now that they are published by the same firm.

Perhaps H A & M has a future as a non-party book, comprehensive, traditional but alive to current developments. Members of the Council

(1) I have seen the table of contents. It is very conservative, and there are few hymns indeed of the A Hundred Hymns for Today type. This is not surprising, given Timms' refusal to recognise the merits of Kaan, Wren and Pratt Green. Cf p 329 , note 2 above.

at present, such as Cyril Taylor, readily admit to their enthusiasm for modern liturgical practices, for the New English Bible and the Alternative Service Book. The Supplements reflect this enthusiasm, just as their provocative element reflects Taylor's cheerful willingness to shock, annoy and provoke congregations. "They need stirring up, it's good for them!" he maintains. No doubt this stimulating approach should be continued.

Could it be, however, that overall H A & M will become less shrill, more comprehensive, a bigger book continuing to incorporate the best of modern hymnography but re-establishing the sympathy for ancient hymns ("ancient" meaning before 1950)? We might even see the day when "Amazing Grace" is incorporated, to say nothing of "And can it be that I should gain?". Interestingly, the new Methodist hymn-book, Hymns and Psalms, contains a hymn by Charles Wesley which had never been sung before 1 November 1981. ⁽¹⁾ The hymn, 598, effectively stresses our obligations to do God's will in the context of Holy Communion:

Because Thou hast said
Do this for my sake,
The Mystical Bread
I gladly partake:
I thirst for the Spirit
That flows from above,
And long to inherit
Thy Fulness of Love.

Would Charles Wesley join Fred Kaan and Brian Wren in suggesting that H A & M N S does not contain his best hymns?

(1) See Neil Dixon "A 'New' Wesley Hymn", Hymn Society Bulletin, September 1984, pp 204 - 6.

This brings me to the crux of what I want to say about H A & M's future raison d'être. What should be the way ahead? ⁽¹⁾ Wesley's hymn which I have just quoted may or may not be one of his best, whatever that means, nor are the views of hymn-writers about the merits of their own work of more than secondary importance, however interesting such views may be. The real point about this hymn is that it has something of value to say, and it says it well. The rôle of a good hymn-book has always been to put into the reader's mind hymns of this nature. What I want to suggest is that this rôle has never been so crucial as it is today. The situation has been transformed by the so-called liturgical movement, which has given the churches - and I am especially concerned with the Anglican Communion - modern translations of the Bible and modern liturgies such as the Alternative Service Book. This movement has offered an unprecedented challenge and opportunity to the Compilers of hymn-books. Indeed, they have an essential job to do which can be done in no other way.

In former times the writers of hymns and the compilers of hymn-books risked the charge of presumption. Who were they to set themselves up against the Authorised Version or the Book of Common Prayer? Whether one agreed that the spiritual or the literary contents of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer were too great and excellent for them, the hymn-ographers were clearly inferior. Few would therefore agree with Bindoff ⁽²⁾

(1) See Preface to this Thesis.

(2) See above p 25.

that H A & M complemented the Authorised Version and the Book of Common Prayer: this is far too kind to H A & M.

Now the situation is transformed: indeed the opposite now applies. It is up to the writer and compiler of hymns to compensate for the limitations of the modern liturgies.

I hope that it will be accepted that I am not writing in a spirit of polemic or prejudice against present-day liturgical reformers. I accept the case for modern translations and it must always be right for Christians to retain a fresh approach to worship. And the worship of a particular translation of the Bible or of a particular prayer-book must constitute idolatry. Nevertheless, it must surely be accepted that modern liturgies lack the literary and spiritual inspiration of, say, the Book of Common Prayer. There is little sense of the numinous, little to inspire and uplift the would-be worshipper. These limitations are in fact implicitly recognised by the reformers themselves. The writer of the modest and sensible Preface to the Alternative Service Book says that "its publication marks a pause in a programme of liturgical business";⁽¹⁾ in other words, no claim is made that the Alternative Service Book constitutes a satisfactory conclusion to "the programme of liturgical business".

"Literary lack of inspiration, yes; spiritual, a bit harsh", the reader may say. I do not want to make too much of the notion that literary impoverishment must spring from spiritual impoverishment. It is a hard thing to suggest. What is indisputable, however, is that the modern Anglican liturgy is theologically conservative, old-fashioned

(1) Alternative Service Book, 1980 (published by Clowes!), p 10.

and Bible-based in a rather unimaginative way. There is little which reflects "the Church's best contemporary understanding of God and his ways. The new liturgies are very light on this. Indeed, in reading them you might suppose that no theological thinking had been done in the Church since the days of Elizabeth Tudor". (1) The worshipper is frequently offered indigestible gobbets which are neither clear nor likely to induce adoration, awe or the sense of the numinous. For instance: "You have come to Mount Zion, to God the judge of all, to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the mediator of the new covenant". This is far from enlightening.

Confronted with such bewildering mish-mash, present-day Christians urgently need helpful, clear, moving hymns. That must surely be the way ahead for H A & M.

If we glance back at the story told in this Thesis, what are the implications for the book's future rôle, set against the present situation brought about by the liturgical movement?

First, H A & M must continue to be "Ancient", in the creative, positive sense in which the Original Edition was "Ancient". There is here a demand for the flexibility and realism shown by Sir Henry Baker: but 1985 is not 1861. As we have seen, the Latin and Greek hymns translated by Neale, Caswall and Chandler were just what was wanted by Anglicans in 1861. (2) What would be similarly acceptable today? Not, I feel sure, the 300 or so hymns excluded from H A & M R in 1983; with a few exceptions, these hymns were no great loss. Nor would I plead

(1) T. Baker. "New Hymns for New Liturgies", Hymn Society Bulletin, January 1981, p 188.

(2) Cf above p 26 .

for those hymns abandoned in 1950: "While I see divine compassion Floating in his languid eye", is best forgotten. There are, however, many hymns written before 1950 (that is to say, "ancient") which have much to say. Crossman's "My song is Love Unknown" is a good example of such a hymn: the quality of Christ's love on the Cross is clearly and movingly conveyed. Fortunately it has been in H A & M since 1950. However, only a small proportion of Wesley's hymns have been included, and I have already pointed out the absurdity of omitting Christina Rossetti's effective aids to personal devotion. (1) The Victorian tradition of H A & M could justifiably be reasserted here.

