

## **The *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book*: a snapshot of Methodist music in the early nineteenth century**

Congregational song occupies a central place in the history of Methodism and offers an insight into the theological, doctrinal, cultural and educational principles and practices of the movement. The repertoire, performance styles and musical preferences in evidence across Methodism at different points in its history reflect the historical influences that shaped it, the frequent tensions that emerged between local practices and the movement's hierarchy and the disputes that led to a proliferation of breakaway groups during the nineteenth century. The focus of this article will be the implicit tension between the evidence of local practice contained within the *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book*, which forms part of the archives at Mount Zion Methodist Church and Heritage Centre, near Halifax, UK, and the repertoire and performance practice advocated by John Wesley in the latter part of the eighteenth century. While the study of a single, locally-produced collection cannot be regarded as representative of wider practices, it is nonetheless useful in highlighting the need for a more nuanced approach to the history of Methodist music, which takes account of local circumstances and practices.

### **Methodism at Mount Zion and Illingworth Moor Chapels**

Methodism has a long association with the site on the edge of Ogden Moor, near Halifax, occupied by the current Mount Zion Chapel, which was built in 1815. John Wesley's diaries record preaching visits there on several occasions between 1748 and 1790, the year before his death. Class meetings also took place in members' homes in the surrounding area, including a Class at Illingworth Moor, which was established in the 1750s, while the first chapel

opened at Ogden Moor in 1773 and was visited by Wesley in the following year. The Society was affected by the disputes that surfaced in Methodism in the years following Wesley's death; followers of Alexander Kilham, a preacher under Wesley who was instrumental in the formation of the Methodist New Connexion, were the strongest group at Mount Zion, and ejected the Wesleyans, who eventually built their own chapel at Illingworth Moor in 1800.<sup>1</sup>

The *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book* is one of three music manuscripts located in the archives at Mount Zion Methodist Church and is the most revealing in terms of congregational repertoire and performance practice. The other volumes are collections of anthems, clearly for performance by choir alone. The anthems are chiefly by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century composers, scored for SATB choir. This indicates the presence of a group of singers distinct from the larger congregation within the Society at Illingworth Moor and suggests a higher level of musical proficiency than might be assumed for a congregation at large; the presence of such a group is confirmed by the inscription in the *Singers' Book*:

This Book belongs to the Society of Illingworth Moor Methodist Church for the Use of the Singers.

Rebound by R. Sugden May 1st 1823

Cost 2/6

Although significant in revealing much about the musical repertoire at the Illingworth Moor chapel, the anthem collections give less insight into the congregational repertoire than the

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<sup>1</sup> John Bradley, '200 Years of Methodism: Mount Zion, Ogden 1773-1973'  
<http://www.mountzionhalifax.org.uk/Bicentenary1773-1973/MZ%20Bicentenary.php>

*Illingworth Moor Singers' Book*, which can be regarded more easily as a continuation of the type of collection established by Wesley with *Sacred Melody* and *Sacred Harmony*.

After the title page, the volume contains a single page list of names, presumably indicating these persons' involvement with the musical life of the Society; several names are scored out and have been replaced by others, indicating that the membership changed and that it was necessary to keep accurate records of all the singers. There are forty five names listed, all of which are female; this indicates a substantial body of singers, and it may be assumed that there were male singers in addition, as the musical layout of this volume and the two collections of anthems suggest a normative SATB arrangement. There are several recurring surnames on the list, suggesting strong familial ties within the Society, unsurprising in the light of the divisions that had affected Methodism in the local area.<sup>2</sup> Bradley's bicentennial history of Mount Zion Chapel notes that 'At the time of the secession there were five Society Classes at Mount Zion, the leaders being Timothy Akroyd, James Smith, Jonas Varley, James Riley and Mr Greenwood.'<sup>3</sup> The surname Greenwood features four times on the list in the *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book*, suggesting that the Mr Greenwood mentioned by Bradley was part of the Wesleyan contingent expelled from Mount Zion and was followed by members of his family.

### ***The Illingworth Moor Singers' Book: Methodist music after John Wesley's death***

The manuscript of the *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book* contains 84 hymns drawn from a wide range of sources and representing several historical periods, although there is a clear

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<sup>2</sup> As the early pages of the volume are not paginated there is no indication of whether there was a comparable list of male singers. The substantial size of the group, and by implication the Society as a whole, is underlined by the expansion of the site, including the erection of a Sunday School in 1820.

<http://illingworthmoor.org.uk/history.htm>

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

emphasis on recently-composed material.<sup>4</sup> Analysis of the provenance of each tune using the *Hymn Tune Index* reveals a number of key collections that appear to have been the primary sources used in the compilation of this collection.<sup>5</sup> Consideration of these sources and the musical styles represented within the collection allow a careful comparison to be made with Wesley's writings on music and collections of hymn tunes from the latter part of the eighteenth century.

Wesley's own collections issued in the previous century had been designed for use across the Methodist Connexion but represented his own stylistic preferences; traditional psalm tunes, contemporary tunes influenced by trends in art music, and Germanic chorale melodies dominated these collections, although some concession to popular practice can be observed in the inclusion of several 'set-pieces' in the second edition of *Sacred Harmony* (1791).<sup>6</sup> The issue of local cultural and musical preferences is an important consideration in understanding the nature of collections such as the *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book* and offers some insight into the reasons that caused their compilation. Wesley's *Sacred Harmony* was designed to be used in conjunction with *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists* (1780), a large volume containing many theologically-rich texts intended to guide, encourage and support individual believers through their Christian journey whilst also providing material for use in corporate worship. Despite its magnitude and Wesley's efforts to structure it in a way that related to his followers' lives, it did not meet with universal approval; locally-produced collections sought to supplement it by including a selection of populist revival

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<sup>4</sup> The complete book presumably contained more tunes, as pages 41 – 48 are missing from the manuscript at Mount Zion.

