

HINRICHSEN

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S S WESLEY
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A FEW WORDS ON
CATHEDRAL MUSIC

Reprint of the original edition
of 24th May 1849

with

an Introduction by
the Rev. W. Francis Westbrook

and

some Historical Notes by
Gerald W Spink
(the Biographer of S S Wesley)

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INTRODUCTION

Wesley's historic pamphlet on Cathedral music will always command the interest of the serious church musician. Unquestionably it was written by a man who was consumed with an intense concern for his subject. Although now well over a hundred years old, his complaint of the state of both singers and singing, of the indifference of the clergy, and of the poverty of those who served the Anglican Church—a situation which, apparently, reared its head in the reign of Elizabeth I and reached its culmination during the days of the Commonwealth—makes decidedly arresting reading.

Few today would believe that the state of affairs which he described actually existed, if he had not made such a revelation. Even now it is difficult to envisage a situation where the duties of the cathedral choir had to be fulfilled in a large measure by the minor canons, some of whom were not in the least musical, and therefore the more ready to dodge their responsibilities if they could. (Wesley waxed indignant over the laughter that was raised in the House of Lords when one of the Church commissioners declared that they “had no wish to tax the musical abilities of the minor canons”). It is equally difficult to believe that, whereas twelve men represented the minimum requirement of any self-respecting choir, sometimes only four or fewer would be in attendance.

There can be little doubt that the vigorous protest Wesley uttered started a movement for reform which was to bear abundant fruit later. One has only to compare the singing that is heard today in our cathedrals, with what was all too prevalent in Wesley's time, to realise the vast improvements that have taken place. Obviously he did not take up his pen in vain, slow as the progress was at first.

But Wesley's pamphlet makes attractive reading for reasons other than the immediate objectives he had in mind. It is instructive to note his remarks on the church composers of the period. Josquin des Prez must be ranked higher than Tallis. Indeed, “the boasted equality of England with the Continent at parallel dates rests on no tangible ground . . . Whether the inferiority of England,” Wesley goes on, “may result from the want of genius in our musicians or the deficiency of encouragement from powers that were, is a question. We see that, abroad, liberal inducements were extended to musicians and the art of composition highly prized. Generally speaking, however, the possessions of England in this school bear no comparison with those of Italy either in number or quality.”

Today we rightly dissent from Wesley's opinion. Byrd, Gibbons and Weelkes can hold their own with Gabrieli, Victoria and even Palestrina. It is, however, worthy of note that in reaching his judgment, Wesley is prepared to allow that failure to give music its deserved support may well be the cause of our alleged artistic inferiority. Nor should this surprise us, for the whole of his essay is a stern indictment against the niggardly payment that church musicians so often receive in reward of their services.

Later in his pamphlet Wesley seems to contradict his estimate of the monetary position of the Continental composer, for he gives a transcript of the famous dedication of Palestrina's Mass written for Pope Marcellus, in which the distinguished composer reveals his impoverished financial status. Wesley further quotes the similar plight of Mozart and Beethoven. Did he forget the generosity that England showed to the latter during the last part of his life, and the collection that Vincent Novello took over to Mozart's widow in Austria?

What is perhaps even more interesting is the inclusion of two of his father's motets*, *Thou art a priest after the order of Melchizedek* and *Vanity of Vanities*, with the bold claim that they are "certainly in advance of Palestrina". These motets of Samuel Wesley are indeed splendid examples of church music, but whether they are in advance of Palestrina may well be doubted. In making this judgment Samuel Sebastian was a child of his time, as he was in ranking Spohr along with Bach and Beethoven.

In passing, it is interesting to read his verdict on Gibbons' *The Silver Swan*. He laments the fact that it received only an occasional performance by madrigal societies, whereas it ought to have been an anthem. Things have changed since 1849. Gibbons' exquisite miniature is now often heard, and it has also been arranged as an anthem. This is probably rather a mistake. As the secular words are so well known it is far better to restrict its use to its original form.

Nothing would have pleased Wesley more than to have known of the establishment of the Royal School of Church Music. He would have been even more pleased had he known that it owed its inception to the untiring efforts of a brother cathedral organist, Sir Sydney Nicholson. In Wesley's plan of reform he urged that there should be a college of music in connection with one of the cathedrals (presumably to serve all) for "the tuition of lay singers and the complete education of the musical officer employed as the organist, composer or director of the choir". It is superfluous to write of the excellent work done on

* These are not including in this transcription, but can be seen in the original scanned document.

behalf of the Anglican Church by the Royal School of Church Music, for although it functions in a slightly different manner to the way in which Wesley envisaged, it nevertheless fulfils all that he demanded of such an institution—and more.

The approach of the Free Churches to church music is rather different from that of the Anglican Church. Having no such foundations as cathedrals and collegiate chapels, the need for such elaborate services as are given in them does not arise. Yet expert guidance is required for the simpler and more direct music which is to be heard in their places of worship, and the lack of such guidance has led to a level of performance which stands in decided need of improvement. A “Few Words” from a twentieth century Free Church Wesley might eventually succeed in doing for the Free Churches what the nineteenth century Samuel Sebastian ultimately achieved for the Anglican Church.

W FRANCIS WESTBROOK*

* The Rev Dr Francis B Westbrook has written frequently on the Wesleys.

SOME HISTORICAL NOTES

This was not Wesley's first essay on the theme, for in 1844 he had already published a trenchant preface to his *Service in E*, and had earned the reputation of being "a Radical Reformer, a rater of the Clergy, and particularly of the dignitaries of the Church". Thus he was described in the *Morning Post* of 26th February, 1844.

Shortly before his departure from Leeds to Winchester in 1849, Wesley collaborated with Edward Taylor, the Gresham Professor of Music, in an *Address on Church Music*. This was circulated with a letter inviting the support of organists and others, together with a suggestion that a meeting of those desirous of reform might be called in London.

This was not enough for Samuel Sebastian. He might collaborate with others, but he much preferred a fight on his own account, especially as the subject was one very dear to his own heart. Thus in 1849 he published in Leeds his own pamphlet: *A few words on Cathedral Music with a Plan of Reform*.

