



# The Eighteenth-Century Hymn Tune

At the kind invitation of the UCLA Librarian 1961-1973, Robert Vosper, the following paper was read at the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 2520 Cimarron Street, Los Angeles, California 90018, on March 5, 1977. Mary Rawcliffe, soprano, and Thomas Harmon, organist, cooperated in performing the musical examples.

NOT ONLY DID ISAAC WATTS<sup>1</sup> (1674-1748) and Charles Wesley (1707-1788) tower above every other hymn writer of their own times but also they still continue out-ranking all other eighteenth-century hymn writers in current hymnals. If Watts's psalm imitations are counted with his hymns, he is represented by 31 texts in *The Lutheran Hymnal* compiled for the Synodical Conference in the 1930's, Charles Wesley by 12.<sup>2</sup> *The Hymnal* published in 1933 for use in the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America included 20 texts by Watts, 15 by Charles Wesley. So far as original hymn texts go, Charles Wesley was the largest contributor to *The Hymnal 1940*<sup>3</sup> from any century. The same holds true for the 1950 edition of *Hymns Ancient & Modern* (London: William Clowes & Sons) which contains 30 or 31 of his texts; Watts comes second in this same edition with 17 texts. *The Methodist Hymnal* (Nashville: The Methodist Publishing House, 1964)—of which "well over two million copies were distributed in the first year of publication, an event unprecedented in American publishing"<sup>4</sup>—included 72 Charles Wesley texts against 19 by Watts. Even the *New Catholic Hymnal* issued as recently as 1971 with a foreword by John Cardinal Heenan contains eight hymns with texts by Charles Wesley, six with texts by Watts. No other historic writers of original texts exceed these numbers in this collection of 305 hymns published by London Macmillan for Roman Catholic parish use. *Baptist*

<sup>1</sup>Edna D. Parks has traced the hymn before Watts in "English Hymns and their tunes in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." Boston University Ph.D. dissertation, 1957. For summaries of her conclusions, see her pp. 286-287 and 438-440. She published a portion of her dissertation with the title *The Hymns and Hymn Tunes Found in the English Metrical Psalters* (New York: Coleman-Ross, 1966).

Watts did not invent the English hymn. Rather, his *Psalms of David Imitated in the Language of the New Testament* (1719) captured the immediacy and warmth of an already large body of "old hymns of the English Church." Some dozen of the best seventeenth-century English hymnists were listed in the preface to *A Collection of Hymns of the Children of God in all Ages* (London: Printed and to be had at all Brethren's Chapels, 1754) to prove that Isaac Watts's hymns were no Minerva springing full grown from Jove's forehead. Five hymns were printed in the earliest Sternhold and Hopkins psalters: Lamentation of a Sinner, Lamentation, Humble Suit of a Sinner, Thanksgiving to be sung after the Lord's Supper, and Complaint of a Sinner. The *Veni Creator* hymn sung at ordination services in a translation borrowed from John Cosin's *A Collection of Private Devotions* (1627) entered the Book of Common Prayer in 1662. Watts's hymn-writing predecessors also included Richard Crashaw, John Donne, Thomas Flatman, Sir Matthew Hale, George Herbert, Nathaniel Ingelo, Benjamin Keach, Thomas Ken, Rhys Pritchard, Joseph Stennett, Faithful Tate (Teate), and Jeremy Taylor.

<sup>2</sup>W. G. Polack, comp., *The Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1942), pp. 594-597.

<sup>3</sup>Joint Commission on the Revision of the Hymnal of the Protestant Episcopal Church. *The Hymnal 1940 Companion*, 3d ed. (New York: The Church Pension Fund, 1951), p. 590. Watts contributed 11 texts to *The Hymnal 1940*.

<sup>4</sup>Emory Stevens Bucke, Fred D. Gealy, Austin C. Lovelace, and Carlton R. Young, *Companion to the Hymnal: a handbook to the 1964 Methodist Hymnal* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1970), p. 61.



*Hymnal* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1975) included 15 texts by Watts, 10 by Charles Wesley.

Without further counting of their texts in this or that contemporary hymnal, it will perhaps be conceded that the numbers already cited do sufficiently confirm their continuing unique significance wherever English hymns are sung. However, the next and more relevant question for us is the problem of the tunes to which their still current texts are today sung. Categorically, it can be stated here at the outset that their texts are wedded in contemporary hymnals to tunes different from those to which they were sung when text and tune were in their own century first published conjointly. This rule holds even when such an eighteenth-century tune as ST. ANNE (1708) joins a Watts psalm imitation, "Our God our help in ages past" (1719). Texts such as Watts's "When I survey the wondrous cross" of 1707 or "Joy to the world, the Lord is come" of 1719, Wesley's "Jesu, lover of my soul" of 1740, "Love divine, all loves excelling" of 1747, and "Soldiers of Christ, arise" of 1749 are today sung by millions to the nineteenth-century tunes HAMBURG (1825), MARTYN (1834), BEECHER (1870), and DIADEMATA (1868). These same singing millions would be today utterly affrighted and bewildered by the tunes entitled TOMB STONE,<sup>5</sup> HOTHAM, WESTMINSTER,<sup>6</sup> and HANDEL'S MARCH<sup>7</sup> prescribed specifically for "When I survey," "Jesu, lover," "Love divine," and "Soldiers" in English tune books of the 1760's.

The first comprehensive American tune book, James Lyon's 198-page *Urania* (Philadelphia: [Henry Dawkins], 1761), contains Charles Wesley's "Rejoice the Lord is king" (1746) joined at pages 186-187 with the tune by John Frederick Lampe (1703-1751) to which it was first wedded in the 1746 *Hymns on the Great Festivals, and other Occasions* (Hymn VIII); Charles Wesley's "Glory be to God on high" (1739) joined at page 183 to the anonymous tune published with the title EASTER

<sup>5</sup>John Worgan (1724-1790), composer of TOMB STONE, setting Watts's "When I survey the wondrous Cross" (1707) in John Wesley's *Sacred Melody* (1761), ranked with Handel as a virtuoso organist. As a composer, he was reproached by Charles Burney for excessive originality (in Abraham Rees, *The Cyclopaedia; or, Universal Dictionary* [London: Longman, Hurst, etc., 1819], XXXVIII, folio 452). But in such a powerful melody as TOMB STONE, Worgan anticipated the soulful cantilena of the Romantic lied. He taught Charles Wesley, Jr., and was an intimate of the family. *Representative Verse of Charles Wesley*, edited by Frank Baker (London: The Epworth Press, 1962), p. 324, contains the exquisite threnody "On the Death of Charles Worgan, aged 17 or 18."

The ill fitting of the Watts text in *Sacred Melody; or A Choice Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, with a Short Introduction* (London: n.p., 1761), p. 56, reveals TOMB STONE to have been a contrafactum. "Hark, hark, 'tis a voice from the tombs," the original text by Thomas Moore, accompanies the tune in Thomas Butts's *Harmonia-Sacra*, 2d ed. (London: c. 1765), and again in Joseph Ritson's *A Select Collection of English Songs* (London: J. Johnson, 1783), fol. [B8] verso.

<sup>6</sup>HOTHAM, the tune for "Jesu, lover of my soul" that first appeared anonymously in the London 1765 edition of *Sacred Melody*, was claimed by Martin Madan (1726-1790) as his composition in the so-called Lock Hospital *A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes* (1769). Not only in England but in both northern and southern United States it enjoyed great popularity. Lowell Mason included a four-part version in his maiden collection published at Boston in 1822. Charles Southgate of Richmond, Virginia, arranged a piano-accompanied version published posthumously in his *Harmonia Sacra* (c. 1818), pp. 18-19. WESTMINSTER, no relation to tunes of that name in present-day hymnals, was published anonymously in *Sacred Melody* (1761, 1765, 1770). Henry Purcell's air for Dryden's lines beginning "Fairest Isle, all Isles excelling" in the last act of *King Arthur* (1691) is its source.

<sup>7</sup>"Soldiers of Christ, arise" is set to a tune in *Sacred Melody* and *Sacred Harmony* (1761, 1788) called HANDEL'S MARCH that had earlier been entitled JERICHO (*A Collection of Tunes* [Foundery Collection], 1742; Hymn 4). The tune source is the first violin part in the magnificent march introducing the *Scena ultima* in Handel's *Riccardo Primo* (*Werke*, vol. 74, p. 118).



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# Palmi's

Eternal Power whose high abode becomes the grandeur of a God Infinite lengths beyond the  
 Eternal Power whose high abode becomes the grandeur of a God Infinite lengths beyond the  
 bounds, where stars.....rs revolve their little rounds.  
 bounds, where stars.....rs revolve their little rounds.

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# Italian

O God, my God, my all thou art, ere shines the dawn of rising day Thy sov'ign light in my heart.  
 Shine all in live..... Shine all in living power display.

Both PALMI's and ITALIAN—shown here in reduced *Urania* (Philadelphia: 1761) facsimiles—were published in Thomas Butts's *Harmonia-Sacra*, first through third editions (London: c. 1760, 1765, 1770), in John Wesley's *Sacred Melody*, first through fourth editions (1761, 1765, 1770, 1773), and in John Wesley's *Sacred Harmony*, first and second editions (1781, 1788). In John Arnold's *The Complete Psalmodist*, 7th edition (1779), the tune PALMI is retitled NORTH OCKENDON (setting the text, "O Lord, send out thy Light"). ITALIAN appeared in George Whitefield's *The Divine Musical Miscellany* (1754) with the tune name MARYLAND (to a text beginning "My soul, thy great").