<sup>5</sup> The *Hymn Tune Index* (HTI) database contains all hymn tunes printed anywhere in the world with English-language texts up to 1820, and their publication history up to that date. <<http://hymntune.library.uiuc.edu/>>

<sup>6</sup> This trend began with the inclusion of a single 'set-piece', 'The Voice of my Beloved sounds' in the second edition of *Sacred Melody* (1765), which was also included in the first edition of *Sacred Harmony* (1781). The term 'set-piece' refers to a through-composed setting of a metrical text; the term was commonly used in relation to Anglo-American sacred music in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Richard Crawford. 'Set-piece.' *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*. 24 Sep 2008 <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/25514>>.

songs, a genre disregarded by Wesley. Temperley cites one example that emerged just a year after Wesley's collection:

In the following year Robert Spence, a York bookseller, published *A Pocket Hymn Book*; it included many Wesleyan hymns but also a number of popular revival hymns with emotional appeal though little meaningful content, which quickly caught on in Methodist societies. Wesley summarily dismissed these as 'grievous doggerel' and brought out his own revision of Spence's book, with 37 hymns expunged. But the popularity of Spence's collection, especially in America, exposed a gulf between Wesley's high tastes and doctrines and the spiritual needs of his people.<sup>7</sup>

The contents of the *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book* suggests that the compiler was familiar with the heritage of tunes associated with Methodism, perhaps through direct knowledge of Wesley's collections, or through other sources closely connected with the movement, such as the successive edition of Butts' *Harmonia Sacra* and the sources discussed below.

The inclusion of certain tunes and versions of tunes points to a number of collections compiled by Dr Edward Miller and his son William as probable sources for the *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book*. For instance, the four-line version of the tune labelled 'Care's' is found in collections produced by the Millers, whereas earlier Methodist sources, including those overseen by Wesley, include it in its more usual six-line form.

Edward Miller was a prolific composer, editor and compiler and from 1756 was organist of Doncaster; it is reasonable to assume that his work would have been known in the region,

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<sup>7</sup> Nicholas Temperley, 'Methodist church music' *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*. 1 Oct 2008 <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/47533>>.

including by the compiler of the *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book*. From the final decade of the eighteenth century through to the early years of the nineteenth century, Miller had three principal collections of church music published, *The Psalms of David for the use of parish churches* (1790-7), *Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns* (1800-5), and *Sacred Music* (1800); each of these contained over 200 hymns and although there is some overlap between them, they represent a comprehensive repertoire of hymn tunes from a variety of historical periods as well as contemporary sources, including Miller's own compositions. Tunes from each of these sources can be found in the *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book*. Significantly, his son was a Methodist clergyman and compiled *David's Harp... adapted to Mr Wesley's Selection of Hymns* (c.1803), from which several tunes are included in the *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book*.<sup>8</sup>

William Miller's collection sought to be a 'Standard Book for the Methodist Society' throughout the country, in which he attempted to address some of the contemporary trends in Methodist music.<sup>9</sup> The lengthy preface is reminiscent of Wesley's essay 'Thoughts on the Power of Music' in its championing of simple, homophonic vocal music and its opposition to technical sophistication as an end in itself, which 'draw the attention from heaven to earth, from God to man.'<sup>10</sup> After extolling the attempts of the Wesleys to standardise singing

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<sup>8</sup> *HTI source* MillWDH (c.1803). J.M. Black suggests that Edward Miller and his son collaborated on this project: 'In *David's Harp* he collaborated with his son, a Methodist clergyman, in adapting and composing about 300 tunes to Wesley's selection of hymns.' J.M. Black. "Miller, Edward." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. 8 Oct. 2008 <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/18688> The full title of the volume is *David's Harp: Consisting of about Three Hundred Tunes adapted to Mr Wesley's Selection of Hymns, One hundred of which tunes are originals composed expressly for this work by Edward Miller Doctor in Music and his son W. E. Miller with an appendix containing pieces for the practice of societies of singers, also adapted for domestic use on the pianoforte on a Sunday evening*. London: printed for R. Lomas at the New Chapel, City Road, and may be had at Broderip and Wilkinson in the Haymarket, or of any Music or Bookseller in the Kingdom. Although undated, the *Hymn Tune Index* notes that 'According to the *Leeds Mercury* (Supplement, 3 April 1886), a ms. note on the flyleaf of one copy states that the book was pub. in 1803. Broderip & Wilkinson (sellers) date 1798-1808.' <http://hymntune.library.uiuc.edu/> Source: MillWDH.

<sup>9</sup> William Miller (ed). 'Preface' in *David's Harp*, iv.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* i.

practice across Methodism in the eighteenth century, he comments disparagingly on more recent trends:

It is to be lamented that, lately among the *Methodists*, a light, indecorous style of music has frequently been introduced, diametrically opposite to the genuine tones of sacred harmony.