In the middle of the nineteenth century this was a particularly courageous action. At Leeds Parish Church Wesley certainly had a generous-minded Vicar, Dr Hook, yet if at any future time he desired to return to a Cathedral post, he was not precisely acting in his own interests in challenging the authority of "the dignitaries of the Church".

The test was soon to come, for in the same year he sought, and indeed gained the appointment as organist of Winchester Cathedral. The circumstances are recorded more fully in *Samuel Sebastian Wesley's Cathedral Pilgrimage*, so it is sufficient for the moment to note the tolerant attitude of the Winchester Chapter in accepting Wesley as their organist, despite his reputation as a belligerent: it is true that they took certain measures to safeguard themselves against possible difficulties, but they were entitled to do so. On the other hand they recognised Wesley's supremacy as an organist.

Nor should it be imagined that Cathedral Chapters in general were entirely indifferent to the state of music even though, throughout the nineteenth century, very little was accomplished towards the amelioration of the conditions under which organists and choir officiated. Thus it happened that a few years after Wesley's appointment to Winchester the Cathedral Commission instructed their Secretary, the Rev R Jones, to issue to precentors and organists a questionnaire on the subject of music in Cathedrals.

Wesley, like his colleagues in other places, was fully entitled to express his opinions by way of answer to the questionnaire, but so strongly did he feel about the matter, that he decided to publish his views. This purpose he accomplished in a *Reply to the Inquiries of the Cathedral Commissioners, relative to the Improvement in the Music of Divine Worship in Cathedrals*. The pamphlet duly appeared in 1854, and was characterised by the same thoroughness and outspokenness which Wesley had displayed in the *Few words on Cathedral Music* in 1849.

It is of interest to read in the *Musical Times* of 15th March, 1855 (page 344) that a deputation of organists including Wesley had, a few days earlier, been granted an interview with the Commissioners to discuss the existing inadequacy of stipends.

Meantime, in another matter which vitally concerned the performance of Cathedral music, Wesley had achieved a noteworthy success at Winchester, where his Dean and Chapter had not only subscribed generously to his *Twelve Anthems* of 1853, but had also agreed to his suggestion to purchase for the Cathedral the major portion of the magnificent organ which Willis had originally constructed for the Great Exhibition of 1851; this notable instrument had a pedal department far superior to the normal in English Cathedrals of that day, and the liberality of the Winchester authorities in providing Wesley with so splendid an organ should not go unrecorded.

Wesley's *Reply to the Commissioners* of 1854 was his last published document on Cathedral music, but by no means his final battle. Like Robert Browning in *Prospice* he could say:

I was ever a fighter, so—one fight more,
The best and the last!

Indeed, shortly before his death, Wesley was invited to dinner in London by the eminent musical critic Joseph Bennett. In his book *Forty Years of Music* Bennett describes the zeal with which Wesley strove to persuade his host to support a drastic scheme of reform according to which plan Deans and Chapters would have fared very badly indeed. But if Wesley's proposed treatment of the authorities was too extreme ever to be considered, he was on firmer ground in pleading for the improvement in the status of Cathedral organists.

Such a plea was entirely praiseworthy, and was fully consistent with his stout defence in *A Few Words on Cathedral Music*, where in 1849 he had already declared, not only that Cathedral organists should receive salaries ranging from £500 to £800, but additionally that such men were "the Bishops of their

calling—men consecrated by their genius, and set apart for duties which only the best talent of the kind can adequately fulfil”.

GERALD W SPINK*

* Dr Gerald W Spink is the author of *S. S. Wesley's Cathedral Pilgrimage*, the first comprehensive study of the life of Samuel Sebastian Wesley.

A FEW WORDS
ON
Cathedral Music and the Musical
System of the Church
WITH A
PLAN OF REFORM.

BY
SAMUEL SEBASTIAN WESLEY,
MUS. DOC

“As there never was a National Religion without Music of some kind or other, the dispute about that which is most fit for such solemnities, is reduced to one short question: If Music be admitted into the Service of the Church, is that species of it which the most polished part of mankind regard as good, or that which they regard as bad, the most deserving of such an honour?”—BURNEY.

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ADVERTISEMENT

The following pages have their origin in considerable experience in the practical working of the Church-musical system, and are submitted to public notice under the belief that circumstances call loudly for the intervention of professionally educated and practical musicians.

For the reprobatory tone occasionally adopted by the writer no apology is offered; the necessity for it forming, in fact, the justification of the present pamphlet. Any other view of the subject would, it is conceived, be as useless as it would be erroneous.

From the literary world every indulgence must be sought. Although more apparent to others, his feeble and discursive style is not wholly unfelt by the writer himself. Had time and opportunity permitted, he would have said less, and more, he trusts, to the purpose. As it is, he feels constrained to proceed at once, or to forego the subject altogether.

For the reasons given in the first page and [in the closing pages], he at once commits his remarks to public consideration, at least in time, he would hope, to call the attention of abler pens to the subject.

Herein it is viewed merely in its professional bearings, and with reference to dry pecuniary details. But the subject is scarcely ripe for receiving the full professional treatment it requires. Glad will he be if his humble essay serve to attract some portion of the magnificent talent of the day to a cause so capable of absorbing all its powers, and so worthy of engaging them.

A

Few Words on Cathedral Music

WITH

A PLAN OF REFORM.

A Bill relating to Church affairs will, it is said, shortly be brought under the consideration of Parliament, by which it is, among other things, proposed to reduce the Cathedral Choirs to the “least possible state of efficiency.”

Now, the Cathedral Choirs have long been in a state very far *below* one of *the least* “efficiency”

It may appear-too sweeping an assertion to declare that *no* Cathedral in this country possesses, at this day, a musical force competent to embody and give effect to the evident intentions of the Church with regard to music; but such is the state of things, nevertheless.

The impressions of either the occasional visitor or the regular attendant at Cathedrals, if analysed, would afford nothing like well-defined criticism of the service, as a *musical* performance, which it really is; novelty in the one case, or the utter hopelessness of reform, or entire ignorance, in the other, serving either to palliate, or to exclude from all open complaint, that mass of inferiority and error which has long rendered our Church music a source of grief and shame to well disposed and well instructed persons.