Two points could fairly be made about the incorporation of "ancient" hymns. First, given the soulless and unmoving flatness of modern translations of the Bible and modern liturgies, the Compilers of future editions of H A & M should be less averse to hymns of personal devotion. Straightforward affirmations of loyalty and love (even from an Evangelical background!) are preferable to meaningless rubbish like "Kum ba ya". For instance:

More about Jesus would I know,
More of his grace to others show,
More of His saving fulness see,
More of His love Who died for me. (2)

This unpretentious verse actually means something, and it is none the worse for being in the first person singular. In these ecumencial times,

(1) Cf above p 129 .

(2) Golden Bells 385. By E. E. Hewitt.

we should recognise that the Wesleys' emphasis on personal salvation is a genuine part of the Gospel. (1)

Secondly, compilers of hymn-books can be too concerned with updating "ancient" hymns. The Bishop of Chester's views illustrate this pre-occupation: "The New Standard Book is in many ways a disappointment... little has been done to tidy up some of the older hymns and Martin Luther's hymn is a case in point, where I feel strongly that a modern book should not be including the line about our goods, our children and our wife being taken... it seems an unfortunate phrase in today's world." (2) A glance at Hymns for Today's Church shows what the Bishop of Chester means by "tidying up some of the older hymns". Such a drastic approach is not really necessary, many would feel, and would be out of keeping with H.A. & M's respect for tradition. Congregations are, one suspects, well capable of appreciating that Charles Wesley or even Charles Oakley cannot be expected to use today's phraseology, (3) or subscribe to our shibboleths.

The danger of the sheep being "overled" (to use Cyril Taylor's mot juste) applies even more to the music. The popularity of the Original Edition and of its immediate successor was due in no small measure to W. H. Monk. This cannot be too often repeated. The attractive, singable

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- (1) Cf above p 232 for the Dean of Winchester's prejudice against Methodism. His analysis is correct, Cf the Reverend G. Kemp, Chairman of the Darlington Circuit, "Methodists have never been afraid of the word 'me'."
- (2) Bishop of Chester (the Right Reverend Michael Baughen) to the present author, 10 September 1984.
- (3) Oakley wrote "Hymns of the North". Compilers have been compared by me to Oliver Cromwell (above p 64). Perhaps Mrs. Mary Whitehouse would be a better comparison.

tunes contributed by Dykes, Stainer and Monk himself sold the book just as much as the intelligently selected hymns. W. H. Frere, on the other hand, doomed the 1904 Edition by inflicting high-brow music on reluctant congregations. Again, this very obvious point has acquired increased validity due to the work of recent liturgical reformers. Congregations may well be left cold by flat translations of the Bible and an unmoving, unresonant liturgy. At least they are entitled to a good sing - and that must mean not only meaningful and moving words but music which is not too high, or too high-brow. There is still a vital role to be played, say, by "The Day Thou gavest, Lord, is ended": Ellerton's unfashionable words sung to Scholefield's low-brow waltz-tune of which Frere disapproved so strongly. (1) But it is a happy marriage.

Not but what H A & M must continue to be "modern". The two Supplements are to be commended for their inclusion of fresh, original and challenging hymns. There is an explosion of hymnody going on and it has not finished yet. Again, the receptivity of the Victorians - Baker, Pullen and Cosby White - should be stressed as H A & M policy at its traditional best. Here Chadwick and Taylor have proved worthy successors.

The theological barrenness of the Alternative Service Book has already been mentioned. Because of it, hymns which say something are especially needed, and, what is more, hymns which reflect advances in recent theology. Several hymns in the two Supplements admirably illustrate

(1) See above p 63 for Frere's opinions. See Susan S. Tamke, Make a Joyful Noise unto the Lord, p 132, (New York 1978) for criticism of Ellerton's "imperialist" last verse.

this point. Take, for instance, Fred Kaan's challenging hymn, "Now join we, to praise the Creator", which counteracts the complacency of traditional harvest hymns: (H A & M N S 500)

But also of need and starvation
we sing with concern and despair,
of skills that are used for destruction,
of land that is burnt and laid bare.

Or take Stewart Cross's "Father, Lord of all Creation, Ground of Being, Life and Love" (H A & M N S 356). The influence of Tillich and John Robinson will at once be apparent, and of Bonhoeffer in the second verse, "Jesus Christ, the Man for Others". This is as it should be: the hymn should be in H A & M.

But there is no reason to suppose that the H A & M Compilers have already included every good "modern" hymn, and it is to be hoped that the selection of theologically up-to-date hymns in the next edition will be even stronger. We have noted the unjustifiable omission of all the hymns by Idle, Seward and Baughen. ⁽¹⁾ Here is another example of a hymn with an arresting message, based on recent theological thinking, which is at present not included in H A & M:

Here hangs a man discarded.
a scarecrow hoisted high,
a nonsense pointing nowhere
to all who hurry by.

(1) e.g. Hymns for Today's Church, No. 173 "Christ triumphant ever reigning" by Michael Seward, tune "Christ Triumphant" by Michael Baughen.

The author, Brian Wren, effectively portrays the modern view of Christ's despair, as we see it in the cry of dereliction. Recent writers such as Kingsley Barratt have questioned the traditional explanations, the quotation from Psalm 22, the consciousness of the weight of the world's sin and so forth, and have postulated a Christ who died without fore-knowledge, in total abandonment and defeat. Wren goes on to suggest that this Christ has paradoxically more to offer to people who are themselves derelict than the mediaeval conqueror of death and sin (as in "Pange Lingua"):

Life emptied of all meaning,
drained out in bleak distress,
can share in broken silence
my deepest emptiness;

and love that freely entered
the pit of life's despair
can name our hidden darkness
and suffer with us there. (1)

My point is that a hymn like this has so much to add to the uninspiring partnership of the New English Bible and the Alternative Service Book. It is concise, moving and thought-provoking. And incidentally it reinforces my argument that a hymn-book should not necessarily contain material for public worship only. Many of Wren's hymns repay private study and can be used for private devotion. (2)

(1) Quoted by Brian Wren, "The Hymn Today", Hymn Society Bulletin, January 1977, p 200.