Many persons, destitute of scientific knowledge, and merely possessing a tolerably good ear, think themselves qualified to compose hymns, set them to music, and have them performed in their *chapels*; but these compositions only expose their authors to ridicule, by the meagre style of their poetry, and the frivolity and indecency of their music.<sup>11</sup>

He notes that his collection is designed for use in Methodism at large, with the approval of the '*Methodist body*', and that it seeks to reflect best practice in congregational singing in relation to the key principle of the Wesleys that '*all the people should join in singing praises to God*'.<sup>12</sup> As indicated in its title, it is a substantial volume; it contains tunes in a considerable variety of metres, consistently presented with the melody always on the stave above the bass and any additional parts above that, and with figured bass lines, indicating keyboard accompaniment. The tunes are drawn from existing Methodist sources, including many that would have been familiar from the Wesleys' use of them, along with more recent

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid. iii.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. iv. The curious phrase '*Methodist body*' suggests institutional approval for the collection without indicating the source of this authority. It is most likely a reference to the Methodist Conference, an annual gathering of elected representatives set up by John Wesley in the eighteenth century.

compositions, many of which are by Edward Miller and a smaller number by the compiler himself.

However, the highest correlation of tunes is with two editions of Charles Rider's *A Selection of Hymn Tunes for the use of the Sunday School in Elm Street, Manchester*; over half of the tunes in the *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book* are also found in one or both of these volumes. Unfortunately, the dating of these volumes is imprecise; the first is known to have been published in 1816, while the second cannot have been published earlier than 1820, but the dating of an expanded edition of the first volume remains unclear.<sup>13</sup> Given such uncertainties, it is possible that the *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book* preceded these collections although further examination renders this possibility unlikely. Several of the tune names are corrupted versions of those found in Rider's collections, which tend to reproduce existing tune names accurately; for instance, the tune labelled 'Blageburn' by the compiler of the *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book* appears in the first volume of Rider's collection as 'Blackburn', in keeping with several earlier sources.<sup>14</sup> In several cases, the tune names and versions indicate that Rider's collections were used as a source ahead of Wesley's collections; the tune labelled 'Lamentation' appears under the same title in Rider's first collection but in both Wesley's *Sacred Melody* and *Sacred Harmony* it is labelled 'Chaple'. More notably, the version of the Jeremiah Clarke's tune 'Uffington' is the same as that used

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<sup>13</sup> No known copy of the first edition of the first volume survives; the expanded first volume and second volume are catalogued as sources #SHT1 1b and #SHT 2 on the *Hymn Tune Index*. The *HTI* editors note that volume 2 contains tunes known to have been first published in 1820 and argue that the numbering of the volumes suggests that #SHT1 1b was printed after #SHT 2, as the latter's numbering follows on from the number of tunes known to be in #SHT1 1a, whereas there are several extra tunes in #SHT1 1b.

<sup>14</sup> This tune first appeared in the Rev Ralph Harrison's *Sacred Harmony* (1784) as 'Blackbourn'; subsequent instances of the tune label it either in this form or, like Rider, as 'Blackburn'; there is no recorded use of the corrupted spelling found in the *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book*. *HTI* Tune 4446. The contents page of the *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book* has the correct spelling 'Blackburn'.

in Rider's collection, conforming to a basic long metre pattern, whereas the version used by Wesley is a longer setting in which the final two lines are repeated.<sup>15</sup>

Although some of the tunes common to these collections and the *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book* are also found in Rider's collection, several others are not; given the prolific record of the Millers, their association with Yorkshire and the close correlation with the *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book*, their collections seem a likely source for some of the items not published by Rider. A comparative analysis shows that while Rider's collections contribute more tunes, there is a significant minority that can be traced to the Millers:

	<b>Rider 1 (1816)</b>	<b>Rider 2 (c.1820)</b>	<b>E Miller <i>The Psalms of David</i> (1790-7)</b>	<b>E Miller <i>Dr Watts's Psalms &amp; Hymns</i> (1800-5)</b>	<b>E Miller <i>Sacred Music</i> (1800)</b>	<b>W Miller <i>David's Harp</i> (c.1803)</b>
Number of tune in <i>Illingworth Moor Singers' Book</i>	31	18	3	16	15	20
Number of tunes not in Rider Volume 1		14	0	4	3	4

Table 1: Number of hymns from Rider and Miller sources<sup>16</sup>

### Metrical and Stylistic Variety

<sup>15</sup> This tune is a further example of the influence of Rider's collection in terms of nomenclature; Rider labels it 'Uffingham' whereas Wesley uses the title 'Bradford'. The version used by Rider and replicated in the *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book* is *HTI* tune 598a while Wesley uses the longer, more elaborate version 598b.

<sup>16</sup> Sources for eighteen tunes could not be identified using the *Hymn Tune Index*.

The tunes are grouped and indexed by metre, with seven different metres listed in the contents list at the front of the volume. The familiar Long, Common and Short metre forms dominate, although most of the other metres are also well represented:

<b>Metre</b>	<b>Syllabic Pattern</b>	<b>Number of Tunes indexed</b>
Long Measure (LM)	8.8.8.8.	14
Common Measure (CM)	8.6.8.6.	22
Short Measure (SM)	6.6.8.6.	13
Six lines all Eights	8.8.8.8.8.8.	9
Four lines Eights and two Sixes	8.8.6.8.8.6.	4
Trumpet Measure	Various	15
Eight lines 7s and 6s	7.6.7.6.7.7.7.6.	3

Table 2: Metrical content of the *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book*

The designation 'Trumpet Measure' is puzzling as the tunes labelled as such do not conform to a single metrical pattern. Several follow the pattern 6.6.6.6.8.8., but others vary markedly, including short patterns such as 5.6.6.5. and longer structures such as 7.7.7.7.D. No record of this nomenclature is recorded on the *Hymn Tune Index* while other sources containing the same melodies categorise them more precisely according to the usual syllabic system.

Nicholas Temperley suggests that the name may derive from the tune labelled in this collection as 'Old Trumpet Tune'; in a number of earlier sources, including Wesley's *Sacred Harmony* (1781) and Miller's *David's Harp* (c.1803), it is labelled 'Trumpet'.<sup>17</sup> The former of these underlines the Methodist connection with the *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book*, while the latter was a clear influence on its contents.