To arrive at a right understanding of the matter, it is obviously requisite to consider what Cathedral service is intended to be, and what it has hitherto been. On this basis alone can be formed any adequate idea of its just claims on the religious world at the present moment, as to what *it should be*.

The subject is so vast, laying open such an immense field for inquiry and research, that a merely *musical* writer must find himself perplexed in his attempts to treat it with anything like due consideration and effect; but it is the opinion of *musicians* which is so greatly needed at this moment. A professional statement

from them seems indispensable. In the following pages it is hoped the reader will find, although in but a scattered form, the necessary details to enable him to arrive at something like correct views, and to see that before you can accomplish even any moderately correct and impressive performance of the Choral Service of the Church, it is absolutely necessary that there should be, first, *competent performers, (or Ministers)*; secondly, *the guidance of an able conductor, (or Precentor)*; and thirdly, *that the musical compositions performed should be the emanations of genius, or of the highest order of talent.* Such is the Church system. How that system has been departed from will presently appear.

To begin with the arrangement of Church music; it is antiphonal. It must, from the nature of its composition, be sung by TWO CHOIRS.

The least number of men which can constitute a Cathedral Choir capable of performing the service is twelve; because each Choir must have *three* for the solo or verse parts, and an extra *three* (one to a part) to form the chorus; six on a side, that is: now so far from this, the least amount of necessary strength, being what is found in anything like constant attendance at our Cathedrals generally, there is *not one* where such is the case: not one which has the requisite number of singers in daily attendance.

Whether music be performed in the Church, Concert-room, Theatre, or elsewhere, the requisite details of action are all one, and as they ever existed, so will they remain. A fact, which renders inexplicable the recent proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who certainly did not purpose what their acts were sure to bring about, namely, the extinction, or at least the further deterioration, of Cathedral Worship. By the musical system of the Church, the daily services are dependant on the Clergy, the Minor Canons being now, as in early times when choirs were first formed, as well as when subsequently reformed, responsible for a share of the musical duty; constituting, in fact, *the* Choir; for without their attendance (the whole of them) at *every* Service, the number prescribed is not made up.

The Church Commissioners reduced the number of Minor Canons to six, or four, in all cases; and seem to have contemplated their abstaining from all participation in the Choral duties, and this without substituting the requisite lay singers in their stead, or making any provision whatever for the due performance of the Choral worship.

“We do not wish to tax the musical abilities of the Minor Canons,” exclaimed a distinguished Member of the Commission, amidst the laughter of the

House of Lords; “the *idiot* laughter”, as an eminent writer described it: laughter, be it said, which met little sympathy in Cathedral towns, — for there a warm and universal desire exists to see the Musical Services upheld in the utmost propriety and effect.

The Minor Canons (Chanting excepted) have ceased to be efficient, in a musical sense, so that the Choirs are not the worse off on this account; but in one Diocese (Hereford) the members of the choir were *all* in holy orders. Therefore, when the exquisite restoration of Hereford Cathedral now in progress is complete, (a restoration, be it said, which entitles its projectors to general obligations,) those who imagine that the Choral Service will be again open to them, in the same condition as formerly, will find things to be as is here stated; for, as the late Church Bill restricts the filling up of vacancies, all recent deaths in the College of Vicars are irremediable losses, and the number essential to the performance of daily service will be found no longer to exist.

It will be seen that the arrangement above referred to gives a chorus of *one* to a part. Now, this is in itself a thing ridiculous enough, we must confess. What, for instance, can any one who has visited the Opera Houses, the Theatres, Exeter Hall, or any well conducted musical performances, think of a chorus of *one* to a part? Ask the men working the mills of Yorkshire and Lancashire what they would think of it? And yet, this amount of chorus would be a vast *improvement* on the present state of things at Cathedrals; for there may be sometimes seen *one* man singing *chorus*!¹ This is the way in which God is worshipped in England in the noblest of her temples, and this desecration has been sanctioned by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners! No wonder that men of sense should be found to cry, “Cut it down; why cumbereth it the ground?” And why is it what it is? Simply for this reason, that it is conducted by those who understand not the subject. The Clergy are the irresponsible directors of Cathedral music. The views of the highest order of musical professors are never brought to bear on the subject.

Professors indeed there are in attendance at Cathedrals in the capacity of Organists, but these are not, necessarily, men capable of forming a just judgment on the subject;² and, if they were, their opinion would, under the present state of things, have no weight; or if it weighed with the Canon “in residence” one month,

¹ The writer, once attending service at Christ Church, Oxford, remarked to the organist, Dr Marshall, “Why you have only one man in a surplice to-day, and him I can’t hear.” The reply was, “No, he is only a beginner.” And this was in a University Town, where the first impression, as to the efficacy of Church Music, must be formed in the minds of young men preparing for holy orders, our future Deans of Cathedrals, to whom the character and fortunes of musicians become entrusted.

² Some admirable instances exist of men, who *are* thus capable.

it might go for nothing with him who came next, and could not, therefore, be acted on but under very peculiar circumstances. The Church School of Music, it should be borne in mind, is the highest of all schools, and requires much genius and careful education to ensure proficiency; and it can hardly be expected that men thus qualified should be found in any number at Cathedrals, so long as the secular departments of the art offer, as they do, such very superior attractions. Efforts, notwithstanding, have been made to draw attention to the claims of the subject. Various attempts to bring capitular bodies to a right understanding with respect to Cathedral music have been made, but always with one result, *i.e.* evasive politeness at first; then, abrupt rudeness; and ultimately, total neglect.

It would not be difficult to show that the Clergy and men of literary pursuits are, on the whole, less susceptible of musical impressions than any other class of the community. But, were it otherwise, it would not matter. “A *little* knowledge is a dangerous thing”; (the proverb holds good in music as in other matters.) Much musical knowledge, still less the *highest*, can never be acquired but by those who make music the study of their lives;³ and if we admit, as we must, that Cathedral music neither is, nor for some time past has been, subject to any guidance such as this, we at once account for the known state of things.⁴

³ Sir Joshua Reynolds said, that a man, to excel in art, must think of nothing else, from the time he rises in the morning to going to bed at night. And Locke: “For a man to understand fully the business of his particular calling in the commonwealth, and of religion, which is his calling, as he is a man in the world, is usually enough to take up his whole time” &c.