(2) Cf his "Lord God, your love" (H A & M N S 489) or cf Vanstone's "Morning Glory" H A & M N S 496.

Suggestions that the H A & M of the future should contain more "ancient" and more "modern" hymns raises the question of the size of the book. It will be recalled that the Compilers of H A & M R aimed at a book of no more than 600 hymns, and in the event succeeded in keeping the total down to 636. The Compilers of the New Standard Edition drastically pruned the 636 hymns of the 1950 Edition in order to accommodate the Supplements - and keep the size of the book down to a total of 533. But is such concise self-restraint by the editors of hymn-books a virtue? If the size of the book is not too unmanageable, why should it not contain 700 or 800 hymns?

Here we have a bizarre story. It seems that modern technology cannot produce a hymn-book with more than, say, 600 hymns without problems being created. The Methodists are in serious trouble with the 823 hymns in their new book. The music edition is too heavy to hold in the hand and too bulky to stay on a music stand. Nor is the paper opaque enough, with the result that too much comes through from the far side of the sheet. A two-volume Organ Edition is therefore in preparation. How Methodists managed for half a century with the 984 hymns of the 1933 Edition, one cannot imagine - or Anglicans, for that matter, with 779 hymns in the Standard Edition of H A & M. This is a great nonsense. The next edition of H A & M should include at least 700 hymns, and the printers should be told to produce a usable book.

Mention of the Methodists' Hymns and Psalms prompts me to close with a caution. I have no wish to pour cold water on Edgar Bishop's no doubt justifiable pride in the way that the New Standard Edition is selling. Long may this success continue! I hope that I have made clear

my respect for the book; I think that its success is deserved. However, it is worth noting that thousands of would-be purchasers of Hymns and Psalms are still waiting for their copy, several months after the book was published. Demand, it seems, is insatiable. And not only can competition be expected from this quarter. Though I do not personally warm to the Bishop of Chester's modernising way with texts, Hymns for Today's Church is nicely produced and, in general, an attractive book. The Proprietors of H A & M paid the penalty for complacency in 1904. Let it not happen again. (1)

(1) Perhaps they are not complacent. "I only hope it sells" said Cyril Taylor to the present author (telephone conversation 31 December 1984). But he was referring to the new English Hymnal.

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11th Feb 1897.

My dear Mr White,

I have received the second instalment of the hymns, and I observe that No 122, which is one of mine, is to be struck out. I have not the slightest objection to this, or indeed to the exclusion of any of my compositions. But I should like to say with reference to the particular

point of doctrine concerned, that when I first wrote that hymn and printed it for the use of my own people in Newington, the verse objected to did not form part of it; and it was only at the special and urgent request of Sir Henry Baker that it was added: in fact I may say that

he practically wrote the verse
himself. Almost from the
first publication of *Argo*
Ancient and Modern, I
regretted that I yielded to
him in this matter; and
some weeks ago, in writing
to the Bishop of Wakefield I
expressed my strong desire
that this verse should be
omitted. I am quite
satisfied with the decision
of the Committee, but I

only wished to let you know the
circumstances of the case.

I hope to write to you before long
on the general subject. My life
has been so exceptionally busy
for the last year that I have
hardly been able to give any
definite attention to the
matter till now.

Believe me

Yr very sincere

Wm. L. Estlin.

Lea Trenchard
N. Deen
May 13/97

Dear Sir

I hear from more than one
source that there is a proposal to
re-align Deen. A. & M. doctrinally
in the new edition.

I think this ^{will be} a serious blunder
if committed, as the Church policy
of definite belief is rising as
a tide, on every side & sweeping
not the vague & vacuous Church
memberships that were in so common.

It is a mistake in another way,
it will inevitably lead to a com-
mittee of definite Church men
comparing a fresh hymn book that
shall not play feebly imitations
trotters of traditional music, but
sound distinct notes - & most
certainly it will drive A. & M.
not a great & increasing number
of churches.

I remain
your very
S. Baring Gould

BISHOP GARTH,
WAKEFIELD.

June 12. 1897.

My dear Canon White,

Thank you sincerely.

I will certainly not in any way make known the names of your Humoral Committee, & I will take care of your sheets, & return them with probably my own criticisms. I suppose to being puzzled at a first glance at many of the proposed amendments which are among the chief favourites of the Church, being with delight everywhere. I cannot imagine anything (e.g.) such as those for 222, 367, 386, 403, 477, 1576, 1, & 331! But this is only a first hasty inspection. No fault are however with bread,

as it shows such a want of knowledge of what has been stamped with universal approval. An example the time for 331 being not the right days because but it has entered into the whole child life of the land. However I cannot say more at present. I hope yet that the book may be saved from the tremendous disaster which the proposed amendments seem to be certain to inflict.

Yours sincerely
W. Wakefield

what we younger ones were ourselves brought
up on. In other words we have more to
consider what they ought to get to like, than
what we have come to like.

I am confident that on reflection some of the
proposals will seem only right though at
first sight they look revolutionary.

It is quite true that people like badly-lined;
but does the Bp hold vicariously that that
is a reason for punishing them? E.g. 477.

It is cruelly to children to make them sing
a tune (however attractive) with a compass
of 10 notes E.g. 331.

What is one to say to a person who wants an
alternative tune at all for 157? It is really
incredible. I am thankful to say that I have
only once heard the 157th word. Surely it
is reasonable that if an alternative is
given it should be known. Helliger's list

B. J. W. K. 1897 June 21 1897
in the Times (5)

RADLEY VICARAGE,
BIRMINGHAM.

Dear Mr. Tait.

Many thanks for the cheque
I enclose to receipt. I return also the
Bp of Exeter's letter. I should ask leave
to copy it except that I gather from it
that he will write again in fuller detail.

I hope meanwhile on reflection he will see
that it is a pity in dealing with a book
of such permanent value as the *Bellicose*;
that it is to give ^{to} much weight to
the predilections & prejudices of the present
generation which have gone up in the
last few years. We hope the book is for
our sons & grandsons true enough. It be able
to stand on its own something better than

which is the modern tune everywhere (in Germany at least) associated with the words. Does the Bp seriously prefer our Tune? either liturgically or otherwise.