Within each category, a number of tunes are extended with repetitions of whole or part phrases and in some cases by the use of imitative part-writing. The metrical content of the

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<sup>17</sup> Nicholas Temperley, private correspondence with the author, November 2008.

collection is broadly conventional, although the range of metres and number of tunes outside the SM, CM and LM forms raises an interesting question concerning the texts that were in common use within the Society. John Wesley's first attempt at publishing music, *A Collection of Tunes, Set to Music, As they are commonly Sung at the Foundery* (1742), contains a similarly high proportion of tunes in these three metres, yet the later and more comprehensive collections, *Sacred Melody* (1761/5) and *Sacred Harmony* (1781/90), have greater metrical variety, reflecting the diversity of metres used by Charles Wesley in his hymn texts.<sup>18</sup> The various eight-line forms suggest that Charles Wesley's hymns were in use, as many of his texts utilise longer verse structures, but the comparatively small number of tunes in each of these metres suggests that Wesley's hymns were only one part of the repertoire. This would conform to patterns observed in other locally-produced collections, wherein a reaction against Wesley's theologically rich style can be detected.<sup>19</sup> Too few of the tunes have texts interlined to reach any firm conclusion on this matter; four of the six texts are by Charles Wesley, of which all but one are in metres other than the traditional SM, CM and LM patterns.

As indicated earlier, the collection represents a wide range of musical styles, with an emphasis on recently composed material; the earliest is the familiar 'Old 100<sup>th</sup>' Psalm Tune from the *Genevan Psalter* (1551), while one of the most recently composed was 'Justification' by John Eagleton, which was first published in the composer's *Sacred Harmony* (1816).<sup>20</sup> Only thirteen tunes from Wesley's *Sacred Harmony* are included, but several other eighteenth-century melodies drawn from other sources are also present. The

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<sup>18</sup> Charles Wesley made much use of longer verse structures than the three popular four-line forms. Many of his hymns are written in verses of six or eight lines; see Frank Baker, *Charles Wesley's Verse: An Introduction*. London: Epworth Press, 1964.

<sup>19</sup> See above, f.n.4.

<sup>20</sup> Watson and Trickett (eds), *Companion to Hymns and Psalms*, Peterborough: Methodist Publishing House, 1988, 218. It was also printed in the first volume of Rider's *A Selection of Hymn Tunes for the use of the Sunday School in Elm Street, Manchester*.

work of several contemporary composers is also represented in the collection, including several associated with Methodism. Figures such as Thomas Clark of Canterbury and James Leach of Rochdale were noted amateur musicians, serving as leaders of the singing at various Methodist chapels, and were prolific composers of hymn tunes. Their music was written with the musical resources of contemporary Wesleyan Methodism in mind, reflecting the proliferation of choirs and singing groups. Tony Singleton notes that Clark's compositions were well received in such circles, following the publication of *A Sett of Psalm & Hymn Tunes with some Select Pieces and an Anthem* in 1805: 'The first set was immediately successful and another eleven sets were published over the next fifteen years, aimed at non-conformist choirs and congregations.'<sup>21</sup> The inclusion of tunes by such composers indicates a desire to compile a collection that was distinctively Methodist, but also reflected contemporary trends rather than drawing purely on eighteenth-century sources such as Wesley's own collections of tunes.

### **Musical layout, editing and performance practice**

The vast majority of items in the collection are scored for four voices; a significant minority are in three parts, five exist in two-part melody and bass form, one begins with three voices and adds a fourth later, and another, 'Care's' is scored for four voices but has an additional, more decorated bass line for its final two phrases. The textures are all broadly homophonic, with occasional imitation, solo lines and rests in various voices, implying that harmony singing was the normal practice. The majority of tunes have the melody in the part directly above the bass, with additional parts on the staves above it; only eight appear to have the

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<sup>21</sup> Singleton, Tony, 'Thomas Clark of Canterbury, 1775-1859), *WGMA Articles*, <http://www.wgma.org.uk/Articles/Clark/article.htm> (accessed 6 November 2008)

melody in the uppermost part.<sup>22</sup> The use of clefs for the different parts follows two distinct patterns in the collection; in most of the four-part settings, four different clefs are used: treble, alto, tenor and bass, with the melody written in the tenor clef. Others, including the two- and three-part settings, use the treble clef for all upper parts, above the bass.

The main reason for the inconsistent layout appears to be that the compiler simply followed the conventions of the sources from which the tunes were taken; the vast majority of tunes in Rider's two collections are set with the melody on the third of four staves, directly above the bass, as is the case in many of the setting here, while layout varies between the various collections produced by Edward and William Miller, which include some in the same format as Rider but others in which only melody and bass are set, or in which the melody is the middle of three voices. This suggests that the collection was compiled foremost for practical reasons without great concern for editorial consistency, which would have required a considerable investment of time and skill. It is also possible to speculate on the capabilities and experiences of the singers on these grounds; from this evidence one could infer that the singers, or at least their leader, had sufficient knowledge and experience to adjust between the different layouts at will, potentially within the course of a single service or meeting, but it is equally possible that the inconsistency reflects changes in personnel and thus experience over a period of time. The membership list that appears at the front of the collection indicates that it different singers took part in the singing at different times, while the altered pagination suggests that revisions were made to the original collection, perhaps to reflect not only the repertoire familiar to new singers from elsewhere, but also the musical layout. While these various reasons may have exerted some influence on the compilation and editing of the collection with the present local situation in mind, the inconsistent layout nonetheless admits

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<sup>22</sup> The *Hymn Tune Index* identifies tunes by their melodic profile, which provides a reliable indicator of the melody-bearing part for most items in the collection; however, no records could be found for 15 of the tunes; in these cases, the attribution of the melody-bearing voice is necessarily subjective.

the possibility of confusion in performance; that this was not addressed suggests a lack of awareness or skill on the part of the compiler.