⁴ Painful and dangerous is the position of a young musician who, after acquiring great knowledge of his art in the Metropolis, joins a country Cathedral. At first he can scarcely believe that the mass of error and inferiority in which he has to participate is habitual and irremediable. He thinks he will reform matters, gently, and without giving offence; but he soon discovers that it is his approbation and not his advice that is needed. The Choir is “the best in England”, (such being the belief at most Cathedrals), and, if he give trouble in his attempts at improvement, he would be, by some Chapters, at once voted a person with whom they “cannot go on smoothly”, and “a bore”. The old man knows how to tolerate error, and even profit by it; but in youth, the love of truth is innate and absorbing.

The painter and the sculptor can choose their tools and the material on which they work, and great is the care they devote to the selection: but the musician of the Church has no power of this kind; nay more, he is compelled to work with tools which he knows to be inefficient and unworthy — incompetent singers and a wretched organ! He must learn to tolerate error, to sacrifice principle, and yet to indicate, by his outward demeanour, the most perfect satisfaction in his office, in which, if he fail, he will assuredly be worried and made miserable. If he resign his situation a hundred less scrupulous candidates soon appear, not one of whom feels it a shame to accept office on the terms, (for thus is the musical profession at present constituted), and his motives being either misunderstood, or misrepresented wilfully, or both, no practical good results from the step. His position, in fact, is that of a clergyman compelled by a dominant power to preach the principles of the Koran instead of the Bible. This censure may not apply to *all* Cathedrals, it is allowed: to *some* it assuredly may, and does.

Music, as it is now performed in our Cathedrals, when compared with well-regulated performances elsewhere, bears to them about the proportion of life and order which an expiring rush-light does to a summer's sun. The higher order of musical composition belonging to the Church is now lost sight of. No new efforts by men of commanding talent are perceptible. Nor is this to be wondered at, seeing that the Choirs have long been reduced below a state in which such compositions could be sung with effect. Thus it is, that the Choral Service of the Church presents not one feature in its present mode of performance which can interest or affect the well-informed auditor; except so far as it may remind him of a grandeur that exists no longer, and of a great school of musical composition, which, as far as the Church is concerned, seems almost to have passed away.

The musician cannot but be impressed with the importance of the connection which his art has ever maintained with the ceremonial of religion; and the Church must claim his gratitude for the careful and systematic nurture and support which, until recent times, it has invariably received at her hands: and never can it be forgotten by him, that the Church School of Music is the foundation of every good musical education, inasmuch as it affords the means of producing the most grand and solemn effects by a process of composition at once the simplest and the purest. This simplicity and purity of style result from the efforts of ages devoted to the advancement of Counterpoint; which advancement was, no doubt, hastened by the but too well-founded clamour of the people in religious matters, both here and abroad, about the time when music first assumed a finish and perfection which might entitle it to the admiration of "all time;" notwithstanding the fact that music itself, at the period in remark, became a just object of aversion, from its numerous abuses, not the least of which was, its being sung invariably to Latin words.

The claims of singers, too, as regards performance, may have had weight in exacting from the composer clearness and simplicity in the contexture of his score; the discredit attending error in public performance falling to their door, not his; and the difficulties of that performance being greatly enhanced by the absence of all instrumental accompaniment, as was the frequent case.

That the Church has been the originator of all improvement in the art of music, and has, from the earliest periods availed herself of every excellence which the advance of time supplied, is demonstrably a fact. Specimens in composition by the Precentors of early times show that the Clergy, to whose management the music of divine worship was confided, held the same position in the highest departments of composition which Bach, Handel, and other great men have done in recent times. They were, in fact, capable not merely of writing up to, the

standard furnished by their predecessors, but, of improving upon it, and carrying forward the art.

Although it is far from the present purpose to make any minute reference to the early periods of the history of music in its connection with divine worship, a few well-known facts may here, in the briefest manner, be inserted, in order to point out what were the views of some of the distinguished promoters of the Reformation with regard to music; and especially to show that it numbered amongst its most active friends several who at that period either perished at the stake for their religious zeal, or but narrowly escaped martyrdom.⁵ The

⁵ Amongst these may be named John Taverner, who “was organist of Boston in Lincolnshire, and of Cardinal, now Christ Church College, in Oxford. It seems that he, together with John Frith the martyr, and many other persons, who left Cambridge with a view to preferment in this, which was Wolsey’s new founded college, held frequent conversations upon the abuses of religion which at that time had crept into the Church; in short, they were Lutherans. And this being discovered, they were accused of heresy, and imprisoned in a deep cave under the College, used for the keeping of salt fish, the stench whereof occasioned the death of some of them.

“John Fryer, one of these unfortunate persons, was committed prisoner to the master of the Savoy, where, as Wood says, “he did much solace himself with playing on the lute, having good skill in music, for which reason a friend of his would needs commend him to the master; but the master answered, ‘Take heed, for he that playeth is a devil, because he is departed from the Catholic faith.’ He was, however, set at liberty, and died a natural death at London. Frith had not so good fortune; he was convicted of heresy, and burnt at Smithfield together with one Andrew Hewet, in 1533.” — *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii.

“Taverner had not gone such lengths as Frith, Clerk, and some others of the fraternity; the suspicions against him were founded merely on his having hid some heretical books of the latter under the boards of the school where he taught, for which reason, and because of his eminence in his faculty, the Cardinal excused him, saying he was but a musician, and so he escaped.” — Fuller’s *Church History*, cent. xvi. book v. p171.