I shall hope to agree more with his mature criticisms, & I mustn't let myself run on now, as I feel inclined to do, on the other instances which he quotes.

The musical Committee have appointed 3 Subcommittees to deal with different branches of work: we are anxious to invite Mr. Bickbeck to cooperate in the Plain-song Subcommittee. I hope I am right in thinking this is within our powers, but I am not sure about the position financially as the Committee only desired him as an Assessor on the Plain-song Subcommittee.

I am here till the end of the month & then back at Westminster. Please have the Tune books sent to me there & not here: are they ephemeral Tune books? I think I have most of the Standard English Hymn Books of the last 30 or 40 years & a good many older collections. but I have little or nothing of ephemeral collections except the Choir Festival Books &c which you sent, & next to no American ones.

I am yours very sincerely

Walter Howard Perce.

June 21. 1897.

THE NEW EDITION OF "HYMNS ANCIENT AND MODERN."

In the Press.

A collection of thirty-seven tunes included in the Old Edition but omitted in the New.

Forthcoming New Styles of the New Edition.

A Miniature Edition with music.

A lower setting of all the tunes for unison singing or village choirs.

An Annotated Edition of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, containing the history and many of the original forms of the hymns and tunes.

N.B.—The Old "Complete" Edition will be kept in stock so long as there may be a demand for it.

The following is a list of hymns, with their authors, newly inserted in the recent edition.

A charge to keep I have	C. Wesley.
A hymn for Martyrs sweetly sing	J. M. Neale: from Ven. Bede.
A widow's hand in days of old	B. Edwards.
Almighty Father, Lord most High	V. S. S. Coles.
Almighty Father of all things	E. E. Dugmore.
Almighty Father, Unoriginate	E. E. Dugmore.
Alone Thou trodd'st the winepress	H. A. Martin.
As now Thy children lowly kneel	L. Tuttle.
Awake, O Lord, as in the time of old	H. Twells.
Behold a little Child	Bishop W. Walsham How.
Behold the Bridegroom draweth nigh	R. M. Moorson: from the Greek.
Breathe on me, Breath of God	E. Hatch.
Brothers, joining hand to hand	J. A. Warner.
Christians, sing the Incarnation	E. E. Dugmore.
Come, Holy Spirit, come	J. Hart.
Come, labour on	Jane Borthwick.
Come, O Thou Traveller	C. Wesley.
Creator of the rolling flood	Bishop Heber.
Eternal God, we look to Thee	J. Merrick.
Faithful Shepherd, feed me	T. B. Pollock.
Father most Holy	A. E. Alston: from the Latin.
Father, Son, and Holy Spirit	R. W. Barber.
Father, Who hast gathered	E. E. Dugmore.
For the beauty of the earth	F. S. Pierpont.
For the dear ones parted from us	Ada R. Greenaway.
Give light, O Lord, that we may learn	L. Tuttle.
Gliding through the shadows	B. Edwards.
Glory to God, all the heavens	H. Smith.
Glory to the First-begotten	Aug. B. Donaldson.
God is a stronghold and a tower	Elisabeth Wordsworth: from M. Luther.
God is working His purpose out	A. C. Ainger.
God save our gracious King	Anon.
Grant to this child the inward	J. Marriott.
Hail, festal day, for ever	A. J. Mason: from the Latin.
Hail, festal day, of never	A. J. Mason: from the Latin.
Hail, festal day, whose glory	A. J. Mason: from the Latin.
High let us swell our tuneful	P. Doddridge.
I hunger and I thirst	J. S. B. Monsell.
I was made a Christian	J. S. Jones.
In our day of thanksgiving	W. H. Draper.
Jesu! Name all names above	J. M. Neale.
Jesus, Lord of our salvation	F. W. Newman.
Let all on earth their voices	Bp. Mant and Compilers: from the Latin.

Let all the world rejoice	J. Hunt (altered).
Let God arise to lead forth those	A. C. Ainger.
Lift your glad voices	H. Ware, jun.
Lord, be Thy Word my rule	Bishop C. Wordsworth.
Lord, from out Thy glorious skies	I. Williams: from the Latin of de la Brunetière.
Lord God! by Whom	T. H. Gill.
Lord God! our praise we give	H. D. Rawnsley.
Lord God, we worship Thee	Catherine Winkworth: from the German of J. Franck.
Lord, my weak thought	R. Palmer.
Lord, through this Holy Week	W. H. Draper.
Lord, while afar our brothers	S. C. Lowry.
Lord, Who fulfillst thus anew	H. W. Mozley.
Lord, Who while yet a boy	H. W. Mozley.
My God! my God! and can it be	F. W. Faber.
Now heaven's growing light	I. Williams: from the Latin of J. B. de Santeuil.
Now on land and sea descending	S. Longfellow.
O Father, we would thank Thee	Ada R. Greenaway.
O God, of good th' unfathom'd	J. Wesley.
O Guardian of the Church	T. Chamberlain.
O living God, Whose voice of old	J. H. Ellison.
O my Saviour, lifted	Bishop W. Walsham How.
O perfect God, Thy love	Ada R. Greenaway.
O Thou Who camest from above	C. Wesley.
O wondrous type, O vision fair	J. M. Neale and Compilers: from the Latin.
O word of pity	Ada R. Greenaway.
Oh, it is hard to work for God	F. W. Faber.
Once pledged by the Cross	Alice M. Bode.
Our God of love Who reigns above	S. J. Stone.
Our Lord the path of suffering	I. Williams: from the Latin of J. B. de Santeuil.
Praise the Lord through every nation	J. Montgomery.
Praise to our God, Whose bounteous	J. Ellerton.
Praise to the Lord, the Almighty	Catherine Winkworth and Compilers: from the German of Neander.
Put thou thy trust in God	J. Wesley and others.
Rescue the perishing	Mrs. van Alstyne.
Some time o'er our pathway	L. Tuttle.
Son of God, Eternal Saviour	S. C. Lowry.
Sound aloud Jehovah's praises	H. A. Martin.
Stand up, and bless the Lord	J. Montgomery.
Sunset and evening star	Lord Tennyson.
The lifelong task was done	A. J. Mason.
The triumphs of the Saints	J. M. Neale and Compilers: from the Latin.
The voice says, Cry!	H. Twells.
There was joy in heav'n	Bishop Heber.
Those eternal bowers	J. M. Neale: from the Greek.
Thou didst leave Thy Throne	Emily E. S. Elliott.
Thou, Lord, by strictest search	N. Tate and N. Brady.
To-day Thy mercy calls us	O. Allen.
Trumpet of God, sound high	A. Brooks.
Two brothers freely cast their lot	J. H. Newman.
We've no abiding city here	T. Kelly.
When, His salvation bringing	J. King.
Wherefore, faint and fearful ever	T. H. Gill.
With gladsome feet we press	R. C. Singleton.