Those items that utilise different clefs for each part and have the melody in the tenor clef follow the male-dominated Renaissance model, in which the tenor carried the principal melody; Sally Drage notes that this model was common among eighteenth-century rural composers and explains how it functioned within both the choir and congregation: ‘The psalm or hymn tune would still have been clearly heard as it would have been doubled at the octave by women and boys, perhaps within the choir, but certainly within the congregation, and possibly also by treble instruments.’<sup>23</sup> In contrast to this, those items with three parts scored in the treble clef offer more possible permutations; Drage discusses this issue at length in a chapter on the music of John Fawcett, another composer represented in this collection:

However, by the end of the [eighteenth] century, it was more common for the air to be placed conventionally in the treble, although it was usually still printed just above the bass for the convenience of keyboard players, with the tenor on the top line in a TASB layout. Some examples also exist with the alto instead of the tenor placed at the top in an ATSB layout, so, not surprisingly, there was some confusion unless the air and part allocations were clearly marked, especially as nonconformist composers often wrote equally melodious soprano and tenor parts creating duet passages in thirds and sixths, and either part might be considered to be the air. A further problem was that alto and tenor parts were commonly printed in the treble clef, an octave higher than sung. Incorrect performances might include a TASB or ATSB layout sung as

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<sup>23</sup> Drage, Sally, ‘John Fawcett of Bolton: the Changing Face of Psalmody’ in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*, Vol. 2, ed. J. Dibble and B. Zon Aldershot, Ashgate: 2001, 61.

SATB, with the top line as the air, and perhaps with the alto sung an octave too high, or with the tenor line treated as the air but doubled at the octave.<sup>24</sup>

In the case of Thomas Clark's compositions, Singleton indicates that 'The music was set in four parts with the air or melody, for treble voices, placed next to the bass line and the tenor line at the top (i.e. arranged TASB).<sup>25</sup> Several other tunes in the collection seem to follow this pattern, and while this school of performance practice and the earlier tenor-dominated model were both common in the early nineteenth century, the presence of both in one volume gives an indication of its editorial standards. Such inconsistency in layout and, by implication, performance practice would have likely caused confusion amongst both choir and congregation and is indicative of a compiler seeking to assimilate tunes from a range of sources rather than a highly discriminating editor. This underlines the collection's status as a locally-produced resource, designed to meet the needs of a particular worshipping community and presumably reflecting repertoire that was in common use.

These descriptions of the layout of the tunes also make necessary consideration of the use of instruments to accompany the singers. The layout of many of the tunes, with the melody and bass on the bottom two staves, indicates that they were written with keyboard accompaniment in mind; however, the likelihood suggested by the presence of different layouts that tunes were merely copied rather than edited into a consistent format means that the TASB layout cannot be taken as proof of keyboard accompaniment.

However, there is further evidence that suggests the use of a keyboard instrument, as some tunes contain extra notes on the lower staves. In some cases, the only indication is the

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid

<sup>25</sup> Singleton <http://www.wgma.org.uk/Articles/Clark/article.htm>

occasional octave doubling of the bass line, but others contain annotated chords; these figures appear to have been added later, suggesting that they refer specifically to the Illingworth Moor society rather than simply having been copied from another source. Most notably, 'Irwell Street' contains two upper vocal parts, while the third line, which carries the melody, contains three-note chords, clearly scored for a keyboard instrument, above a single-note bass line, which could be sung and played.

[figure 1]

Histories of the Illingworth Moor and Mount Zion chapels make no mention of an organ or other keyboard instrument until the latter part of the nineteenth century, by which time new buildings had been constructed. Although such features may suggest keyboard accompaniment, they are relatively few in number, which together with the inconsistent layout of tunes throughout the collection does not make compelling evidence for the presence of a keyboard instrument.

The editorial quality of the collection is inconsistent and it appears that tunes were transcribed by more than one compiler, possibly at different times. The table of contents implies that certain tunes were added later as the tunes are ordered by metre but at the foot of several lists, extra tunes found towards the rear of the collection have been added; the lettering for these entries appears darker than those above them, suggesting that they were later additions. For example, the Long Measure tunes are located on pages 1 – 13, but at the foot of the list, 'Old 100' on page 124 and 'Parting' on page 69 have been added. In several instances, the pagination of the volume has been altered. Furthermore, several of these additional tunes are in a different hand from the majority of the collection; both 'Parting' and 'Nile', the latter of which is added to the Common Measure list, appear much darker and

have larger note heads, thicker stems and beams and more elaborate lettering for their titles.

A comparison of 'Nile' with the tune on the preceding page, 'January New Old Tune'

illustrates these differences clearly:

[figures 2, 3]

The layout of a number of pages and individual tunes gives the impression of a compiler attempting to maximise the possibilities of the available space rather than presenting a clearly and consistently laid out volume. For the most part, tunes are clearly separated by beginning on a new system or page; however, in two instances, new tunes begin on the same system, separated only by heavily emphasised final bar lines, as in the following example:

[figure 4]

Similarly, the layout of the different staves is sometimes inconsistent within a tune; the second page of the tune 'Church Street' is a notable instance of poorly aligned barring, with the top staff having only three bars on the final system, whereas the lower three staves have four bars each. This emphasises that the four staves were read linearly, giving further evidence of the mode of performance practice outlined above. It would be an unreasonable expectation that a keyboard player would be able to play all four parts from such a misaligned open score; far more likely is that if a keyboard instrument was used, only the bottom two staves, melody and bass, were played, with extemporised inner parts.