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# Public Worship

So God is here let us adore, And down how dreadful is his place. Let all within us feel his power.

And silent bow before his face, Who knows his power his grace and hope, Love him with awe with reverence love.

PUBLIC WORKSHIP. rhythmically altered from Georg Neumark (1657; Zahn 653 = Zn tune 2778), became SLOW GERMAN in John Wesley's *A Collection of Tunes, As they are commonly Sung at the Foundery* (London: A. Pearson, 1742). Whitefield's *The Divine Musical Miscellany* (1754) altered the tune to its 3/2 contour and renamed it ARMLY. Butts followed suit in *Harmonia-Sacra*. c. 1760, now calling the tune PUBLIC WORKSHIP (see facsimile reprint in Richard Crawford's edition of *Urania*. Da Capo reprint, 1974, p. ix). John Wesley's *Sacred Melody*. 1761, 1765, 1770, 1773, and *Sacred Harmony*. 1781, 1788, included Butts's version.

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# Sky Lark

When all thymories, O my God, My rising soul surveys, Transported with the view, Am lost in wonder, love and praise. Thy providence my life sustained, and all my wants redress'd, While in the silent womb I lay,

The tune SKY LARK by John Sheeles sets a text by John Addison first published in the *Spectator* of Saturday August 9, 1712, no. 453. Sheeles published his tune in *The Sky Lark A Collection of all the Divine Odes and Hymns Taken out of the Spectators* (London: Printed for the Author by W<sup>m</sup> Smith . . . of whom may be had his [Sheeles's] Lessons for the Harpsichord, c. 1730).



hung upon the breast. Hallelujah. :||: :||: :||: :||:

# Salisbury

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1. Glory be to God on high. *Stab... le lujah.* God whose glory fills the sky. *Stab... le lujah.* Peace on earth  
 2. Magni father heavenly king. *Stab... le lujah.* None we now presume to sing. *Stab... le lujah.* Glad thou art  
 3. *Stab... by thy words a Lord. &c.* *Stab... the everlasting Lord. &c.* *Stab... we can fall*  
 man forgiv'n. *Stab... le lujah.* Man the well beloved of heav'n. *Stab... le lujah.*  
 2. *Stab... confess. Stab... le lujah.* glorious all and numberless. *Stab... le lujah.*  
 3. hearts we prove, &c. Lord of power and God of love. &c.

SALISBURY debuted in *Lyra Davidica*, 1708, with the Easter text "Jesus Christ is risen today." John Wesley used it in *Foundery*, 1742, p. 11, with his brother's text "Christ the Lord is ris'n today." However, in all editions of *Sacred Melody* and *Sacred Harmony* he wedded the tune to Charles Wesley's Christmas text, "Glory be to God on high."

# Resurrection

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Rejoice, the Lord is king, your Lord and King adore. Mortals give thanks and sing, And triumph ever more.  
 Lift up your heart, lift up your voice, rejoice again. I say rejoice, Rejoice, rejoice, rejoice, again. I say rejoice.

The tune RESURRECTION by the emigrant Saxon bassoonist, theorist, and composer John Frederick Lampe (1703-1751) first appeared as Hymn VIII (but with a much more active bass, figured throughout) in *Hymns on the Great Festivals, and Other Occasions* (London: M. Cooper, 1746).



Isaac Watts

John Worgan

When I sur-vey the won-drous Cross on which the Prince of  
 Glo-ry dy'd My rich-est Gain I count but  
 Loss, And pour Contempt on all my Pride,  
 For bid it, Lord, that I should boast, Save in the Death of  
 Christ my God: All the vain Things that please me  
 most, I sac-ri-fice them to his Blood, I sac-ri-fice them to his Blood.

MELODY<sup>8</sup> in *Lyra Davidica* of 1708; two translations (1738, 1739) by John Wesley<sup>9</sup> at pages 176-179 joined to the tunes named ITALIAN and PUBLICK WORSHIP<sup>10</sup> in Thomas Butts's *Harmonia Sacra, or A Choice Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, &c. in Two and Three Parts for the Voice, Harpsichord, and Organ* (London: c. 1760); and three Watts texts (as altered by John Wesley) set to tunes called

<sup>8</sup>EASTER MELODY was called SALISBURY in the first Wesleyan tune book, *A Collection of Tunes set to Music, as they are Commonly Sung at the Foundery* (London: A. Pearson, 1742), p. 11, where it joins Charles Wesley's "Hymn for Easter-Day" (John and Charles Wesley, *Hymns and Sacred Poems* [London: William Strahan, 1739], pp. 209-211). In *Sacred Melody*, 1761, *Urania*, 1761, and *Select Hymns: with tunes annexed: Designed chiefly for the people called Methodists*, 3d ed. (Bristol: William Pine, 1770, p. 11), SALISBURY is mated with Charles Wesley's "Glory be to God on high" first published in the Wesleys' 1739 collection. See G. Osborn, ed., *The Poetical Works of John and Charles Wesley*, 1 (London: Wesleyan-Methodist Conference Office, 1868), pp. 115-116.

<sup>9</sup>"O God, my God, my all thou art" (1738) from an unidentified Spanish paraphrase of Psalm 63 and "Lo, God is here" (1739) from Gerhard Tersteegen's *Geistliches Blumen-Gärtlein* (1729). See G. Osborn, ed., *The Poetical Works*, 1, 167-168.

<sup>10</sup>ITALIAN made its debut in *The Divine Musical Miscellany*, 1754, a George Whitefield-sponsored tune book, with the title MARYLAND.

PUBLICK WORSHIP discovers itself as a 3/2 variant of the cut-meter SLOW GERMAN tune in the 1742 Foundery collection. For original and variant printed together to admit of easy comparison, see footnote 40 below. SLOW GERMAN tune originated as Georg Neumark's *Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten* (*Fortgeplanter Musikalisch-poetischer Lustwald* [Jena: 1657])—the tune used as the basis for Bach's Cantata 93. Bach used the same Neumark tune with other lyrics to end four other cantatas. See Wolfgang Schmieder, *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1958), pp. 123-124, 399, 446-447, 455 (items 93, 434, 642, 647, 690, 691, 691a).



PALMI'S, KETTELBY'S, and HALLELUJAH<sup>11</sup> at pages 172-175 and 196-198. As was true for the four other just mentioned tunes, Lyon again found these last three in Butts's *Harmonia Sacra*. The Methodist provenience of "Eternal Power whose high abode," altered from The Conclusion of Watts's *Horae lyricae*. Part I (1705), "Praise ye the Lord, 'tis good to raise" from *Psalms of David imitated* (1719) [Psalm 147], and "Praise ye the Lord, ye immortal choir" from The Universal Hallelujah of *Horae lyricae*. Part I, confirms Lyon's ecumenicism announced in his dedication of *Urania* "To The Clergy of every Denomination in America."

In broad sweep, eighteenth-century tune history can be organized under a further convenient nine headings:

I Syllabic tunes with smooth rhythms are often differentiated from melismatic tunes with profiled rhythms in current hymnological literature—the one type being labeled psalm tunes, the other hymn tunes. However, eighteenth-century tune compilers made no such systematic distinction. From the *Supplement to the New Version*, 1708, to John Rippon's *A Selection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes*, 1791, text—not musical character—determined classification. One and the same tune could serve indifferently for a metrical Davidic psalm or a "hymn of human composure." What did matter was the meter that any given tune would fit. C.M., L.M., S.M. were such overwhelming favorites throughout the first third of the century that English tunes to other meters were roc's eggs in 1737.<sup>12</sup>

II The custom of giving each tune a name, which had been established as early as Thomas Ravenscroft's *The Whole Booke of Psalmes: with the Hymnes Evangelicall, And Songs Spiritvall. Composed into 4. parts by sundry Authors, with such seuerall Tunes as haue beene, and are vsually sung in England, Scotland, Wales, Germany, Italy, France, and Nether-lands* (London: Stationers Company, 1621)<sup>13</sup> continued

<sup>11</sup>PALMI's, the tune for "Eternal Power whose high abode," and KETTELBY'S, the tune for "Praise ye the Lord, 'tis good to raise" (see John Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* articles listing John Wesley's alterations) were first published in the first edition of *Harmonia Sacra*. Thereafter they reappeared in all Methodist eighteenth-century tune books. PALMI's became NORTH OCKENDON in John Arnold's *The Complete Psalmist*, 7th ed. (1779). HALLELUJAH tune predated PALMI's and KETTELBY'S by a generation, appearing first in *The Second Book of the Divine Companion*, c. 1725, as William Markham's setting of Psalm 119. As the music for Watts's altered paraphrase of Psalm 148 it debuted in *The Divine Musical Miscellany*, 1754.

<sup>12</sup>John Wesley in his 73-page anonymously published *Charlestown Collection of Psalms and Hymns* (Charleston, South Carolina: Lewis Timothy, 1737) initiated the custom rampant throughout the rest of the century of recasting poems by George Herbert (1593-1633), John Austin (1613-1669), Isaac Watts, and others to make them fit C.M., L.M., and S.M. tunes already widely popular for the singing of metrical psalms. On the epochal significance of the 1737 *Collection*, see Robert Stevenson, "John Wesley's First Hymnbook," *The Review of Religion*, XIV/2 (January, 1950), pp. 140-160, reprinted in George W. Williams and Frank Baker, *John Wesley's First Hymn-Book: A Collection of Psalms and Hymns* (Charleston: Dalcho Historical Society [Publication No. 16], 1964).