LITANIES.

For Lent	V. S. S. Coles.
Of Intercession (No. 1)	V. W. Hutton and Compilers.
Of Intercession (No. 2)	Sir H. W. Baker, Bart.

The following is a list of tunes, with their authors, now added for the first time:—

OLD ENGLISH TUNES.

H. Carey, 1743	Surrey.
B. Cooke, 1734-1793	Westminster.
J. Stanley, 1713-1780	Birmingham.
H. Harrington, 1727-1816	Lansdowne.
J. F. Lampe, 1746	Devonshire (Kent).
E. T. Grigg, 1795	Tiverton.
T. A. Arne, 1710-1778	Hymn of Eve.
J. Battishill, 1705	St. Pancras.
Chalmers' Collection, 1749	Battishill.
M. Greene, 1606-1755	Aberdeen (St. Paul).
O. Gibbons, 1623	Crowle.
	Song 4.
	Song 13.
	Song 22.
	Song 24.
	Song 34.
	Song 67.
W. Crotch, 1775-1847	Crotch.
P. Hart, 1749	Hilderstone.
J. Randall, 1715-1799	Lewes.
— Jesser	University.
F. H. Bartholémon, 1741-1803	St. Swithin.
Ashworth's Collection, 1765	Morning Hymn.
T. Jackson, 1715-1781	Royal.
C. Tye, 1553	Byzantium.
T. Attwood, 1767-1838	Tye.
B. Milgrove, 1731-1810	Come, Holy Ghost.
C. Burney, 1726-1840	Loughton.
J. Clark, 1670-1707	Truro.
	Bishopthorpe.
	Brockham.
	I will extol.
	Uffingham.
W. Tansur, 1734	Bangor.
T. Clark, 1775-1859	Crediton.
	Greenland.
Rev. M. Madan, 1726-1790	Wandsworth.
do. with T. Olivers	Helmsley.
J. Hatton, 1793	Duke Street.
J. Stanley, 1713-1786	Montgomery.
W. Croft, 1678-1727	Eatington.
E. Miller, 1735-1807	Galway.
J. Smith, 1790	Tisbury.
<i>Harmonia Perfecta</i> , 1730	Elham.
P. Hayes, 1738-1797	New College.
G. F. Handel, 1685-1759	Brunswick.
Rev. R. Harrison, 1784	Warrington.
H. Purcell, 1658-1695	Walsall.
T. Tallis, 1560	First Mode Melody.
— Beaumont	St. Ignatius.
B. Rogers, 1614-1698	Te Deum Patrem.
S. Wesley, 1766-1837	Wesley's Bristol.
I. Harrison	Guilton.
W. Hayes	Psalm xlvii.
	Psalm cxxii.
Old carol	Bethlehem.
D. Bortnianski	St. Petersburg.
Z. Wyvill, 1726-1837	Eaton.
From a MS. (Royal Appendix 58) in the British Museum	This endris nyght.

Anon.	Addison's (Kettering). Bromsgrove. God save the King. Heaton Norris. Penshurst. To Thee, our God, we fly. Wachusett.
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MISCELLANEOUS.

Old Cornish Tune	Gwennap.
Old Irish Tune	St. Columba.
Medieval Italian Melody	Alta Trinità beata.
Medieval Melody	Quem pastores laudavere.
<i>La Scala Santa</i> , 1681	Vicenza.

OLD GERMAN TUNES.

<i>Melodeien</i> (Halle, 1767)	Geduld hilft in der Trübsal auf.
C. Gall, 1625	Ach Gott und Herr (Beccles).
<i>Darmstadt Gesangbuch</i> , 1698	Zeuch meinen Geist (St. Gregory).
Chr. Peter, 1674	Das herrlich hohe Fest.
<i>Cantional</i> (Darmstadt, 1687)	Alle Menschen müssen sterben.
B. Gesius, 1605	Ach Gott, wem soll ich klagen.
P. Nicolai, 1599	Wachet auf.
Freylinghausen, <i>Gesangbuch</i> , 1704	Fahre fort.
J. W. Franck, 1681	Komm Seele.
<i>Gesangbuch</i> (Dresden, 1593)	Wir Christenleut.
<i>Gesangbuch</i> (Erfurt, 1663)	Heut triumphiert.
P. Heinlein, 1626-1686	Jesu, Jesu, du mein Hirt.
M. Pretorius, 1571-1621	Ach Gott, von Himmelsreiche.
German melody of the XVth Century	Ave virgo.
P. Reinigius, 1587	O Jesu Christ, wir Kindlein.
Leisentritt, <i>Catholicum Hymnologium</i> , 1584	Ex more docti mystico.
Sohr's edition of <i>Praxis Pictalis</i> , 1668	Hast du denn, Jesu.
<i>Gesangbuch der Brüder</i> , 1544	Ich dank dir.
<i>Catholische Kirchengesang</i> , 1599	Lob sei dem Allmächtigen Gott.
<i>Catholische Geistliche Gesänge</i> , 1608	Es ist ein Ros' entsprungen.
	Clarum decus jejunii.
	Rex gloriose martyrum.
	Te lucis ante terminum.
	Veni Redemptor.
Runge, <i>Geistliche Lieder</i> , 1653	Jesu meine Zuversicht.
G. D. Weimar, 1734-1808	Allgütige, mein Preisgesang.
D. Vetter, 1713	Das walt Gott Vater.
J. F. Röscher	Jesu, unser Trost und Leben.
<i>Geistliche Kleinod</i> , 1586	Herzlich lieb.
J. Crüger, 1653	Herr, deinen Zorn.
" 1640	Herzliebster Jesu.
<i>Nürnbergisches Gesangbuch</i> , 1676	Herr Jesu Christ.
Erhard, <i>Gesangbuch</i> (Frankfort, 1659)	Ach, bleib bei uns.
German	Bohemia.
J. G. Schicht, 1819	Ich kam aus meiner Mutter Schoss.
	Mittler, schau auf sie hernieder.
J. Neander, 1680	Meine Hoffnung stehet feste.
J. A. D. Schulz, 1785	Warum sind der Thränen.
N. Hermann, 1560	Erschienen ist.
J. S. Bach, 1685-1750	Nicht so traurig.
	Potsdam.
<i>Geistliche Volkslieder</i> (Paderborn, 1856)	Ins Feld geh.
<i>Christliche Lieder</i> , 1524	Es ist das Heil (Freu dich).
T. Selle, 1655	Werde Licht.
C. H. Dretzel, 1731	Der du bist drei in Einigkeit.
J. A. Hiller, 1793	Leite mich nach deinem Willen.
J. Schop, d. 1644	Werde munter.
<i>Gesangbüchlein</i> (Wittenberg, 1524)	Nun komm der Heiden Heiland.
<i>Encheiridion</i> (Erfurt, 1524)	Aus tiefer Noth.
<i>Bremen, Vollständige Psalmen</i> , 1639	Heil'ger Geist.