[figure 5]

These idiosyncrasies all point to a collection produced primarily for practical purposes rather than as a formal statement of suitable repertoire for more general and widespread use. This

localised nature of the collection is also helpful in understanding the choice of individual tunes.

### **The tunes: musical characteristics, composers and associations**

As was often the case with eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century collections, few of the tunes are attributed to a composer, while the titles they are given often do not correspond with those originally assigned to them by their composer or the first compiler to include them in a collection. However, several tunes do have composer attributions, either in the form of names or initials. Prominent among these are T. Clark, referring to Thomas Clark of Canterbury, discussed above, and A. Widdop (the initials A.W. presumably refer to the same composer), which indicates the work of a local musician and composer, Accepted Widdop (c.1750-1801).<sup>26</sup>

As Widdop had died some two decades prior to the likely date of compilation for the collection, it seems likely that another local source containing his work was used in the compilation of the *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book*. Several of his compositions are among those that could not be traced through the *Hymn Tune Index*, which reinforces the localised nature of the collection and suggesting that his music was well known to the singers. The inscription above the tune 'Peterfield' reads 'Corrected by A.W.', which implies that he was also active as an editor. None of his tunes are printed with texts and they all appear in a standard arrangement for four voices, with the melody in the tenor and using treble, alto, tenor and bass clefs. There is some metrical variety in the tunes; two are LM, one CM, and

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<sup>26</sup> Lightwood notes that he 'was a cloth worker by trade, and an amateur musician of considerable fame in his day. His life was spent in the adjacent villages of Illingworth and Ovenden, which lie about two miles from Halifax.' James T. Lightwood, *The Music of the Methodist Hymn-Book, Being the Story of Each Tune, with Biographical Notices of the Composers* (London: Epworth Press, 1938) 59.

two have six lines of eight syllables. Both the layout and metrical forms indicate the influence of traditional psalm tune composition, reflecting the common tendency among amateur country composers towards older models. His melodic and harmonic writing is likewise conservative in style, featuring predominantly syllabic text setting in a homophonic texture, and also exhibit technical flaws along the lines of those noted by Temperley: ‘The music does not satisfy the expectations of a cultivated listener of the time; it has long static sections followed by bursts of activity, stark and unexplained dissonances, and suggestions of archaic modality.’<sup>27</sup>

The tune ‘Warrington’ serves as a good example of Widdop’s compositional style; the melody, set in the tenor voice, achieves a balance between step-wise motion and small leaps that provide momentum, notably at the beginning of the first two phrases. It shows regular rhythmic patterns within and between phrases, enhancing its congregational suitability; the melodic contours at the close of the first and third phrases create momentum towards the half-way point and the conclusion of the tune respectively, while the dotted rhythm at the start of the fourth phrase gives a brief moment of greater character without upsetting the underlying regularity of the metrical pattern. Harmonically, the tune is highly conventional, with the first phrase in the tonic, a modulation to the dominant at the half-way point, before a return to the tonic in the second half, with an imperfect cadence at the end of the third phrase and a final perfect cadence. Overall, the melodic construction shows some musical ability on the part of the composer, and although the overall harmonic framework is rather basic, it is by no means uncharacteristic of metrical tunes written for congregational use. However, the detail of Widdop’s harmonisation reveals a rather rudimentary approach to part writing and a lack of harmonic variety and sophistication. The three root-position tonic chords at the outset

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<sup>27</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* 164.

create a sense of stasis and provide little momentum at the start of the piece and there is a general over-reliance on root position chords, which results in a rather angular bass line in places. His writing for the other voices that do not carry the principal melody is also rather stilted; while the first half of the soprano part shows some inventiveness, particularly in the opening arpeggio figure, the second half is much more static, being closely centred on the dominant note for much of the final two phrases. The alto part is contained within the range of a fifth throughout and is purely functional with no real melodic interest in its own right until the final phrase, where it moves in parallel thirds with the melody. However, this final phrase also exhibits the technical limitations of Widdop's harmonic writing, containing three examples of parallel part writing in a manner generally regarded as improper; octaves between the soprano and bass followed by successive fifths between soprano and tenor in the preparation for the final cadence.

[figure 6]

The tune demonstrates Widdop's competency as a composer of singable melodies and the ability to harmonise them in a basic fashion, but suggests limited skill in dealing with the demands of four separate lines. Temperley highlights this as a common deficiency of much rural church music in the latter part of the eighteenth century:

Some rural psalmody includes false relations, consecutive and open fifths, and strange dissonances, precisely because the melodic links were considered to be more important than the harmonic implications. Country composers still used the Renaissance form of linear composition, and while the air and bass may work well together, additional parts caused problems.