<sup>13</sup>Thomas Est entitled the tunes for Psalms 88, 92, and 146 in his *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (1592) GLASBENBURIE TUNE, KENTISH TUNE, and CHESHIRE TUNE. Ravenscroft's 22 English tunes, 7 "Scottish," 6 "Northerne," and 5 "Welch" tunes—all given place-names in his 1621 *Whole Booke*—are indexed at his folio A5 (and are alphabetically listed in Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music London 1776*, ed. by Othmar Wessely [Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1969], II, 558b). For an easily accessible transcription and valuable analysis of each named tune, see William Paul Stroud, "The Ravenscroft Psalter (1621): The Tunes, with a background on Thomas Ravenscroft and Psalm Singing in his Time," University of Southern California Doctor of Musical Arts dissertation, 1959, pp. 142-215.

prevailing throughout the eighteenth century. However, just as John Playford capriciously renamed many of Ravenscroft's tunes, so also eighteenth-century compilers continued capriciously renaming tunes to such an extent that the genealogy of any given tune has to be confirmed not by tracing names but by counting musical intervals.

III Even when only single-line melodies were printed, as for instance in John Wesley's *A Collection of Tunes . . . Commonly Sung at the Foundery* (the so-called Foundery Collection, of 1742), and *Sacred Melody* of 1761, harmony is implicit (witness later republication of the same tunes harmonized in *Sacred Harmony*). In harmonizations for more than two parts, the congregational or "church" tune<sup>14</sup> and bass (or continuo) usually occupied the two bottom staves.

IV Not only did tune-name changes continue rife throughout the century, but also those tunes that enjoyed steady favor underwent extensive face-lifti. g.

To cite an example: HANOVER, labelled "A New Tune to the 149th Psalm of the *New Version*, and the 104th of the *Old*" when first published in the *Supplement* of 1708, page 31, was called ST. GEORGE in Michael Broome's *Collection of Church Music for the Use of his Scholars* (Isleworth, c. 1725), entitled HANOVER for the first time in Nathaniel Gawthorn's *Harmonia Perfecta: A Compleat Collection of Psalm Tunes in Four Parts* (London: William Pearson, 1730), page 220, named BROMSWICK TUNE in John Wesley's Foundery Collection of 1742, page 6, PSALM 149 in James Lyon's *Urania* (1761), pages 86-87, and TALLI's in Wesley's *Sacred Harmony* (1788). It again turns up in John Rippon's *A Selection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, from the best authors, in three and four parts: adapted principally to Dr. Watts's Hymns and Psalms and to Mr. Rippon's selection of hymns* (London: 1791) as ALIE STREET—but in a form so "modernized" as to require quotation here.

*A New Tune* (*Supplement*, 1708, pp. 31-32)

Our God bless us all with Mer-cy and Love; The che-ri-shing  
Beames of Fa-vour be-stow; That Earth his just Deal-ings my see and ap-  
prove. His heal-ing Sal-va-tion, all Peo-ple may know.

<sup>14</sup>In *The Second Booke* of William Damon's psalter (1591), he initiated the nowadays universal custom of assigning the lead melody to the top voice ("the highest part singeth the Church Tune"). In Damon's *The Former Booke of the Musicke*, which is Book I of his 1591 psalter, "the Tenor singeth the Church Tune." See Maurice Frost, *Historical Companion*, pp. 54-55 (originally, "church tune" meant a four-line tune).



AIRIE STREET (Selection, 5th ed., no. 24)



V The total extent of the eighteenth-century new tune repertory cannot be even approximately inferred from the number in present-day hymnals. Hundreds were composed for every current survival. DARWELL'S 148TH, the only one among John Darwell's 150 original psalm tunes still in use, suggests the proportion of present survivals—one among 150 or more. *The British Union-Catalogue of Early Music printed before the year 1801*, I, 520-525, itemizes 279 collections published between 1700 and 1800 under the rubric of "Hymns, English"; and in II, 829-838, 463 of "Psalms, English." Allowing for duplicates, new tunes published in the century easily exceeded 4,000. Added to any rough estimate of the grand total of eighteenth-century tunes must be the still harder to tabulate number of unpublished tunes. In a valuable dissertation on "The History of Baptist Hymnody in England from 1612 to 1800" (University of Southern California Doctor of Musical Arts, 1959), Robert H. Young devoted Chapter VII (pp. 141-154) to a repertory of 255 unpublished tunes, all but two original, that were composed between 1750 and 1800 by members of a Baptist church singing society living in Rosendale Valley north of Manchester. Then known as the "Deign Layrocks" or "Larks of Dean," the group formally organized at Lumb as a Baptist Chapel in the Spring of 1753, with John Nuttall as pastor. Seven years later the church moved to nearby Goodshaw village. Annie Buckley's *History of the Providence Baptist Chapel, Lumb* (Rawtenstall<sup>15</sup>: 1928) made an informal assessment of the Deign Layrocks tune repertory as a whole, and identified several of the composers.

The Sunday School registers testify to the regularity with which these Lancashire farmers tramped over the moors to Bacup or Goodshaw in all weathers. Gradually the Layrocks developed into a strong local society of musical composers, of whom John Nuttall's two sons James (1745-1806) and Henry (1747-1810) both excelled in composing hymn tunes. James's tunes bore such names as "Bocking Warp," "Friendship," "Lark," "Sampson," "Spanking Rodger," and "Temple." Reuben Hudson (1745-1806) contributed "Living Green," "Nazarene," "Phlymphlam" and "Stanton" to the repertory. Like many late eighteenth-century composers elsewhere throughout England, they revelled in Handel's oratorios,<sup>16</sup> and so far as their resources allowed tried imitating his style. Their tunes invariably go with a swing, teem with runs and repetitions, and often finish with a few bars of rousing chorus. Dauntless enthusiasm and robust joyousness were the keynotes of their religion, and their tunes correspondingly burst with strength and vitality.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup>The Deign Layrocks manuscript containing the 255 tunes compiled in 1904 by Moses Heap belonged in 1959 to the Rawtenstall Public Library.

<sup>16</sup>At least two of the Layrocks tunes are direct arrangements from Handel: Henry Nuttall's THE DEAD MARCH (L.M., from *Saul*) to be used with Psalm 89, and GALATEA (L.M., adapted from *Acis and Galatea*). See Young, pp. 149-150 for facsimiles of these adaptations.

<sup>17</sup>Young, pp. 143-145, quoting Annie Buckley, pp. 13, 15-16.

If this kind of prolific hymn tune composing can be documented among Baptists in one rural eighteenth-century community, similar activity in numerous other villages and among other dissenting bodies may well bring the total of published and unpublished eighteenth-century tunes to the "ten thousand ransomed saints" mark.

VI After 1750, tunes sung by dissenters obviously tended more and more toward the florid. Even country singers imitated the graces in Italian opera. Beginning about 1760 they also began fancying so-called fugging tunes, the first half homophonic, the second half pursuing an imitative point through four voices.<sup>18</sup> In keeping more with their aspirations than their abilities, rural composers (such as those among the just mentioned Deign Layrocks) turned the late eighteenth-century hymn tune into a sort of "poor-man's Handel." Not that melismatic hymn tunes decked with operatic graces and imitative points were unknown in the early 1700's: witness Henry Playford's *The Divine Companion* which between 1701 and 1722 ran through four editions.<sup>19</sup> In all editions the syllabic, emotionally neutral "new Psalm tunes" for tenor (or soprano) and bass by John Church that begin the volume differed stylistically from the melismatic, emotion-fraught hymn tunes by Samuel Akeroyd, Jeremiah Clarke, Robert King, and William Turner that make up the bulk of *The Divine Companion*. Popular psalm tunes that were holdovers from the previous centuries could be sung indifferently with almost any objective text in the stipulated meters—S.M. texts requiring the maid of all work SOUTHWELL and C.M. such all purpose tunes as CANTERBURY, LICHFIELD = ST. MARY'S, MARTYRS, OXFORD, ST. DAVID'S, WINCHESTER, WINDSOR, and YORK (to sample those in Ravenscroft's psalter).<sup>20</sup> But subjective hymn texts required a different breed of music. In Akeroyd's "An Hymn for Good Friday" at pages 44-45 of the 1715 *Divine Companion* (page 36 of the 1701 edition), this prolific court composer set the passionate poem of six-line strophes from Nahum Tate's *Miscellanea Sacra* (1696), I, 18-20, beginning "Dear Saviour, oh! what ails this heart?" as a highly expressive and deeply felt personal lament. John Wesley approved so emphatically of Akeroyd's tune that he named it CRUCIFIXION and used it for his brother's 1738 hymn on Free Grace, "And can it be that I should gain" published as item 31 in the first Methodist tune book—the so-called Foundery Collection of 1742.

John Wesley similarly endorsed two of Jeremiah Clarke's hymn tunes in *The Divine Companion*—as is shown by their reappearance in the 1742 Foundery Collection, in the 1761 *Sacred Melody* and in the 1781 *Sacred Harmony*. "An Evening Hymn Set by Mr. Jer. Clarke" was published in *The Divine Companion*, 1701 edition, page 27, and

<sup>18</sup>Although not indexed in any of the standard European lexicons, "fug[ui]ng tune" denotes a tune type pioneered by Joseph Stephenson in *Church Harmony sacred to devotion. Being a choice set of new anthems & psalm tunes . . . having the energy of our English words particularly express'd, with an air suited to each different subject* (London: [J. Rivington & J. Fletcher, 3rd edition, 1760]). See Irving Lowens, "The Origins of the American Fugging Tune," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, VI/1 (Spring, 1953), pp. 50-51, and Robert Stevenson, *Protestant Church Music in America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1966), pp. 59-60, 66-70.