“About the year 1544 a number of persons at Windsor, who favoured the Reformation, had formed themselves into a society; among them were Anthony Person, a priest; Robert Testwood, a singing man in the Choir of Windsor, a man in great estimation for his skill in music; John Marbecke, who by a mistake of Bishop Burnet is also called a singing man, but in truth was organist of the Chapel of St George at Windsor; and one Henry Filmer, a tradesman of the same town. Upon intimation given that these persons held frequent meetings, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, procured a commission from the king to search suspected houses in the town for heretical books, upon which the four persons above named were apprehended and their books seized, among which were found some papers of notes on the Bible, and a concordance in English, in the handwriting of Marbecke. Upon Marbecke’s examination before the commissioners of the six articles touching these papers, he said, as to the notes, that he read much in order to understand the Scriptures, and that whenever he met with any exposition thereof, he extracted it, and noted the name of the author; and as to the Concordance, that being a poor man, he could not afford to buy a copy of the English Bible, which had then lately been published with notes by Thomas Matthews, and therefore had set himself to write one out, and was entered into the book of Joshua when a friend of his, one Turner, suggested to him the writing of a Concordance in English, and furnished him with a

Latin Concordance and an English Bible; and having in his youth learned a little Latin, he was enabled to draw out a Concordance, which he had brought as far as the letter L. This seemed to the commissioners who examined him a thing so strange that they would not believe it. To convince them, Marbecke desired they would draw out any words under the letter M, and give him the Latin Concordance and English Bible, and in a day's time he had filled three sheets of paper with a continuation of his work, as far as the words given would enable him to do. The industry and ingenuity of Marbecke were much applauded, even by his enemies, and it was said by Dr Oking, one of the commissioners who examined him, that he had been better employed than his accusers. However, neither his ingenuity nor industry could prevent his being brought to trial for heresy, at the same time with the three other persons his friends and associates. Person and Filmer were indicted for irreverent expressions concerning the mass; the charge against Marbecke was, copying with his own hand an epistle of Calvin against it, which it seem was a crime within the statute of the well known six articles; Testwood had discovered an intemperate zeal in dissuading people from pilgrimages, and had stricken off, with a key, the nose of an alabaster image of the Virgin Mary, which stood behind the high altar of St George's Chapel. And on one of the same chapel, named Robert Philips, singing, as his duty required, on one side of the choir, these words, 'O redemptrix et salvatrix', was answered by Testwood singing on the other side, 'Non redemptrix nec salvatrix'. For these offences the four were severally indicted, and, by the verdict of a partial jury, composed of fanners under the College of Windsor, grounded on the testimony of witnesses, three of whom were afterwards convicted of perjury, were all found guilty of heresy and condemned to be burnt, which sentence was executed at Windsor on Person, Testwood and Filmer the next day.

"It seems the king, (Henry VIII.) notwithstanding the severity of his temper, pitied the sufferings of these men, for when hunting in Guildford park, seeing the sheriff and Sir Humfrey Foster, one of the commissioners that sat at the trial, together, he asked them how his laws were executed at Windsor, and upon their answering that they never sat on matter that went so much against their consciences as the trial of Person and his fellows, the king, turning his horse's head to depart, said, 'Alas poor innocents.' Marbecke being a man of meek and harmless temper, was remitted to Gardiner, who was both his patron and persecutor, in order either to his purgation, or a discovery of others who might have contracted the taint of heresy; but under the greatest of all temptations he behaved with the utmost integrity and uprightness, and refusing to make any discoveries to the hurt of others, he, through the intercessions of Sir Humfrey Foster, obtained the king's pardon. It appears by sundry expressions of Bishop Gardiner to Marbecke that he had an affection for him, possibly founded on his great skill in his profession.

Fox relates that at the third examination of Marbecke at Winchester House in Southward, upon his appearance in the hall he found the Bishop with a roll in his hand, and going towards the window he called to him and said, 'Marbecke, wilt cast away thyself?'

Upon answering, 'No.'

'Yes,' replied the Bishop, 'thou goest about it, for thou wilt utter nothing. What a devil made thee to meddle with the Scriptures? Thy vocation was another way, wherein thou hast a goodly gift, if thou diddest esteeme it.'

'Yes,' said Marbecke, 'I do esteeme it, and have done my part therein according to the little knowledge that God hath given me.'

'And why the devil,' said the Bishop, 'didst thou not hold thee there?' And when Marbecke confessed that he had compiled the Concordance, the Bishop said, 'I do not discommend thy diligence, but what for shouldest thou meddle with the thing which pertaineth not to thee?'

disposition of Henry VIII to retain the musical offices of the Church may be inferred from the provisions made by him in favour of minor canons, lay clerks, and choristers; not only in the refoundations of ancient Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, but also in the more modern sees at Westminster, Oxford, Gloucester, Chester, Bristol, and Peterborough, which he created and liberally endowed for the support and maintenance of singers in those Cathedrals respectively.⁶—*Hawkins*, vol. ii.

In 1548, being the second year of the reign of Edward VI, a liturgy, wholly in English, was composed by Cranmer and other eminent divines.

In 1550 the John Marbecke who had so narrowly escaped being burnt to death for his religious opinions, published THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAIER, NOTED, which has been described as “so perfect in its kind, that, with scarce any variation, it continues to be the rule for Choral service even to this day”. But this description is not strictly true, the variations being numerous, and of high merit. And it should not be viewed as a composition of Marbecke’s, but simply as an adaptation by him, to English words, of the chants previously in use.

“Edward VI manifested his affection for Choral singing by his injunctions, issued in the year 1547, herein countenance is given to the singing of the Litany, the priest being therein required to sing, or plainly and distinctly to *say* (which meant *chant* or intone, as will presently appear) the same. And, in the first liturgy of the same king, the rubric allows of the singing of the *Venite exultemus* and other hymns, both at Matins and Evensong, in a manner contra-distinguished from *that plain tune* in which the *lessons* are thereby required to be *read*.” — *Ibid*, p. 543.

The injunctions of Elizabeth, which are still in force, are well known. “For the encouragement and the continuance of the use of singing in THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND it is enjoined; that is to say, that in divers collegiate *as well as some parish churches*, heretofore there hath been livings appointed for the maintenance for men and children for singing in the Church, by means whereof the laudable exercise of Musick hath been had in estimation and preserved in knowledge; the Queen’s Majesty neither meaning in any wise the decay of any that might conveniently tend to the use and continuance of the said science, neither to have

These expressions, harsh as they were, seem to indicate a concern in Gardiner that Marbecke had brought himself into trouble.”—*Hawkins’ Hist, of Music*, vol. iii. p241, &c.