H. Schütz, 1585-1672	Litanv melody.
Nyland, <i>Pia Cantiones</i> , 1582	Auctor humani generis. Divinum Mysterium.
<i>Melodie Prudentianæ</i> , 1533	Ades pater supreme.

MODERN ENGLISH TUNES.

Sir Hubert Parry	Angmering. Freshwater. Rustington. Dayspring. Lundy.
C. H. Lloyd	Luard.
Sir Charles Stanford	Constance.
H. J. Gauntlett	St. Blasius. St. Jerome.
C. Lockhart	Carlisle.
Rev. C. C. Scholefield	Fides.
Rev. H. E. Hodson	Urbs celestis.
G. J. Webb	Stand up.
A. H. Brown	St. Just.
Sir John Goss	Bevan. Praise my soul. St. Hilary.
J. K. D. Bedwell	St. Hilda.
A. Patton	Lyra.
Parry, <i>Church of England Psalmody</i>	Needham.
E. J. Hopkins	Feniton Court. Gospel Gladness.
Bishop Jenner	Unitas.
J. D. Sedding	Gibbons.
S. S. Wesley	Bolton. Brecknock. Hampton. Hereford. Hornsey. Hymnary No. 613. Stornaway.
W. Amps	Venice.
L. Mason	Missionary.
W. Gardiner	Belmont.
T. T. Noble	Eastwick.
J. Parry	Aberystwith.
T. Threlfall	Lancashire.
R. Redhead	Redhead No. 4.
T. E. Aylward	Sarum Hymnal No. 46.
Miss L. J. Hutton	Eternity.
Miss F. R. Havergal	Claudia.
B. Tours	Tours.
W. H. Doane	Rescue.
Rev. C. Powell	Clapton. Dorking. Light's Abode. Newick.
W. Horsley	Belgrave.
E. G. Monk	St. Dionysius. St. Ninian.
C. Steggall	Church Militant. Eden. Grosvenor. Mirfield. St. Lawrence.
Rev. T. R. Matthews	Fulstow. Margaret. Northcotes.
Rev. Sir F. A. G. Ouseley	Theoktistus.

W. Dorrell	Coventry.
	Exeter.
H. Smart	Hymnary No. 170.
Rev. O. M. Feilden	Eden.
A. R. Reinagle	Ben Rhydding.
Rev. J. B. Dykes	Etiam et mihi.
	St. Winifred.
J. Sewell	Amesbury.
Rev. L. G. Hayne	Compline.
Miss M. D. Kingham	Henson.
T. Gambier Parry	St. Agatha.
Rev. W. G. Whinfield	Crowborough.
	Prome vocem.
	The Holy Mount (Evening Praise).
J. Harrison	Guilton.
<i>Easy Music for Church Choirs</i> , 1853	St. Anselm.
<i>Catholic Hymn Tunes</i> , 1849	Lugano.

PSALM TUNES.

Day Psalms, 1563	Old 50th
	" 50th (D.C.M.).
	" 112th.
	" 117th.
	" 130th.
	Preserve us, Lord.
Chetham Psalms, 1718	Aylesbury (Wirksworth),
	Psalm li.
	Genevan Psalm cxxvi.
L. Bourgeois, 1547	Genevan Psalm iii.
	" " xii.
	" " cx.
	" " cxviii.
	" " cxxvii.
Playford, Psalms	Genevan Psalm cxxxi.
	Playford.
Damon, Psalms	London.
<i>Psalms</i> (Edinburgh, 1635)	Babylon's Streams.
	Caithness.
Ravenscroft Psalms, 1621	Carlisle.

TUNES NOW FIRST PUBLISHED.

Sir Hubert Parry	Amberley.
	Pournemouth.
	Gaudium cœleste.
	Infantium laudes.
	Intercessor.
	Ludnam Hill.
	Lux perpetua.
	Portus voluntatis.
	Storrington.
Sir Charles Stanford	Airedale.
	Alverstone.
	Blackrock.
	Engelberg.
	Geronimo.
	Holland.
	Joldwynds.
	Ockley.
C. Lee Williams	Luxor.
	Tibberton.
C. H. Lloyd	Savile.

B. Luard Selby	Adoration.
	Advent.
	Apostoli.
	Caring.
	Cives cœli.
	Eccles.
	Effulgence.
	Gundulf.
	Heaven.
	Innocence.
	Ivyhatch.
	Plaxtole.
	Pentecost.
	Praises.
	Ramaulx.
	Salve festa dies.
	Shipbourne.
	Splendor.
	Supplication.
	Wishford.
	Litany of Intercession.
P. C. Buck	Herga.
T. T. Noble	York Minster.
W. Phillips	Cowley St. John.
	Gurney.
M. J. Monk	Give Light.
E. C. Bairstow	Clamavi.
C. Wood	Cranmer.
	Gonville.
	Rangoon.
C. Macpherson	Exurgat deus.
S. H. Nicholson	Barnet.
	Cosmos.
G. Stocks	Northleach.
A. Brewer	Upton St. Leonards.