<sup>19</sup>The Huntington Library copy is of the third edition, *The Divine Companion; or, David's Harp New Tun'd Being A Choice Collection of New and Easy Psalms, Hymns and Anthems. The Words of the Psalms being Collected from the Newest Version. Compos'd by the best Masters, and fitted to the Use of those, who already understand Mr. John Playford's Psalms in Three Parts. To be used in Churches or Private Families for their greater Advancement of Divine Music* (London: William Pearson, 1715).

<sup>20</sup>According to Young, p. 94, these nine psalm tunes rank among the fifteen most frequently published before 1700, the other six being CAMBRIDGE OLD, PSALMS 100, 113, 119, 148 (all in Henry Ainsworth's 1612 psalter), and LONDON (William Barton's psalter, 1645).



*Eden Evening Hymn Tenor*

*Chorus*

*Eden Evening Hymn Tenor*

*Chorus*

17

Deacon Story's Singing Book of Durham, Conn. 1740, folio 20



 A page of handwritten musical notation on five staves. The lyrics are written in a large, decorative cursive script across the staves. The text is:
 

The Lyran on the Sandy of the North Sea  
 Bass  
 The Lyran on the Sandy of the North Sea  
 Bass

 The musical notation consists of notes, rests, and bar lines on five-line staves. The paper shows signs of age, including some staining and wear.



1715 edition, page 34, as music for the six-strophe L.M. text from Thomas Flatman's *Poems and Songs*. 1674, pages 48–49, beginning "Sleep, downy sleep, come close my eyes."<sup>21</sup> With a different text, this same delicious sixteen-bar A minor lullaby cadencing at every fourth measure, is found anew at page 28 in Foundery, here christened CLARK'S TUNE.<sup>22</sup> Hymn VI in the 1715 *Divine Companion* (1701, p. 31; 1715, p. 38) wedded to a text "How uneasie are we here," returns in Foundery as LONDON NEW, now joined to a text, "Saviour, if thy precious love" adapted in 1739 from George Herbert's *The Temple*. 1633, page 107 ("Sweetest Saviour of my soul").<sup>23</sup>

VII Most intriguingly, both these same Jeremiah Clarke tunes levied by the Wesleys were already circulating in the American colonies only a year or so after the Wesley brothers left Georgia. In a hitherto neglected manuscript dated 1740 (and catalogued Cast MS-VM 2116 S88r 1740) at the Newberry Library in Chicago, Clarke's setting of Flatman's "Sleep, downy sleep" is copied at folio 20. At folio 22 headed "An Hymn on the Vanity of the World," comes the tune renamed LONDON NEW in Foundery. The same Newberry manuscript—which bears on the last leaf the legend "Deacon Story's Singing Book of Durham, Conn. 1740" (folio 42<sup>v</sup>)—contains through folio 16 a standard selection of 29 psalm tunes including such famous favorites as Thomas Campion's STREAMS OF BABYLON (1613) and Orlando Gibbons's ANGELS SONG (1623). At least four of the eighteenth-century tunes in this earliest of American hymnals<sup>24</sup> derive from Simon Browne's *A Sett of Tunes* (c. 1720)—BRUNSWICK, ISLE OF WIGHT, MEAR, and PORTSMOUTH. PSALM 136 at folio 16, which is found also in

<sup>21</sup>Text reprinted in George Saintsbury, ed., *Minor Poets of the Caroline Period*, III (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921), p. 318.

<sup>22</sup>The Foundery text—John Wesley's translation from the German beginning "Jesu, to Thee my heart I bow"—is headed "Subjection to Christ" in John and Charles Wesley's *Hymns and Sacred Poems*. 1739. See G. Osborn, ed., *The Poetical Works* (1868), I, 109. In the 1761 *Sacred Melody* and 1781 *Sacred Harmony*, the same CLARK'S TUNE of 1742 returns with the title BRADFORD, now setting John Wesley's translation of Paul Gerhardt's "Jesu, thy boundless love to me."

<sup>23</sup>Of the six texts revised from Herbert that John Wesley included in his 1737 Charlestown collection—"O Throw away thy rod" ("Throw away thy rod"), "O King of glory" ("King of glory, King of peace"), "Thou Lord my power and wisdom art" ("Do not beguile my heart"), "Lord, how in silence I despise," "With bended knee and aching eyes" ("With sick and famished eyes"), and "How swiftly wafted is a sigh" ("Oh what an easie quick access")—only the first found a tune in Foundery. Borrowed from John Chetham's *A Book of Psalmody*. 1718 (11th edition, 1787), where it joined Psalm L, the A minor tune in Foundery, p. 3—called FETTER LANE—appears in James Lyon's *Urania*, p. 25, renamed WIRKSWORTH, and returns a step lower in *Sacred Harmony*, 1788, p. 6, now entitled BRENTFORD ("Thou very paschal Lamb"). Still widely popular a generation later, the tune reappeared with the name AYLESBURY in Ananias Davison's frequently reprinted *Kentucky Harmony* (Lexington, Ky.: 1816; Harrisonburg, Va., 1817). Foundery, pp. 14–15, provided one other tune, for a Herbert adaptation, the text of which awaited the 1739 *Hymns and Sacred Poems* for publication. "My stock lies dead and no increase." The A minor tune for this, printed in Foundery with the title ST. JOHN'S, was again a borrowing from John Chetham, 1718, that was to enjoy long life under such alternate names as BURFORD (Gawthorn, *Harmonia Perfecta*, 1730, and Butts, *Harmonia Sacra*, c. 1760, Wesley, *Sacred Melody*, 1761, and *Sacred Harmony*, 1781), and UXBRIDGE in M. Broome, *A Choice Collection of Twenty-Four Psalm Tunes*, c. 1744, and John Arnold, *Church Music reformed*, 1765.

<sup>24</sup>Nathaniel Chauncey (1681–1756), rated in Franklin B. Dexter's *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College with Annals of the College History*, I (New York: Henry Holt, 1885), pp. 9–11, as Yale's first graduate, 1702, pastored the Durham, Connecticut, church from 1706 until death. An ardent friend of music, he published at New London in 1728 a 54-page apologia, *Regular Singing Defended, and Proved to be the Only True Way of Singing the Songs of the Lord, by Arguments both from Reason and Scripture*.



Lyon's *Urania* of 1761, illustrates a radically new type of psalm tune, the kind that exploits antiphonal solos between tenor and bass and ends with a tremulous semiquaver duet against held notes. The hymn tunes, specifically so called in the Newberry 1740 manuscript, include not only the two by Clarke repeated in Foundery and shown here as accompanying examples but also a saraband-rhythm duet between tenor and bass entitled "An Hymn on ye Divine Use of Musick"<sup>25</sup> (folios 23<sup>v</sup>-24, the text from Nathaniel Ingelo's *Bentivolio and Urania*, 1660, page 250). "A Morning Hymn" (folio 20, text beginning "Awake my soul, awake mine Eyes" from Thomas Flatman's *Poems and Songs*, 1674, pages 47-48), and "The Cradle Hymn" (folio 21).

These previously unnoticed hymns in the 1740 Derby, Connecticut, manuscript now at the Newberry Library, revolutionize hitherto received dicta on early American music history. In particular, Clarke's hymns carried over from *The Divine Companion* into this ignored source completely reverse the traditional opinion that the New England colonists suffocated themselves in nothing but antiquated metrical psalm tunes until 1770.<sup>26</sup> But to return to the printed source whence they were drawn, *The Divine Companion* itself: the seminal force of the hymn tunes in this 1701, 1707

[*The Divine Companion*, 1701, p. 27]

Deacon Story's Singing Book of Durham, Conn. 1740, fol.20

[*A Collection of Tunes set to Music as they are commonly sung at the Foundery*, 1742, p. 28 ("Jesu to thee, my Heart I bow")]

[*Sacred Harmony: or a Choice Collection of Psalms and Hymns. Set to Music in two and three parts, for the Voice, Harpsichord and Organ*, 1781, p. 81 ("Jesu, thy boundless love")]

[*The Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music*, 1822, p. 82]

Sleep downy Sleep, come close mine Eyes; Tir'd with be-hold-ing

Van-i - ties. Welcome sweet Sleep that dri-v'st away, The Toils and Fol-lies of the Day.

<sup>25</sup>Expanded version anonymously set a 3 in John Playford's *The Whole Book of Psalms* (London: W. Godbid, 1677), p. 293. Another setting a 3 by Henry Purcell in *Harmonia Sacra: or divine hymns and dialogues* (London: Edward Jones for Henry Playford, 1688), p. 45. Text of expanded version (without music) in all known Boston editions of John Tufts's *An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm-Tunes* (10th, 1738; 11th, 1744) immediately before list of tunes. John Jenkins's setting a 3 mentioned in John Playford's *Psalms & Hymns in Solemn Musick* of 1671 is apparently lost; see Maurice Frost, *Historical Companion*, p. 61.

<sup>26</sup>William Billings's *The New-England Psalm-Singer* (Boston: Edes and Gill, 1770) went beyond "the chafing restrictions of simplicity in psalm tunes" (J. T. Howard, *Our American Music*, 3rd ed. [New York: Thos. Y. Crowell, 1946], p. 49).