⁶ Henry’s individual views are nothing to the purpose. The disposition of the period is what is meant.

the same so abused in any part of the Church⁷ that thereby the Common Prayer should be the worse understood by the hearers, willeth and commandeth that, first, no alterations be made of such assignments of livings as heretofore hath been appointed to the use of singing or Musick in the Church, but that the same so remain, and that there be a *modest* and *distinct song*, so used in *all parts of the common prayers* of the Church, that the same may be plainly understood as if it were without singing, and yet, nevertheless, for the comforting of such as delight in Musick” &c.

On the foregoing it may be remarked, in explanation of the words “distinct song in all parts of the common prayer”, that from the earliest records of the Church from the “time when choral or antiphonal singing was first introduced, it will be found that almost the whole of the liturgy was sung”, and the rubrics, “to be said or sung”, which we find in our Prayer Books placed over certain hymns which were invariably sung to a more artistical species of composition than prevailed in the other parts of the service, (the anthems and other portions excepted), were meant as permissions for Churches to adopt either this “modest or distinct song”, now called *chanting* or *intoning*, or the more artistical compositions in remark. *Reading*, in the ordinary voice, would have been deemed a desecration, and inconsistent with the Church principle of excluding from the ministering servant of religion his every day attributes as a man.⁸ Although the

⁷ It had been abused in the “curious and intricate” composition introduced; but can this surprise? The like faults existed all over the Continent, and from the same cause, namely, the Art had been in a state of comparative infancy. Catholics and Protestants alike had remonstrated. The abolition of music in the Church of Rome had been suggested, which led to the pure style of Palestrina, who, no doubt, reflected on the true sources of objections, and succeeded in removing them. And so in England, the greatest talent aimed at something so pure as to remove all objections, such as the short anthems of Farrant, &c. But perhaps a truly refined and able handling in the school was more remarkable in madrigals than in Church music.

⁸ Hawkins observes on the point:—“It is true that that uniform kind of intonation above described, especially in the precatory parts of divine service, is liable to exceptions, as being void of that energy which some think proper in the utterance of prayer; yet, when it is considered that the inflections of the human voice are so various, with respect to tone and cadence, that no two persons can, in strictness, be said to read alike, and scarce anything is more offensive to a nice and discerning ear than false emphasis or affected pathos, it may well be questioned whether a grave and decent monotony is not, upon the whole, the best form of utterance.”

The term “grave and decent monotony” does not full justice to the subject. As in painting, a large mass of shadow is necessary in order to throw out the lights of a picture, so the “monotony” of Church music subserves the purposes of contrast when more than ordinary emphasis in God’s praise is required. Here lies its chief beauty, for most exquisitely is the keeping preserved. The first instance of a departure from the “monotony” is at that burst with which the Choir, as the representatives of the people, break forth at “And our

music of the Church had gradually made progress in improvement up to the reigns of Henry, Edward, and Elizabeth, and these monarchs were favourable to its increased developement; it is from this period that the first decline of Choirs may be dated. The new endowments of Henry appear to have been framed on a greatly reduced scale — on, in fact, the minimum scale of twelve, suggested in these pages. What the old foundations may have retained of their Choral efficiency can hardly be ascertained, or when the spoliation took place. In Edward the Sixth's time, the musical force at his Chapel was as follows:

Musitions,	78
Officers of the Chapel,	41
Number of persons,	114. ⁹

Cardinal Wolsey had in his Chapel but ten singing Clergy, twelve Laymen, and ten Boys. The Choirs were never what at the present day would be called numerous, the Choral arrangements of our public performances being viewed as a

mouth shall shew forth Thy praise." To a person used to Choral service, the impression he receives at this passage, in parochial service, from the ordinary tone of voice being preserved, is, "Well, where *is* the praise? why *don't* you shew forth the praise?" The reply may be anticipated. "It is a spiritual shewing forth of praise that is meant, not an outward and visible demonstration." But how, let it be added, how is that effect on the part of a congregation best attained? By a mispronouncing, provincial clerk, and shrill discordant school children, making the hurried, half intelligible response? or by the beautiful arrangements of the Church Choral Service?

⁹ "The splendid and ample Choir of the Chapel Royal was the school in which the musical talent of the age was chiefly nurtured. The Choir consisted of twenty-four Chaplains, thirty-two Lay Clerks, and twelve Boys, all of whom were required to be well skilled in music, clear-voiced, and the men to be sufficient in organ playing!" (Not the organ playing of present times, be it observed.) "To Tallis and Tye were speedily and successively added Byrd, Farrant, Morley, Bull, Weelkes, Kirby, Farmer, Dowland, Bateson, Gibbons; of whom some remained in London, while Bull at Hereford, Byrd at Lincoln, Bevin at Bristol, Weelkes at Winchester, (afterwards at Chichester,) Bateson at Chester, and Gibbons at Canterbury, enriched the land from north to south and from east to west with the products of their genius and industry. The race of voiceless and incompetent priests was not then known; everywhere the Choirs were filled with singers. Deans had not tasted the sweets of Choir plunder, nor Chapters learned to disregard the obligation of an oath." (On quoting this passage, the writer must disclaim all idea of imputing so serious a charge at the door of the present Capitular bodies. The path of duty has, undoubtedly, been swerved from in earlier times, and it seems but right that the breaches should be restored, even now; but the present Chapters, so far from reducing, have *increased* the Choirs, and that, too, out of funds which, I believe, they might consider their own.) "This is matter of history; but we have the further evidence of the fact in the compositions written for Choirs as they then were. There was every inducement for such men as these to write; leisure, for they had a competent maintenance; inclination, for they loved their art; ability, for they had mastered it; and, above all, the constant and able cooperation of their associates, clerical and lay. They were a holy brotherhood, dwelling together, daily associated in the same honourable and sacred duty, and emulous in its performance."—*History of Cathedral Music*. Simpkin and Marshall, London.

standard; because, at these, three hundred voices are a common complement, whereas a Choir of thirty or forty appears to have been the most ever collected at any period (and constantly employed) for the immediate purpose of God's praise; notwithstanding the fact that the standard which should regulate the numerical strength of a chorus is the same in all ages, namely, the size of the building in which the performance takes place.