Widdop's tune 'Birstal' has had an enduring popularity within Methodism, up to its inclusion in the first hymn book following the Methodist Deed of Union in 1932, *The Methodist Hymn Book* (1933).<sup>28</sup> Its appeal lies in its suitability for congregation use; the melody, in the tenor, is simple, largely confined within the range of a sixth, and contrasts step-wise movement with small leaps, predominantly thirds. These thirds are used at the start to form an arpeggio figure, which gives the tune its character. Each of the four phrases begins in a similar way, with variety achieved through the inversion of the pattern at the start of phrase three, and the drop down to the lower dominant note at the start of phrase four. The harmonic outline is predictable and the rhythmic patterns are simple and fairly regular throughout. However, once again, there are several features that detract from its overall appeal and betray a limited harmonic vocabulary on the part of the composer. The opening chord does not contain the third of the triad, seemingly an oversight on Widdop's part, as chords are generally fully scored elsewhere in his tunes, and as with 'Warrington', root position chords dominate, again producing a sense of harmonic stasis. The opening phrase exemplifies the problem; apart from two 6/4 chords above the dominant, the melody is harmonised with root position chords throughout the phrase, though the octave leap in the bass between the first two chords does give some momentum. The part writing is a little more active than in 'Warrington', with the soprano part also making use of the arpeggio figure from the melody and some passing notes providing harmonic interest and rhythmic variety in the alto part. However, Widdop's harmonisation again suffers from the use of parallel fifths, between the soprano and tenor in bar seven.<sup>29</sup>

[figure 7]

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<sup>28</sup> The Deed of Union brought together the Wesleyan, Primitive and United Methodist Churches, which were the three principal bodies to emerge following the many secessions that afflicted Methodism from the end of the eighteenth century onwards.

<sup>29</sup> The version of this hymn tune in the *Methodist Hymn Book* (1933) appears in the more conventional SATB form with the melody in the top voice; this rearrangement removes the parallel fifths, but the editors also re-harmonised parts of the tune to achieve greater momentum and variety.

Widdop's tunes, although clearly the work of an amateur, gained some circulation around the north of England, appearing in various collection of tunes, including those that exerted an influence on the *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book*. The presence of his tunes in this collection further underlines the localised nature of the collection and suggests that the singers and congregation were not especially concerned with musical sophistication, typical of provincial attitudes towards psalmody throughout the latter part of the eighteenth century through to the early nineteenth century.

The presence of a group of singers is in keeping with general development in provincial church music; these groups had emerged in the eighteenth century, initially for male singers but later supplemented by women and children; the retention of the melody in the tenor voice is indicative of this background. Much of the music in the *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book* reflects the common desire among such groups to sing contemporary, lively settings with some independent part writing. Temperley traces the development of this trend through the eighteenth century

In many rural parishes, the societies of young men survived and rapidly turned into voluntary choirs, where they were occasionally joined by female singers or children, although the tenor remained the tune-bearing voice. Again, the original purpose of leading the congregation was gradually lost as the singers in their enthusiasm sought out anthems and elaborate tunes with solos and duets, ornaments and melismas, tempo

changes and (eventually) ‘fuging’ sections that effectively excluded the congregation.<sup>30</sup>

The tune ‘Nile’ illustrates this extravagant style; written in four parts, virtually every syllable is extended over at least two notes, with intricate, decorative rhythmic patterns. The melody is placed on the third stave and the initial four phrases, which contain the full text of the verse, are homophonic, albeit with considerable embellishments in each voice and a lengthy melisma in the melody. The final section of the tune repeats the second half of the text; it begins with a duet for treble and bass before the middle voices return for the final phrase. There is a complex melisma in the melody line, while the top three parts all have independent textual underlay. The first part of the tune would pose problems for congregational participation, while the final section more-or-less precludes their involvement, in the manner outlined by Temperley. As ‘Nile’ is one of the tunes that appear to have been added to the collection after its initial compilation, it was presumably intended to supplement the society’s repertoire, indicating that this style of tune was popular with the musicians (see figure 2, above).

Other tunes also exhibit the pattern of a more complicated final phrase, sometimes extending the basic metrical pattern, but incorporated within it in other instances. Although not all as musically complex as ‘Nile’, their congregational suitability is nonetheless questionable, as they demand a degree of musical sophistication and coordination that requires familiarity with part singing and a prior knowledge of the tune, in order to cope with the melismatic writing. The tune ‘Illingworth’ is a prime example of these traits; it is a Common Metre tune without any repeated phrases and has many conventional elements, including regular

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<sup>30</sup> Nicholas Temperley, ‘Anglican and Episcopalian Church Music 6. English Parochial Music, 1549–1830.’ in L. Macy (ed.), *Grove Music Online*, <<http://www.grovemusic.com/>>, accessed 26/11/2008.

rhythmic patterns and much syllabic setting. The melody is in the tenor, while the first three phrases are conventionally homophonic. However, the final phrase has imitative entries in successive bars starting with the tenor, then bass, soprano and alto, resulting in some textual overlap, together with longer melismas than have previously been used.

[figure 8]

### **The *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book* and Methodist worship**

Although obviously not representative of the movement as a whole, the *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book* provides an indication of the type of repertoire and performance practices that were found in early nineteenth-century Methodism. In the context of other contemporary sources, it is clearly less comprehensive in its content and more limited in its intended use than those compiled by Rider and the Millers, but as such indicates that musical repertoire had become a localised matter. Its very existence is an indication that William Miller's aim of providing a resource for use across the Methodist Connexion had not been wholly successful, while the poor editorial quality and inconsistent presentation suggest that Miller's diatribe against collections produced by local amateurs had not stopped their production:

Many persons, destitute of scientific knowledge, and merely possessing a tolerably good ear, think themselves qualified to compose hymns, set them to music, and have them performed in their chapels; but these compositions only expose their authors to ridicule, by the meagre style of their poetry, and the frivolity and indecency of their music.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> William Miller. 'Preface' in *David's Harp*, iii.