[*The Divine Companion*, 1701, p. 31]

Deacon Story's Singing Book, fol. 22

[*A Collection*, 1742]

[*Sacred Harmony*, 1781]

= 1709, 1715, 1722 collection can be further illustrated. Hymn VII in the 1715 edition, page 40 (1701 ed., p. 33), "Mercy I will and judgment Sing" with both text and tune by Robert King,<sup>27</sup> turns up again in both John Wesley's *Sacred Melody: or A Choice Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes* of 1761 and *Sacred Harmony* of 1781. Now newly titled NORWICH, this King tune joins Charles Wesley's hymn text "O God of our forefathers hear" (1745) in both 1761 and 1781 tune books. As published in 1701 through 1715 editions, the King tune breaks into an imitative section at measures 9-13 (with obligatory repeat of these five bars). But in John Wesley's tune books, the imitation between bass and soprano vanishes, vocal ornamentation is added, and the repeated bars are replaced with a written-out variant.<sup>28</sup> Because these several changes were not only sanctioned but actually required by the Methodist founder, the King tune—shown here in both the 1701 and 1761 = 1781 = 1788 versions—can serve as a convenient test case.

As proof that John Wesley himself controlled the selection and musical arrangement of the tunes in *Sacred Melody*, his rather peremptory preface to *Select Hymns* should be once again read over:

I have been endeavoring for more than 20 years to procure such a book as this. But in vain: Masters of music were above following any direction but their own. And I was determined, whoever compiled this: should follow *my* direction: Not *mending* our tunes, but setting them

<sup>27</sup>Edna D. Parks, *Early English Hymns: An Index* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1972), p. 75, signals the 1701 edition (p. 33) for their first appearance. Like Clarke, King rated as one of the foremost royal musicians at the turn of the century. See Michael Tilmouth, "King, Robert," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, VII (1958), cols. 920-923.

<sup>28</sup>For a mid-eighteenth-century collection designed for rural use in which imitative points run riot, see John Arnold, *The Leicestershire Harmony. Containing a Set of Excellent Psalm-Tunes . . . The Whole composed, in Modern Taste, for Four Voices. By an Eminent Master of the County of Leicester: And now first published For the Use of Country Churches* (London: Robert Brown, 1759). John Wesley would have none of this singing "in reports," bandying between parts, or imitative singing. His ban on "fuging" influenced Methodist usage on both sides of the Atlantic. For documentation, see Robert Stevenson, *Protestant Church Music in America*, pp. 69-70.

*The Divine Companion*, 1713 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), p. 40 [Hymn VII]  
[8.8.8.8.8.8. (a ab ce b)]

An Hymn Set by Mr. Robert King, for Two Voc.

Mer - cy I will and Judgment sing. to thee, O Lord from whom they spring.

Wis - dom shall all my ways cor - rect, When wilt thou come and dwell with me?

My

My whole af - fairs and Fam - i - ly I will with per - fect heart di - rect.

whok I will

### NORWICH

*Sacred Harmony* (1781), p. 92

O God of our fore - fa - thers hear, And make thy faith - ful mer - cies known,

To thee through Jesus I draw near Thy suf - f'ring well be - lov - ed Son, In whom thy,

In whom thy smiling face I see, In whom thou in whom thou art well pleas'd with me.





down, neither better nor worse than they were. At length they have prevailed. The following collection contains all the tunes which are in common use among us. They are pricked true, exactly as I desire all our congregations may sing them: . . . JOHN WESLEY<sup>28</sup>

His personal imprimatur given the 102 tunes in the first edition of *Sacred Melody* (1761) and continued through the 114 in the second edition of *Sacred Harmony* (1788) means that he not only tolerated but approved of such a wildly florid melody for his brother's "The voice of my Beloved" from *Scripture Hymns* (1761) as CHESHUNT.<sup>30</sup> Published in *Sacred Harmony* (1788), pages 116–122. CHESHUNT is an adaptation *a 3* of Henry Holcombe's popular air "A Thought on a Spring Morning." Charles Wesley may even have written his versification of Song of Songs 2:8 with Holcombe's air in mind. The tune, festooned with two tempo and meter changes, flowers into a melisma lasting six bars (on the word "come"). John Wesley himself also endorsed Martin Madan's extremely elaborate DENMARK *a 3* (*Sacred Harmony*, 1788, pp. 123–130). This throughcomposed setting for his own revision of Watts's Psalm 100 beginning "Before Jehovah's awful throne" (a revision made in Georgia and published in the 1737 Charlestown collection) illustrates the trend toward the florid, difficult, and lengthy in the new tunes circulating from 1760 onward.

Whether early or late in the century, tunes that gained widespread popularity in England quickly became current in America. Attention has already been paid some nine English hit tunes published 1701–1760 that were reprinted in James Lyon's epochal *Urania* (1761). These nine already mentioned tunes are thus entitled in the Philadelphia imprint: ITALIAN, KETTELBY'S, PALM'S, PSALM 136, PUBLICK WORSHIP, PSALM 149 (= HANOVER, 1708, by Croft), RESURRECTION (1746, by Lampe), ST. ANN'S (1708, Croft), and SALISBURY (1708, from *Lyra Davidica*). But these nine are merely the beginning. *Urania* also included another 22 such eighteenth-century hit tunes. To list alphabetically the confirmed English borrowings:<sup>31</sup> BATH (c. 1760), BEDFORD by Wheale (c. 1721), BRUNSWICK (c. 1720), CROWLE (1724), DORCHESTER by William Knapp (1738), HALLELUJAH by William Markham<sup>32</sup> (1725), ISLE OF WIGHT (c. 1720), KETTERING by John Sheeles (c. 1730), MEAR (c. 1720), NEWCASTLE, PORTSMOUTH (c. 1720), PSALM 4, PSALM 90 (1759), PSALM 98 (1734), PSALM 102 (1758), PSALM 113 NEW by Israel Holdroyd (1753), PSALM 119 NEW (1758), PSALM 145 (1759), RIPON by John Barrow (1756), RYGATE by James Evison (1751), ST. MATTHEW'S by Croft (1708), ST. MICHAEL'S (c. 1724), SKY LARK by Sheeles (c. 1730), STANDISH (1700), WALSALL (c. 1721), WELLS by Holdroyd (c. 1724), and WIRKSWORTH (1718). Among these 22, the following were still in current American use sixty years later when Lowell Mason compiled his *Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music* (1822): BATH, BEDFORD, CROWLE, MEAR, ST. MATTHEW'S, ST. MICHAEL'S (called ROCHESTER), and WIRKSWORTH (called AYLESBURY). Lowell Mason's 1822 collection also included at least another eight of the 18 eighteenth-century English hymn tunes most frequently printed in a

<sup>28</sup>Select Hymns: with tunes annex: Designed chiefly for the use of the People called Methodists (Bristol: William Pine, 1770), p. iv. Richard Green, *The Works of John and Charles Wesley. A Bibliography* (London: C. H. Kelly, 1896), p. 118.

<sup>29</sup>*Sacred Harmony*, 1788 ed., pp. 116–122.

<sup>31</sup>Richard Crawford, preface to James Lyon's *Urania* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1974), pp. xxix–xxxv.

<sup>32</sup>Printed as a setting for Psalm 119 in *The Second Book of the Divine Companion* (London: William Pearson, c. 1725); see Maurice Frost, "Harmonia-Sacra, by Thomas Butts," *The Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Bulletin 61 [III/4] (Autumn, 1952), p. 69.



representative ten landmark London tune collections spanning the century (1708, 1730, c. 1730, c. 1750, c. 1751, c. 1760, c. 1760, 1772, 1777, and c. 1791):<sup>33</sup> BEDFORD, BETHESDA, BURFORD, GREEN'S 100, ISLINGTON, ST. MATTHEW'S, WALSAL (WALSALL), and WANTAGE<sup>34</sup> (*Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music* [1822], pp. 125, 165, 127, 75, 32, 88, 135, 130).

VIII These and at least another dozen eighteenth-century hit tunes crossed all denominational lines, turning up equally in dissenting tune collections wedded to hymn and psalm texts, in old-line establishment collections to psalm texts, or in Methodist collections to hymn texts. However, the emerging religious society that most actively sponsored new tunes from 1742 (the year of John Wesley's Foundery collection) to 1788 (the year that the second, enlarged edition of *Sacred Harmony* appeared and the year that Charles Wesley died) was the Methodist. In part, the Methodists were forced to seek out new tunes because Methodist poets—especially the gigantic Charles Wesley—broke the trammels of the three traditional psalm meters, C.M., L.M., and S.M., instead favoring meters for which no suitable preexisting psalm tunes were available.<sup>35</sup> Witness "Jesu, lover of my soul" and "Hark, the herald angels sing" (= "Hark, how all the welkin rings"<sup>36</sup>), both cast in eight-line stanzas of 7's, "Love divine all loves excelling" in eight-line stanzas of alternate 8.7., or the many other Charles Wesley hymn texts in six-line 8's, 7's, 6.6.6.6.8.8., 8.8.6.8.8.6., and enough other combinations to merit an entire chapter on his metrical versatility in Frank Baker's introduction to *Charles Wesley's Verse* (London: Epworth Press, 1964), pages 68–76. Also among the important predisposing reasons for the number of new tunes in Methodist collections were John Wesley's insistence on hearty, intelligent congregational singing by *all* at all Methodist meetings,<sup>37</sup> and his

<sup>33</sup>*A Supplement to the New Version . . . The Sixth Edition*; Nathaniel Gawthorn, *Harmonia Perfecta: A Compleat Collection of Psalm Tunes in Four Parts* (William Pearson); Francis Timbrell, *The Divine Musick Scholars Guide or the Timbrel new tun'd, in three books* (William Cluer Dicey); *A Collection of Tunes in Three Parts, that are now us'd in the several Dissenting Congregations in London fit to bind up with Dr. Watts's Psalms* (Thomas Knibb); Abraham Milner, *The Psalm Singers Companion: being a collection of psalm tunes, canons and anthems, in two, three, and four parts* (William Smith); Caleb Ashworth, *A Collection of Tunes . . . set in four parts* (J. Buckland); *Harmonia Sacra, or A choice Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, &c. in Two and Three Parts For the Voice, Harpsichord, and Organ* (Thomas Butts); *A Short . . . Introduction to Psalmody: with a Collection of Plain Psalm-Tunes . . . Designed for the use of a Society of Protestant Dissenters; An Abridgment of the New Version of Psalms for the use of Charlotte-Street and Bedford Chapels: With proper tunes adapted to each psalm* (Thomas Johnson); John Rippon, *A Selection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, from the Best Authors, in three and four parts: adapted principally to Dr. Watts's Hymns and Psalms and to Mr. Rippon's Selection of Hymns*.