Let the average chorus of our present festival performances and of the concerts so frequently taking place at Exeter Hall, London, be recollected; and when the size of Exeter Hall and our Cathedrals is taken into account, the Choirs which formerly belonged to the Church, even at the best of times, must appear small indeed. But then, in early times, when Choirs were *first* formed and endowed, the music was chiefly *unisonous*; and every musically informed person will perceive that thirty or forty voices, singing a unison passage, are more emphatic than the same number singing in harmony; in many parts, that is.

Still, under any circumstances, a Choir of thirty must be viewed as extremely small for such buildings as Exeter Hall, the Opera Houses, or our Cathedrals.¹⁰ Of the endowments apportioned to the Choirs and their subsequent spoliation, it seems necessary to say something on this occasion, not merely as a matter of history, but because the advantage of having properly appointed Choirs for the performance of divine worship, for the free use and service of the public, would be appreciated in this really musical age, in which, may it not be said, the claims and merits of Choral music are freely discussed and well understood, in the Midland and Northern districts, at least, by every man working in a mill.

To do justice to it would demand great and laborious research; this is by no means here attempted. Whether any labour in this direction might furnish, what would be very interesting, a clear account of the state of music in the principal of the religious communities existing prior to the time of Henry VIII., is doubtful. It is certain that the lay chorister was, in all cases, amply maintained, and eligible, with due preparation, (facilities for which were granted him by virtue of his office,) to the higher position of priest. The abject position in which we see the lay-clerk at present, in many instances, would have excited the indignation of Christian people four centuries ago;¹¹ and this maintenance, it is believed, would

¹⁰ The sacred and the secular are here somewhat strangely intermingled, in order to shew that all must conform to one standard, when viewed professionally.

¹¹ "Almost spumed by the very vergers: 'with bated breath and whispering humbleness' cringing to the Dean's butler as an acknowledged superior, or receiving orders in a residentiary's hall from his footman. There exists not a class in England more degraded and bereft of the port and dignity of manhood than the men by whom the daily worship of God is now carried on in our Cathedrals."

be ample for all present purposes, did it exist; but, unfortunately, the authorities at Cathedrals, to whose care the musical funds were entrusted, have, in various instances, taken them away from the musical department, and applied them to their own uses.

The precise moment when these injurious and erroneous acts took place can hardly be arrived at now. If we except the wholesale spoliations of Henry VIII, in which high, and low, clergy and laymen, alike suffered, we might fix the time of their commencement shortly after the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth,¹² when certain Clergy regularly preached *at* the Choirs, in order to get from them (as would appear) their endowments. Heylyn thus refers to the ceaseless and bitter strife then commencing. (It ended, be it observed, in the destruction of Church and State, and the execution of Charles I.)

“There was not a sufficient number of learned men to supply the cures, which filled the Church with an ignorant and illiterate Clergy. Many were raised to preferment, who, having spent the time of their exile in the last reign in such Churches as followed the Genevan form of worship, returned so disaffected to the rites and ceremonies which they found by law established here, that they broke out into sad disorders. The Queen’s professor at Oxford was among these non-conformists. Cartwright, the Lady Margaret’s professor at Cambridge, was an inextinguishable firebrand; and Whittington, though Dean of Durham, was chief leader of the Frankfort schismatics.”

The following extract from a MS. dated James I, and which was transferred, on the death of George IV., from his library to the British Museum, will throw further light on the subject. Although to this period may be ascribed various acts destructive of the musical worship of the Church, it is to a later era that the disgraceful state of things now existing would appear to owe their origin, namely, to the time of the Restoration of Charles II. But to return:—

“*The first occasion of the decay of music in Cathedral Churches*, and other places where music and singing was used began about the ninth year of Queen

¹² The following letter remains to attest the fact of such property as that in remark being viewed as fair game. How this was brought about will presently be shewn:

“To my very lovinge frendes, Mr Attornie Generall and Mr Solicitor, or either of them.
“After my verie hartie commendations, — For that hir Majestie is pleased to confirm unto the Vicars Choral of the Churche of Hereford the graunt of their landes, which hath been sought by divers greedie persons to have been gotten from them: therefore I praie you, as your leisure maie better serve you, to peruse their former grauntes, and to drawe a newe Book of Confirmation, to passe from hir Majestie’s good meaning, for their quietnes hereafter. And so I verie hartilie bid you farewell. From Westminster, this second of September, 1586.

“Your verie lovinge frende,
“W. BURGHLBY.”

Elizabeth, at what time the pretence of reformation for church discipline having possest great persons, it was thought meet by some of them that the foundations where such allowance was, were needless and more fit to be employed better, if not wholly suppress, namely more stipends for singing, and that Lectures were more fit to be erected; which accordingly was done in most places, howbeit not from any new beneficence of the pretended reformers, but either from the lessening of the numbers of singing men, (some of their stipends being turned that way,) or else out of some other of the revenues of the said colleges, to which the Deans and Canons did most of them not only incline, being drawn on by their visitors, but for fear of the utter downfall of all, were glad to gratify those great reformers and their servants and friends nearest about them, with the best leases of their colleges, which no doubt were in trust to the uses of those great ones. So as, had not the state in thirteen years of the late Queen's reign, for restraint of granting of leases for forty, eighty, ninety years, made a statute that no Cathedral church or college should make any lease above twenty-one years or three lives, like as had heretofore it hath been; so would it everlastingly have been the beggary of all Cathedral and College churches. And it is to be remembered that about the same time, not so few as an hundred pair of organs were pulled down. Then divers preachers being set a work by the humours of these aforesaid reformers, were told to set out books, and also in their sermons did persuade the people from the reverent use of service in song, affirming it to be nothing but an unnecessary piping and minstrelsy. So that the estimation and reputation of song in churches (except Geneva psalms) was in short time in no regard (nay, in detestation) with the common people. Thus the estimation of singing being diminished in the minds almost of all men, which was one special policy of these pretended reformers, it was thought it would be very easy in time to take away all the livings that way employed, or else, at least, to put the revenues to preaching only; and if in the alteration any remain over, these reformers were like to have a share.