ST. MARY'S,
BOVEY TRACEY.

June 20. 1924.

My dear Friend Mr. Lord,

Following on conversation at
2:45 p.m. we have I write this a memorandum

for you to keep amongst your papers.

I think we are both agreed that cooperation

between H.A.C. and H.L.H. is the present.

time is not practicable and that you must personally

keep me of any arrangements which may be made

with Mr. Liddell's Trust on behalf of H.No. 1.

Disagreement of whom you are now.

But I want you to keep on record that

I had you in view in suggesting a H-

Committee of H.L.H. that we should make

H.No. 1. Trust a "beneficiary together."

And I can speak for myself, and I think

on behalf of all my colleagues, that we are

advised by a decision to do our best for

H. Church as large, and the matter is every

for cooperation to be possible of both sides

you are now further time that a more or

less close association is desirable. You would

then be the driving force.

Yours p.

William Tracey.

TELEPHONE
DORKING 3055.

FROM R. VAUGHAN WILLIAMS.
THE WHITE GATES,
WESTCOTT ROAD,
DORKING.

May 14 37

Dear Michael

Many thanks for your letter
- I am sorry it is not Humphrey helped
as really the question was
with him rather than with us
'Happo' and 'Kups words' delay time
- but I was not like to give him more
of any of the notes - I am Humphrey
'Down Humphrey' delays to the E.H.C. too
Yours ever
R. Vaughan Williams



Back row, (reading from left to right) D. Burgess, V. P. Bowen, W. W. Smith, J. F. Oates, H. Clark, T. Galletly, J. G. Dodd, J. W. R. Taylor, G. W. J. Betts, G. S. Cheetham, J. Thornton, J. F. A. Ellis, L. Hardaker, J. B. Carden, R. J. Boulton,

Third row, (reading from left to right) G. T. Barnard, A. Chappell, J. L. Barker, D. F. Brown, N. P. Wareham, F. J. Bacon, M. L. Burn-Hill, K. Ward, S. G. Elliot, R. A. Pugh, T. M. Phillips, R. C. Howard, T. Summers, L. E. Olyott, T. A. Watson, D. R. Rogerson, S. G. S. Hinkes, D. McCulloch.

Second row, (reading from left to right) J. G. Spiers, O. W. Belsey, G. I. M. Strong, P. E. Spurrier, R. J. Woodley, D. Fricker, P. F. B. Denton, R. A. Stedman, B. Hislop, G. R. Aylen, J. Howard, R. A. Sheekey, K. Radley, L. C. Steele-Mills, F. Gould, L. H. Drage.

Front row, (reading from left to right) W. F-H. Curtis, R. G. M. Russell, A. J. Tanner, The Rev. Dr. C. J. Wright, Mr. P. M. Burrows, The Rev. P. M. S. Allen, (Sub-Warden), The Rev. Canon W. F. France, (Warden), The Rev. J. O. Whitfield, The Rev. M. R. W. Brown, The Rev. Dr. C. S. Phillips, R. D. Payne, H. D. Winter, F. Rowell.

Corrigenda in Hyman A. M. Prose - book

257.

1. v. 1. 4. Delete 2 commas

10 v. 3. 2. 'naught' to 'nought'
32 v. 3. 3. 'naught' to 'nought'
36 ? Print thus:

Fast since the sun to rest,
Fast fall the shades of night;
Fain would the weary heart
Keep love's trail flame alight,
End the day that fading dies
With an offering of sacrifice.

... And so on in other verses

39 v. 1. 2. 'And, having'

46 v. 3. 6. 'Kingdom' (cap.)

40 v. 3. 3. ? 'Law' (cap.)

51 v. 1. 3. ; fn ;

54 v. 2. 1. 'Strength and Consolation' (cap.)

60 v. 2. 4. 'Immortal' (as Is 7. 14. 'ab')

61 v. 1. 1. ? 'Bethlehem'

68 v. 2. 4. : fn ;

74 heading. Delete 'J. M. Neale and'

81 rubric at end 225-226, 259-266 in heavy type

82 v. 1. 4. : fn ;

83 Latin title. Conclude (cap.)

Rubric following: add after 241 [in Communion]

256 Behind, let us love

84 heading. Delete 'J. M. Neale and'

85 Latin title. J. to I in Jesu

87 v. 1. 4. 'arms' (orig. to 'arm')

v. 2. 4. 'work' (orig. to 'word')

v. 5. 'Love' (cap.)

88 ? omit v. 3.

90 Latin title. 'Legis' (cap.)

97 Latin title. 'breachum' (l.c.)

v. 1. 3. 'Victor's' (cap.)

v. 9. 2. 'Ransom' (cap.)

98 v. 4. 2. : fn ;

v. 5. 2. : fn ;

v. 266. 1. 4. : fn ;

99 v. 1. 2. 'Hail! all the tribes Hosanna cry'

2. 2. : fn ;

v. 1. 'Victim' (cap.)

v. 4. 2. 'Leak' (cap.)

34 v. 1.

104. ? Omit v. 2

106 v. 2. 3. Delete ; after 'hails'

107. Italian title. Gesu

109 v. 1. 4. 2. : fn ;

v. 4. 1. 3. 'Spirit' (cap.)

111 v. 1. 4. 4. Delete comma after 'showed'

112 v. 3. 4. ? to ?

After 112 add rubric. Hyman 196-201 in

the 'General section' are also suitable in this

season.

115 v. 4. 2. Comma after 'live'

131 v. 3. 2. 'First-born' (cap.)

133 v. 2. 4. : fn ;

140 v. 5. 4. 'heaven' to 'heaven'

142 v. 1. 2. : fn ;

143 Latin title. Rev (cap.)

144 v. 2. 1. Delete comma after 'live'

4 v. 3. 4. : fn ;

147 v. 2. 2. ! to ;

148 Start v. 4. rubric at end: Thus

verse may be omitted

150 v. 1. 6. I should like another word for 'matchless' - who doesn't ^{strictly} make sense here.