<sup>34</sup>For a convenient table listing the "Psalm and Hymn Tunes most frequently found in leading English tune books of the Eighteenth Century," see Young, pp. 102–104.

<sup>35</sup>Concerning his more unusual meters, see Frank Baker, *Representative Verse of Charles Wesley* (London: Epworth Press, 1962), pp. xlv–xlvii. He began experimenting with anapaests in 1741. "Even more important for the student of prosody is Charles Wesley's fertile experimentation with mixed meters, particularly mixed iambic and trochaic."

<sup>36</sup>"Hark! how all the welkin rings / Glory to the King of Kings," the opening lines in *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (London: William Strahan, 1739), pp. 206–208, became "Hark! the herald-angels sing / Glory to the new-born King" in George Whitefield's *Hymns for Social Worship, collected from various authors, and more particularly design'd for the use of the Tabernacle congregation, in London* (1753), pp. 24–25. The one attempt at restoring the original couplet in the 1904 *Hymns Ancient & Modern* cost the compilers heavily. See Baker, *Representative Verse*, p. 12.

<sup>37</sup>His third direction to users of his 1761 *Sacred Melody* read: "Sing *All*. See that you join with the con-



corollary emphasis on teaching all Methodists how to read music. His 1761 *Select Hymns*, numbering 132 = 133 hymn texts,<sup>38</sup> includes a 12-page section on how to read music that begins with "The Gamut, or Scale of Music." This 12-page insert between texts and the 102 tunes in the 1761 edition gave way to a separately published 12-page pamphlet selling for 3d., *The Grounds of Vocal Music*, often found bound up with the second and third editions of *Select Hymns* (1765, 1770). The technical information in both covers sight-singing basics and culminates in four pages of G Major "Lessons for tuning the Voice" that would do credit to a solfeggio manual.

Among other extremely important predisposing factors in the Methodist musical upsurge should be mentioned Charles Wesley's own excellent taste typified in his adoration of Handel;<sup>39</sup> both brothers' eagerness to appropriate good tunes wherever found, even if a Purcell or Handel opera; John Wesley's free borrowing from the previously untapped German hymn tune repertory;<sup>40</sup> Charles Wesley's friendly converse, among other fine musicians, with J. F. Lampe, who after sensational success as

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gregation as frequently as you can. Let not a slight degree of weakness or weariness hinder you. If it is a cross to you, take it up, and you will find it a blessing." His stress on congregational singing gave early Methodism its distinctive flavor. See Watkins Shaw, "A History of Church Music in England from the Reformation to the Present Day" in Friedrich Blume, *Protestant Church Music: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974), pp. 726-727.

<sup>38</sup>Green, p. 117.

<sup>39</sup>Baker, *Representative Verse*, p. 311 ("Written in Handel's Lessons," "Ode on Handel's Birthday"). He wrote two of his *Scripture Hymns* as contrafacta to be sung to the air in Handel's *Songs in L'Allegro ed Il Penseroso* (1740) "Let me Wander, not unseen" (Baker, p. 276). Ever true to Handel, he hated Felice de Giardini (1716-1796) and Johann Christian Bach (1735-1782) as having "cut Old Music's throat" (p. 312).

<sup>40</sup>Foundery (1742) contained sixteen German tune borrowings: items 1, 3, 8, 10, 13, 14, 19, 27, 28, 29, 30, 35, 36, 37, 39, 41. *Sacred Melody* (1761) added four more new borrowings: items 1, 2, 28, 46. Except for 28 and 41, the Foundery German tunes can be thus traced in Johannes Zahn, *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1889-1893 [6 volumes]): HEMDYKE (Zahn 6456a = F. G. Eberling, 1666). THE RESIGNATION (5264a = W. Figulus, 1575). SAVANNAH (3980 = J. A. Freylinghausen, 1705). HERRNHUTH (1256 = J. Thommen, 1745). FRANKFORT (3651 = Meiningen, 1693). LOVE FEAST (6515d = Wernigerode, 1742). MARIENBOURN (212b = A. Kriegers, 1667). FIRST GERMAN (352 = G. Rhaw, 1544). JERA (198 = N. Hermann, 1554). SECOND GERMAN (788 = Knott v. Rosenroth, 1684). AMSTERDAM (7341a = J. G. Hille, 1739). SLOW GERMAN (2778 = G. Neumark, 1657). PLAYFORD'S (2561 = Geistliche Lieder, 1539), and SWIFT GERMAN (2781 = Musikalisch Hand-Buch, 1690). Foundery tunes 3, 19, and 37 were levied by J. S. Bach (BWV 613 and Anh. 54, BWV 396, BWV 93 and 434). Tune 41 in Foundery—113TH PSALM—originated in the *Kirchenamt* printed at Strasbourg in 1525, whence it passed into Calvin's *Aulecus pseaulmes* (Strasbourg, 1539), into French Genevan psalms, and into *Four Score and Seven Psalms*, 1561. This was the last tune that John Wesley sang (with Isaac Watts's "I'll praise my Maker while I've breath") March 1, 1791, the day before he died. See *Historical Companion to Hymns Ancient & Modern*, p. 602. Tune 39 in Foundery, PLAYFORD'S (= Luther's *Vater unser* (1530) = OLD 112TH), first appeared in England as the tune for Cox's Lord's Prayer in *Psalms of David in English Metre*, 1560, and as the tune for Psalm 112 in 1561. The tune SAVANNAH (8 in Foundery), rechristened IRENE in later Methodist collections, was but one of many tunes given new names to confuse the tune genealogist. SLOW GERMAN, Georg Neumark's 1657 melody included in 1861/1868 and 1904 editions of *Hymns Ancient & Modern* with the title BREMEN, turns up greatly altered in Thomas Butts's *Harmonia Sacra*, c. 1760, in the 1761 *Sacred Melody* and 1781 *Sacred Harmony* as PUBLIC WORSHIP (and as stated above, footnote 10, in Lyon's *Urania*, 1761). The 1742 and 1760 = 1761 versions of this favorite tune of J. S. Bach merit comparison (in 1760 and later, the text is John Wesley's translation of "Gott is gegenwärtig" from Gerhard Tersteegen's *Geistliches Blumen-Gärtlein*, 1729, as published in *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1739).

a Covent Garden composer published a collection of 24 exquisite tunes for Charles's<sup>41</sup> *Hymns on the Great Festivals, and other Occasions* (London: M. Cooper, 1746; 2d ed., 1753); and the willingness of both brothers to stick with good tunes, once found, through successive Methodist tune books until at last they became deeply ingrained

## SLOW GERMAN TUNE

[Foundery, 1742, p. 30]

My Fa - ther, O my Fa - ther hear  
Now as a Ser - vant I ap - pear  
thy and weak - est thou child's im - per - fect of Call!  
and yet thou know'st the Heir of all.  
O make me know as I am known Speak  
Fa - ther, am I not thy Son?

## PUBLIC WORSHIP

[*Harmonia Sacra*, c. 1760, p. 25][*Urania*, 1761, pp. 178-179]

Lo, God is here! let us a - dore, And  
Let all with - in us feel his Pow'r, And  
own how dread - ful is this Place!  
si - lent bow be - fore his Face, Who  
knows his Pow'r, his Grace who prove, Serve  
him with Awe, with Rev' - rence, Love.

<sup>41</sup>Concerning the exceptional store that both Wesley brothers took by these Lampe tunes, see Green, p. 48. Three of Lampe's 1746 tunes joined Charles's previously unpublished texts. Lampe's Hymn 17 became the tune for Samuel Wesley, Jr.'s "Holy holy Ghost Jehovah, Third in order of the Three" in *Sacred Melody*, 1770 ed., p. 34, where it is newly entitled TRINITY. Percy Scholes, *The Oxford Companion to Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), reproduced Lampe's MUSICIANS on Plate 102, opposite p. 570.



enough to be called Methodist common property. "Love divine, all loves excelling" appeared in *Select Hymns* (1770 ed., p. 92) with a tune called WESTMINSTER that is an arrangement of Purcell's "Fairest Isle" from *King Arthur: or, the British Worthy A Dramatick Opera* (1691), the text by John Dryden.

[Sacred Melody. 1761, p. 92; Sacred Harmony. 1788, pp. 43-44]

Love Di - vine, all Loves ex - cell - ing, Joy of  
Fit in us thy hum - ble Dwel - ling; All thy

Heav'n to Earth come down; Je - sus thou art  
faith - ful Mer - cies crown;

all Com - pass - ion, Pure un - bound - ed Love thou

art; Vis - it us with thy Sal -

va - tion, En - ter ev' - ry trem - bling Heart.