To understand the repertoire and performance practices represented in the *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book* in the light of Methodist practices and beliefs, some comparison with earlier sources and the views of John Wesley on music in worship is necessary, as these exerted a strong influence on eighteenth-century practices, principally through his three collections of hymn tunes designed for use across the Connexion. Wesley's writings on music provide a clear practical and conceptual framework for the use of music in Methodist worship while the three volumes of hymn tunes were designed to meet the practical musical needs of the Methodist societies. His views represent an attempt to challenge the established customs of congregational singing that prevailed in the early part of the eighteenth century; he sought to encourage vital, heartfelt singing that would invigorate those participating and act as an effective evangelistic tool to those who heard them. Although the collections of tunes were intended to have a broad appeal across Methodism, they are in fact strongly indicative of Wesley's personal musical preferences, most notably Germanic chorale melodies and contemporary art music by composers such as John Frederick Lampe. Such tunes were either not wholly suitable for singing by largely musically untrained congregations, or lay outside their cultural experiences and preferences, as noted by Nicholas Temperley:

Wesley's choice of texts and music was a personal one, but because of his unique authority and tireless journeyings it prevailed far and wide for a long time. As in the matter of maintaining the Anglican liturgy, however, there was an acute conflict between his own cultivated tastes and his passionate desire to spread the Word to all classes of people. Many of the ornate tunes that he admired, by Lampe among others,

were not really suited to congregational singing by a mass of unschooled people without musical leadership.<sup>32</sup>

Significantly, his first two collections of tunes were monophonic; only the final collection, *Sacred Harmony* (1781/90) included harmonised version of tunes. Wesley's advocacy of unison singing is reflected in the 'Directions for Singing', which were appended to the second edition of *Sacred Melody* in 1765; a correlation between his guiding theological principle of the universal offer of salvation and his encouragement of full and equal congregational participation can be identified. In the 'Directions' Wesley firmly encourages congregations to 'Learn these tunes before you learn any others', indicating his view of their suitability for use within Methodism. Likewise, the instruction to 'Sing them exactly as they are printed here, without altering or mending them at all' emphasises his preference for unison singing. Further points focus on the need for regular participation, lively and enthusiastic singing in which individual voices do not dominate, and most crucially, a keen awareness of the purpose of congregation song, set out in the final point:

Above all sing spiritually. Have an eye to God in every word you sing. Aim at pleasing him more than yourself, or any other creature. In order to do this attend strictly to the sense of what you sing, and see that your heart is not carried away with the sound, but offered to God continually; so shall your singing be such as the Lord will approve here, and reward you when he cometh in the clouds of heaven.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Nicholas Temperley. "Methodist church music." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. 27 Nov. 2008 <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/47533>>.

<sup>33</sup> John Wesley 'Directions for Singing' in *Select Hymns with Tunes Annex: Designed Chiefly for the use of the People called Methodists* (2nd edn., London: [s.n.], 1765).

The emphasis on simplicity and clarity in music is also found in Wesley's essay 'Thoughts on the Power of Music' (1779), which echoes common themes in contemporary music scholarship and criticism, particularly the change of emphasis from imitation to expression as a means for assessing and describing the effects of music and discussion of the differences and relative merits of ancient and modern styles of composition. In the essay, Wesley is fulsome in his praise of ancient Greek music, commenting on its simplicity and its ability to affect human emotions. This elevation of ancient Greek music as the paragon of affective music is a characteristic trait of much eighteenth-century scholarship, particularly in considerations of simplicity and sublimity, as evinced in the writings of Rousseau. Wesley expounds the virtues of this music, arguing that it is its simple melodic structure and avoidance of harmony or counterpoint that produces such results; 'The ancient composers studied melody alone, the due arrangement of single notes; and it was by melody alone that they wrought such wonderful effects. And as this music was directly calculated to move the passions, so they designed it for this very end.' By contrast, he is highly critical of modern music, citing composers' emphasis on harmony, counterpoint and instrumental music as contrary to common sense.<sup>34</sup>

The material within the *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book* is at once clearly developed from Wesley's eighteenth-century models of collections for congregational use while also representing a move away from some of the principles that governed Wesley's attitude towards music in Methodist worship. The tunes are drawn from similar types of sources to those used by Wesley, including other collections that would be known locally, a mixture of recently-written tunes and familiar older melodies and likewise clearly exhibits the compiler's musical preferences. The actual melodies of many of the settings are fairly

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<sup>34</sup> Wesley 1779 in Young 1995: 84-88

simple; indeed, some of them are also found in Wesley's own collections. Combined with the presence of a selection of tunes in characteristically Wesleyan metres, it seems that the collection was influenced by the Methodist hymn-singing tradition and drew on existing Methodist repertoire in terms of both words and music. However, the harmonisations of the melodies and the complex part-writing evident in some of the tunes indicates that the Society sought to develop the musical tradition they had inherited in response to local practice, preference and ability. As noted, the compiler's limited musical skills resulted in recourse to older models of musical layout in terms of the clefs used.

Significantly, these were the very factors that Wesley sought to overcome through his own collection and the instructional documents he authored. His advocacy of unison singing, simple melodies and full congregational participation, deeply rooted in his Arminian theological beliefs, combined with his eclectic personal musical taste, resulted in rather idiosyncratic collections of tunes that cannot be regarded as fully representative of the musical preferences of eighteenth-century Methodists. In keeping with other contemporary sources, the *Illingworth Moor Singers' Book* is best understood as a reaction to the stylistic limitations of Wesley's own collection, and an attempt to define a popular, contemporary and practical repertoire for the local congregation while maintaining the essence of their Methodist heritage. This divergence from eighteenth-century Wesleyan models is indicative of much of nineteenth-century Methodist history; the formation of many new groups who looked to Wesley as their forefather fragmented the Methodist movement on doctrinal, social and ecclesial grounds. The role of hymnody in this is vital; while this individual case-study has illustrated the effect of local circumstances on repertoire and performance practice, the need for a comprehensive survey of nineteenth-century Methodist music and its doctrinal and

social implications is clear if the identities, preferences and values of these varied groups are to be fully understood.