151 rubric at end. Hyman 212, 228-232 are

153 v. 3. 1. 1. Comma after 'dances'

v. 6. 3. 'Both' (cap.)

154 v. 7. 3. : fn ;

155 v. 4. 1. 6. 'He' to 'thy'.

157 v. 1. 2. 'Both' (cap.)

161 Letter Disposer in margin: 'The switch work done!' in ...

165 v. 4. 5. Comma after 'wound'

171 v. 5. 4. Comma at end, not full stop

173 v. 1. 4. - (dash) to ;

v. 2. 4. - (dash) to ;

176 v. 5. 1. Add comma after 'sunders'

193 v. 4. 2. : fn ;

194 v. 4. 1. ? 'Butler' to 'husband'

195 v. 2. 4. Delete 2 commas

202 No we need this?

v. 3. 1. 2. 228 Close up Is (11) 1

- 231 v. 1. l. 4 ! fn ;
 232 v. 2. l. 5 ? 'Dominechnus' (cap) - as told
 233 v. 1. l. 2. ; fn ;
 234 v. 1. l. 5 ? 'G quickly come! fn ...
 in other verses
 239 v. 3. Range l. 2 + 4
 242 v. 2. l. 3. Delete 2 commas
 254 v. 4. l. 3. Delete comma after 'tread'
 255 v. 3. l. 4. ! at end of line
 265 v. 2. l. 6 'With the gladness of God's
 good will' d' hyphen + 's'
 266 v. 4. l. 1. 'un-furled'
 274 v. 2. l. 1-2. When there were his holy people
 And live and amend dwell;
 278 v. 6. l. 4 'there' (cap) fn 'here' - clearer
 282 v. 2. l. 2. Comma after 'safety'
 v. 6. l. 3 'Friend' (cap)
 290 v. 2. l. 2 ? 'outpaced' (d' hyphen)
 293 There is practically nothing is 'J.B.' in
 the really.
 Rubric at end: Insert 623 in bracket
 296 v. 1. l. 8. ? 'heaven-contente'
 303 v. 1. l. 2. Delete comma after 'fields'
 306 v. 2. l. 1. Comma after 'black'
 319 v. 4. l. 3. Delete comma after 'trod'
 337 v. 4. l. 5. 'Death' (cap)
 355 v. 1. l. 2. Delete 'to'
 361 v. 2. l. 3. Comma after 'and'
 366 v. 4. l. 3. Comma after 'creation'
 367 v. 5. l. 1. Delete comma after 'night'
 Delete v. 6 + 7 altogether (Clarke desires this)
 Then v. 8 + 9 become 6 + 7: rubric at
 end is no longer required
 v. 8 (now b) l. 2. 'hand' fn 'hands'
 368 Heading. ? Cancel attribution - consult
 371 Heading. 'Alengton' Trust
 380 Displaced letter at end. Phillips
 382 Do we want all of this? Or v. 1 + 4 only
 386 v. 8. l. 2. Comma after 'us'
 388 v. 2. Range l. 5 + 7
 407 v. 1. l. 1. Displaced letter at end.
 v. 3. l. 3 'Body' (cap) fn 'spirit' - so E.H.

- 411 v. 1. l. 2. Comma fn :
 1. 4 ! fn :
 v. 2. l. 3. Delete comma after 'revealed'
 413. Under gap somewhere between l. 2.
 rubric with 'John has hymn'
 2nd rubric - 'accompany' fn 'accompany'
 416 v. 2. l. 1. 'Sini' (cap)
 v. 5. l. 1. Delete ; at end of line
 418 v. 1. l. 1 ! in ;
 1. 2. Comma fn !
 v. 3. l. 2 ; fn :
 423 v. 1. l. 4 : fn ;
 426 v. 3. l. 2. ; after 'sin' not comma
 432 Under gap between hymn + Note following
 Note. - The margin of hymns 423-432, while
 ... Substitute this for existing text
 433 v. 6. l. 2. Delete comma at end of line
 436 v. 4. l. 1. Delete comma after 'turn'
 444 v. 1. l. 6 ; fn comma at end of line
 451 v. 2. l. 6 'this' (l.c.)
 454 v. 3. l. 1. Delete comma after 'free' - 'three'
 458 v. 1. l. 2. : fn ; at end of line
 458 v. 4. l. 4 ... 'Lute done!' Delete
 460 v. 1. l. 1. Delete comma after 'sway', then stop
 1. 4. 'name' (l.c.)
 462 v. 2. l. 5 'See' fn 'seet'
 v. 7. l. 3. Delete apostrophe 2 dots
 465. Under gap somewhere between hymn +
 following note
 47+ l. 5. Do we want both of these - i. much,
 481 v. 2. l. 2. : fn ; after 'core'
 485 v. 1. l. 3 'let' - in 'left'
 1. 5. Comma after 'cry'
 1. 6. Jesus of Nazareth, pass by' in insertion
 499 Note ~~trailing~~ + Type displaced
 2nd Note 'Processional' section not 'Processional
 section'
 501 v. 3. l. 4. 'Caly' (cap)
 v. 4. l. 2. : fn ;
 514 v. 4. l. 2. : fn ;
 518 v. 1. l. 2. 'Maid' (cap)
 527 v. 2. l. 3. 'Maid' (cap)
 532 v. 1. l. 3. Delete comma after 'stayed'
 v. 2. l. 3. 'more' after 'stayed'

Sources Consulted

(a) Primary

1. The various editions of H A & M (see page 1).
2. Documents at Hymns Ancient and Modern & Company Ltd., Saint Mary's Plain, Norwich. These consist of the Minute Books and miscellaneous correspondence. The Minute Books are missing for the early years and not very revealing for later times. Much of the contents is routine, recording for example the generosity of the Proprietors to various charities, or dealing with such items as the Headmaster of the King's School, Canterbury's request for cut-price hymn-books for his pupils. The correspondence is uneven, some episodes being very fully documented, others not at all. This bizarre patchiness continues right up to the present date: for example there is nothing on A Hundred Hymns for Today and quite a few letters and memoranda on More Hymns for Today.
3. Letters, memoranda etc. in private collections as noted in the text.

(b) Secondary (Place of publication is London unless otherwise stated).

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