A Handel opera tune borrowed by the Wesleys from *Riccardo Primo Opera in tre Atti* (Handel, *Werke*. Vol. 74, p. 118) mounted November 11, 1727, at the Haymarket Theatre, turns up in the Foundery collection as JERICHO (in D, pp. 5-6) as a setting of "Commit thou all thy Griefs and Ways into his Hands" by Paul Gerhardt translated by John Wesley,<sup>42</sup> and in his *Sacred Hymns* and *Sacred Harmony* as HANDEL'S MARCH (in G) as a setting of Charles Wesley's "Soldiers of Christ, arise."

<sup>42</sup>James T. Hatfield, "John Wesley's Translations of German Hymns," *PMLA*, XI/2 (1896), 171-199, located the sources of 29 translations published in five Wesley collections: Charlestown, 1737; London, 1738, 1739, 1740; Bristol, 1742. The Wesley tune books included music for these 15 of the 29 translations (F = Foundery, SM = *Sacred Melody*, SH = *Sacred Harmony*):

- Jesu, to thee my heart I bow (1737, Zinzendorf), F, CLARK'S TUNE
- O Jesu, Source of calm Repose (1737, J. A. Freylinghausen), SM, SH, CANTERBURY
- My Soul before thee prostrate lies (1737, C. F. Richter), SM, SH, PUDSEY (= FIRST GERMAN TUNE IN F)
- Thou, art our King (1738, J. Scheffler), F, SM, SH, SAVANNAH (= IRENE in SM and SH)
- Thou hidden Love of God (1738, G. Tersteegen), SM, SH, OLD 112TH PSALM TUNE (= PLAYFORD'S IN F)
- Commit thou all thy Griefs (1739, P. Gerhardt), F, JERICHO
- Jesu, thy boundless Love to me (1739, Gerhardt), SM, SH, BRADFORD (= CLARK'S TUNE IN F)
- O God of God th' unfathomed Sea (1739, J. Scheffler), SM2 (1765), SH, YORK
- Lo, God is here (1739, Tersteegen), SM, SH, MARIENBOURN (= PUBLICK WORSHIP in *Urania*)
- Eternal Depth of Love Divine (1739, Zinzendorf), SM, SH, ANGLESEA
- Thee will I love (1739, J. Scheffler), SM, SH, CARY'S
- Extended on a cursed Tree (1740, Gerhardt), SM, BABYLON



*Sacred Melody*, 1761, pp. 97-98.

*Sacred Harmony*, 1788, pp. 112-113

Sol - diers of Christ a - rise, And put your Ar - mour on; Strong  
Strong in the Lord of Hosts and in his migh - ty Power, Who  
in the Strength which God supplies, through his e - ter - nal - Son;  
in the strength of Je - sus trusts is more than Con - quer - or, Stand then, in his great  
might, with all his Streng - th endued; But take, to arm you in the Fight the  
Pan - o - ply of God: That, having all things done, And all your Conflict passed, Ye  
may oer come through Christ, Ye may oer come through Christ alone, And stand entire at last.

Another much better known Handel borrowing takes its tune name MACCABEES from *Judas Maccabaeus* in which oratorio (and also in *Joshua*) it matches the text "See the conquering hero comes." In *Sacred Harmony* (1788, pp. 12-13) the text is Charles Wesley's Easter hymn "Christ the Lord is ris'n today." In the same tune book, the 1708 tune premiered in *Lyra Davidica* with the title THE RESURRECTION appears as SALISBURY setting Charles' Christmas hymn, "Glory be to God on high."<sup>43</sup>

I thirst, Thou wounded Lamb of God (1740, Zinzendorf and others), SM, SH, STOCKTON  
Holy Lamb, who Thee receive (1740, A. S. Dober), F, SM, SH, HERRNHUTH TUNE (= SAVANNAH in SM and SH)

Jesu, Thy Blood and Righteousness (1740, Zinzendorf), F, SM, SH, CANNON TUNE

Of the 15 tunes for German translations, six can be traced immediately or remotely to German sources: PUDSEY = FIRST GERMAN descends from 1544 (Georg Rhaw), SAVANNAH = IRENE from 1704 (Freylinghausen), OLD 112TH PSALM TUNE from Luther's *Vater unser*, JERICHO from Handel's March from *Riccardo Primo*, MARIENBOURN (= PUBLIC WORSHIP)—the 3/2 revision of SLOW GERMAN in Foundery—from 1657 (Neumark), HERRNHUTH confusingly renamed SAVANNAH in SM and SH was printed in 1745 (Zahn, 1256 and 937). The rest are all presumably English tunes (CANNON modernizes TALLIS'S CANON, BABYLON is by Campion, CARY'S is by Carey).

"Commit thou all they Griefs," *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1739, was one of Wesley's three translations from Gerhardt (1607-1676), next to Luther the most popular of Lutheran hymnists. On October 18, 1736, Wesley recorded in his journal that every day at noon those Germans at Frederica, Georgia, who could not understand English were meeting in his house for a service that began with the singing of a German hymn. He preached his last sermon in German on November 3, 1745, at Newcastle-on-Tyne. See Hatfield, pp. 176, 178.

<sup>43</sup>For facsimile of THE RESURRECTION as it appeared in *Lyra Davidica*, 1708, p. 11 (treble and bass), see plate in James T. Lightwood, *The Music of the Methodist Hymn-Book*, rev. by Francis B. Westbrook (London: Epworth Press, 1955), opposite p. 149. Discussion of the 1708 imprint follows at pp. 149-150.



Persuaded to do so by the Methodist second wife<sup>44</sup> of the celebrated pantomimist and theatrical manager John Rich, the idolized Handel himself composed between 1746 and 1752 three original hymn tunes for Charles Wesley texts.<sup>45</sup> All three had already been set by his fellow German-turned-Englishman, J. F. Lampe, in the above mentioned 1746 deluxe publication, *Hymns on the Great Festivals, and other Occasions*. The fact that Handel used as titles for "Sinners, obey the gospel word," "O Love divine, how sweet thou art," and "Rejoice, the Lord is King" THE INVITATION, DESIRING TO LOVE, and ON THE RESURRECTION, titles to be found only in Lampe, and that the first two hymns' texts were not even in print until Lampe's 1746 publication, forces our believing that Handel had the 1746 Lampe before him while composing. Previous links uniting Handel and Lampe, who reached London around 1725 and quickly gained fame as both the best bassoonist in London and a first-class composer, include Handel's having used him repeatedly in his opera orchestras and having had a double bassoon made especially for him.<sup>46</sup>

How do the tunes of these two for the same texts compare? ON THE RESURRECTION yields to easiest comparison, since both Lampe and Handel's setting are in D and are marked  $\text{C}$ . Lampe's setting, twice republished—in 1753 and in James Lyon's path-breaking *Urania*, Philadelphia, 1761, pages 186-187—overflows with his usual Scotch snaps<sup>47</sup> and dotted rhythms. Handel, the more conservative, confines the melody to quavers, crotchets, and minims. Lampe modulates only to the dominant, whence he returns to the tonic. Handel explores more neighboring keys, touching the relative minors of both the tonic and subdominant. Lampe appends an extra musical phrase to accommodate a repetition of the last line of text. Handel in this hymn, as in the other two, provides a figured bass instrumental interlude between stanzas. The melodic range in both the Lampe and Handel RESURRECTION hymns is a major tenth. In their settings of THE INVITATION, Lampe in E flat, 2/4 (Hymn XVIII), requires a minor tenth range, Handel in G minor, 4/4, a minor ninth. In DESIRING TO LOVE, Lampe in A minor,  $\text{C}$  (Hymn XIX), asks a minor ninth, Handel in F Major, 3/4, an octave. Without derogating from Handel's merits—solidity, dignity, affecting wide skips, wider modulations—the Wesley brothers themselves chose to stick with Lampe's much more ornate, rhythmically varied, and soloistic tunes when publishing both *Sacred Melody* and *Sacred Harmony*. By precept as well as example, John Wesley did all possible to promote the use within the Society of Lampe's other tunes. Loyalty to the one prominent composer who had professed his conversion to Methodism and had espoused a holy life may have helped influence John Wesley's preference for Lampe's tunes.

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*Lyra Davidica*, dedicated to William Patersen, contained 25 tunes, 9 of which are German chorales, 2 are of Latin derivation, and 9 of English. The compiler's announced purpose was to introduce "a little freer air than the grave movement of the Psalm-tunes." He hoped to provide the common folk with "short and pleasant tunes" equal to the German.

<sup>44</sup>Concerning her, see *Dictionary of National Biography*, XVI, 1003.

<sup>45</sup>R. Ernest Ker, "The Hymns That Handel Set to Music," *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, XXIX/3 (September, 1953), pp. 66-67, proved that Handel had Lampe's publication before him as he composed. Facsimile of the 10-stave oblong sheet in Handel's handwriting opposite p. 68.

<sup>46</sup>Charles Cudworth, "Lampe, Johann Friedrich," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, VIII (1960), 152.

<sup>47</sup>Lampe died at Edinburgh. Further biographical details and proofs of his popularity among early Methodists in Lightwood, pp. 275-277.



IX Texts as well as tunes in Methodist tune books attest John Wesley's steadfast loyalties to all who were closest to him, whether father, two brothers, a member of his Oxford Holy Club, or his preachers. Even family texts of less than primal power were given a fresh lease on life by virtue of the fine tunes assigned them from Foundery to *Sacred Harmony*. One of Lampe's strongest Lombard tunes, Hymn XVII, ON THE TRINITY, returns in *Sacred harmony*, 1788, pages 40-41, both times minus any Charles Wesley text but as a setting of a hymn by Samuel Wesley Junior, "Hail, holy, holy, holy Lord!" (already printed as early as the 1737 Charlestown collection, Hymn XIV, p. 14). The same Lampe tune does duty in *Sacred Melody*, 1770, (p. 34) for "Hail, Holy Ghost Jehovah" (Charlestown, Hymn XIII, p. 13). Two other texts by his brother Samuel (1691-1739) published in Charlestown, pages 11-12, 44-45, turn up with compelling tunes in both *Sacred Melody* and *Sacred Harmony*: BROOK's called BENSON in Timbrell, *Divine Musick Scholar's Guide*, c. 1723; GREAT MILTON in Thomas Moore, *The Psalm Singer's Compleat Tutor*, 1750; MILTON in Abraham Adams, *The Psalmist's New Companion*, 6th ed., c. 1769 ("Hail, Father, whose creating call"); and WENWO ("From whence these dire portents around"). Not only did John keep alive rather recondite texts by his brother Samuel but also by his father Samuel (1662-1735). "Ye priests of God whose happy days" and "O thou who when I did complain" culled from Samuel Wesley Senior's *The Pious Communicant Rightly Prepared* (1700, 1716; the texts of both are in Charlestown, 1737, pp. 6-7, 8 = Psalms CXIII, CXVI) were kept current because John willed it so. Foundery includes "Ye priests of God" to the 113TH PSALM tune popular since *Four score and seven Psalmes of David in English mitre by Thomas sterneholde and others*, 1561. Both *Sacred Melody* and *Sacred Harmony* wed "O thou who when I did complain" to the long-lived BEDFORD tune by William Wheale first published in Timbrell, c. 1723.<sup>48</sup> Moving out of the immediate family circle to associates in his Oxford Holy Club, John Wesley published Thomas Broughton's "On God supreme our Hope depends (Psalm XLVI) first in Charlestown, 1737, page 4, and five years later in Foundery joined to the supremely popular tune ST. MARY or LITCHFIELD. Launched in Edmund Prys's *Llyfr y Psalmau* (1621) as the tune for Psalm 2, this tune gained John Playford's cachet when in *The Whole Book of Psalms* (1677; 20th ed., 1757) he included it as the one Welsh tune.

Just as John Wesley's choice of excellent tunes helped keep alive texts by the less gifted poetizers in his family circle and among his early associates, so also he used Methodist tune books as conduits for new melodies by later converts. The most musically apt was of course Lampe. Thomas Olivers (1725-1799), for 22 years a Methodist itinerant preacher, composed the noble tune HELMSLEY (called OLIVERS in the 1765 edition of *Sacred Melody*) and transcribed the tune LEONI (*Sacred Harmony*, 1781). The first tune joined Charles Wesley's "Lo he comes with clouds descending" (1758), the other belongs to Olivers's paraphrase of the *Yigdal*. "The God of Abraham praise."<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup>Both tunes are in *Urania*, pp. 4 and 70-71. *Sacred Melody* and *Sacred Harmony* (1788, pp. 108-109) fitted Watts's "I'll praise my Maker while I've breath" (text in Charlestown Collection, pp. 9-10), to OLD 113TH. On John Wesley's fondness for OLD 113TH, see Lightwood, pp. 347-348.

<sup>49</sup>C. S. Phillips, *Hymnody Past and Present* (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1937), p. 181, links *Leoni* with the tune "Why, soldiers, why" sung in Thomas Odell's *The Patron: Or. The Statesman's Opera* (London: W. Pearson, 1729), pp. 7-8. The resemblances are by no means crucial.



Viewed synoptically, the role of the Wesleys in eighteenth-century tune history looms scarcely less large than their role as hymn text divulgers. John Wesley was not the first in his century to import German tunes. In 1708 the compiler of *Lyra Davidica* preceded him, as in 1720 and 1722 did J. C. Jacobi (*A Collection of Divine Hymns*; first volume of *Psalmodia Germanica*). But he was certainly the first to wash them into the mainstream of English hymnology.<sup>50</sup> The Wesleys were also the first who unblushingly adapted numerous secular tunes from both folk and art repertoires.<sup>51</sup> Charles defended doing so in a poem on "The True Use of Musick" (*Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1749, no. 189), the second strophe of which reads:

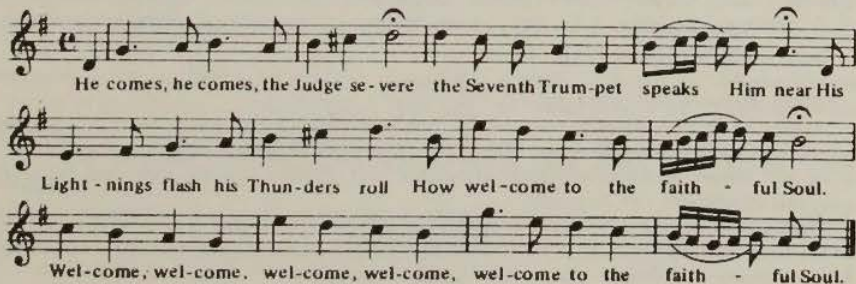
Who on the Part of God will rise  
Innocent Sound recover,  
Fly on the Prey, and take the Prize,  
Plunder the Carnal Lover,  
Strip him of every moving Strain,  
Every melting Measure,  
Musick in Virtue's Cause retain,  
Rescue the Holy Pleasure?

<sup>50</sup>Miles Coverdale's attempt at importing German hymnody into England, *Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes* (1539/1543), was the first step but in its time exerted no lasting influence. See Frost, *Historical Companion*, pp. 33, 97.

<sup>51</sup>Although W. H. Grattan Flood's jingoist attempt at making "'Guardian Angels' by Charles Thomas Carter of Dublin" the prototype of HELMSLEY (1765) (*Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 3d ed., I, 571-572) has now been long discredited, it cannot be denied that Wesley tune books did give ever wider berth to adaptations from secular sources. Against only JERICHO adapted from Handel's *Riccardo Primo* in Foundery, *Sacred Melody* contained nine adaptations—items 8, 15, 17, 27, 29, 31, 50, 59, 62. "Love divine all loves excelling" (*Hymns for Those That Seek, and Those That Have Redemption*, 1747, no. 9) and "He comes, he comes the Judge severe" (*Hymns of Intercession for All Mankind*, 1758, no. 37) exemplify the sacred contrafacta in the 1761 collection. The one was written for Henry Purcell's "Fairest Isle," *King Arthur*, the other for Henry Carey's "He comes, the hero comes," *Britannia and Butavia* (George Lillo [1693-1739], 1740). The latter air, frequently republished as a separate song, anthologized, and popular enough to be reprinted as late as *Social Harmony*, London, 1818, p. 219, was originally composed to a text honoring Edward Vernon, whose forces took Portobelo in late November 1739. Not only Carey's tune (in *A Major in Clio and Euterpe or British Harmony* [1762], I, 72) but also Lillo's text inspired Charles Wesley: "He comes he comes the Hero comes Sound sound your Trumpets beat beat your Drums from Port to Port let Cannons roar his Welcome to the British shoar Welcome Welcome Welcome Welcome Welcome to the British Shoar."

## JUDGMENT

[*Sacred Melody*, 1761, pp. 50-51; *Sacred Harmony*, 1788, pp. 59-60]



He comes, he comes, the Judge se- vere the Seventh Trum- pet speaks Him near His  
Light- nings flash his Thun- ders roll How wel- come to the faith- ful Soul.  
Wel- come, wel- come, wel- come, wel- come, wel- come to the faith- ful Soul.

Frank Baker reports two sources for the tradition that while preaching at Plymouth in June of 1746 Charles Wesley seized a sailor's tune called *Nancy Dawson*, and wrote a sacred poem to it—perhaps the very one just quoted.<sup>52</sup> The identifiable secular tunes in the Wesley tune books divagated so widely in the last, *Sacred Harmony*, as to include *ATHLONE* believed by Lightwood to have been derived from *Roisin Dubh* = *My Little Black Rose* by Turlogh Carolan (1670-1738).<sup>53</sup> These borrowings have proved a stumbling block and an offense to those who condemn Handel for basing "And He shall purify," "For unto us a Child is born," "His yoke is easy," and "All we like sheep" on his Italian-text secular duets composed July 1 and 3, 1741, or Bach for basing eleven numbers of his *Weinachtsoratorium*, 1734/5, on music of three previously composed secular cantatas.<sup>54</sup> But taken in their proper context, they frame John Wesley as the most open-minded and outreaching denominational founder since Luther, so far as congregational hymn-singing goes.

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<sup>52</sup>Baker, *Representative Verse*, pp. 117-118.

<sup>53</sup>Lightwood, p. 515, dated the manuscript from which he extracted *Roisin Dubh*, the presumptive source of *ATHLONE* (*Sacred Harmony*, 1788, p. 52), 1756. Donal O'Sullivan, *Carolan: The Life and Times of an Irish Harper*. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), I, 165-285, published 213 tunes, but none that corresponds with *ATHLONE*.

<sup>54</sup>Bach commandeered six numbers from *Hercules auf dem Scheidewege*, four from *Tönet ihr Pauken*, and one from *Preise dein Glücke*, all secular effusions honoring Saxon royalty (September 5 and December 8, 1733; October 5, 1734), for reuse in his Christmas Oratorio.



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