“Thus when the minds of all men were in a manner possest with the needfulness of preaching, and the unnecessariness of singing, and seeing how things were like to go, many Deans and Prebends (which could not properly in respect of their titles be called Puritans) were notwithstanding high Puritans in heart, by sorting with others to the overthrowing of music in churches, vilifying and dejecting the poor and daily serving singing men, esteeming them (as some Deans and Canons do at this day) but as their drudges and servants, persuading in their discourses (both public and private) the unnecessary use of organs, and commands given for short playing or none at all, for shortening and altering of their songs and services, as it were quite out of door, so as few or none of the people would vouchsafe to come into the quire during the singing service, but would stand without, dancing and sporting themselves, until the sermons and lectures did begin, scorning and deriding both the service and those that were employed therein, so as hereby the practice and use of skillful music, and those which exercised the same, began to be odious, and the professors to be accounted but as rogues and idle persons, which was the cause that all endeavour for teaching of music, or the forming of voices by good teachers, was altogether neglected as well in men as children, which neglect (and little better reputation) continueth to this day.”

The whole drift of this explicit and convincing MS. goes to show that the Puritanical Clergy sought, by disparaging the musical services of the Church to obtain the endowments set apart for their nurture and protection; and that the novelty of sermons was the one thing needful in the worship of the time. That under such discouraging circumstances music should have declined cannot be a matter of surprise. History adds: —

“All this fanaticism and devastation was greatly discountenanced by the queen, though it was wholly out of her power (extensive as it was) to suppress the levelling principles of these enemies of all elegance and comfort, whom nothing else than the utter subversion of Church and State (which, together with the public execution of their sovereignty, they effected in the next century), would satisfy.

“In 1646 the Puritans, who had then got the reins of government into their own hands, passed an ordinance repealing the statutes of Elizabeth and Edward VI for uniformity in Common Prayer, and stigmatizing the Liturgy and Service Book as burdensome, and a great hindrance to the *preaching* of the Word.

“In the opinion of these men it became necessary that all organs should be taken down ‘and utterly defaced’— that Choral-music books should be torn and destroyed — that Cathedral service should be totally abolished — and that those retainers of the Church, whose duty it had been to celebrate its more solemn services, should betake themselves to some employment less offensive to God than that of singing His praise. These being the predominant opinions of the times, Churches were despoiled of their ornaments, libraries were ransacked for ancient musical service books, and Latin or English, Popish or Protestant, they were deemed equally superstitious and ungodly, and as such were committed to the flames. In short, such havoc and devastation made as could only be equalled by that which attended the suppression of religious houses under Henry VIII. The Cathedral of St Paul was turned into stables for the soldiers of the Parliament, excepting the Choir, which was separated by a brick wall from the nave, and converted into a preaching place for one Dr Cornelius Burgess, who had an assignment of £400 per annum out of the revenue of the Church, as a reward for his sermons, which were usually made up of invectives against Deans, Chapters, and Singing men, against whom he seemed to entertain great antipathy. The noble Corinthian Portico at the West end, designed by Inigo Jones, was divided into a number of small shops, and let to haberdashers, milliners, and other small traders, and obtained the name of Paul’s Change. Psalm tunes were the only species of musical composition made use of, and these were divested of every species of interest and good effect, from the manner in which they were ordered to be sung, which was as follows:

“In singing of Psalms the voice is to be tuneably and gravely ordered, that the whole congregation may join therein, every one that *can read* is to have a Psalm book, and all others, not disabled by age or otherwise, are to be exhorted to *learn to read*. *But for the present, where many in the congregation cannot read, it is convenient that the Minister, or other ruling officers, do read the Psalm line by line, before the singing thereof*”

Here, then, do we find the origin of that odious practice, still partially existing, which appears the most efficient that could possibly have been devised for dislocating both sense and melody.

Here, too, do we see the music of divine worship reduced to its uttermost state of degradation.

The Cathedral service, eulogised by Milton in his universally known lines:

But let my due feet never fail
To walk the studious cloister's pale,
And love the high-embowed roof,
With antique pillars massy proof,
And storied windows richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light:
There let the pealing organ blow
To the full voiced choir below,
In service high and anthems clear,
As may with sweetness, through mine ear,
Dissolve me into ecstasies,
And bring all heaven before mine eyes: —

was, at this period, set aside, and the music made conformable to the intellect and capacity of those who, though not able to read, were required to sing in the public services. The Miltons of society were provided with a religious ceremony, in which it would have been a scandal on their taste and judgment ever to have participated; and this at no other sacrifice than the trampling under foot those solemn arrangements of the Church, to the adornment and beautifying of which the best intellects of the previous ten centuries had been unsparingly devoted.

The Choral Service of the Church claims admiration from the musician upon the score of the exquisite *keeping* preserved throughout. Its solemn and beautiful inflexions of tone — its glorious contrasts and analogies—its monotone—its responses and anthem; all should be governed by one feeling. And so it once *was*, thanks to the wisdom of ages. But it is not so now; disorder reigns throughout. From the errors in style of the chant, service, or anthem, all is disjointed and “in bad keeping”. There is, perhaps, not one unexceptionable performance of the service at the present day. It would, no doubt, be difficult to impart to the richer portions of the service all the high quality of modern art, and yet preserve the necessary regard to the features in detail. To accomplish this is the task of the modern Church musician. Still, viewing the Choral Service generally, and in comparison with any of the endless varieties of the Parochial, how superior is the former;—the prostration of all individuality in its ministering servant!—the withering familiarity in this respect of the latter!

The mixture of the Choral and Parochial modes, now so common, is inconsistent with a just appreciation of the Choral Service; and may not the propriety of making the congregation take prominent part in the ceremonial of religion be questionable, considering that it was not permitted for so many centuries in England, and that persons who take part in and perform a public ceremony, can never be so thoroughly imbued with its spirit as those who preserve a silent attention? It was a very early law in the Church, that none but those qualified by previous study and preparation should be allowed to sing in the service; confusion being the inevitable result of a different course. The beautiful Choral Service of the Church, like other sublime things, would necessarily render the auditor speechless, and produce a tone of feeling far different from that which results in utterance. Paley, in his sermon on the text: "Lest that, by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a cast-away", describes the danger even to the Clergy themselves which attends the frequent and formal "intermixture with religious offices"; and it is surely one of the most beautiful attributes of Choral Service that the worshipper is not compelled at any time to utter anything to interrupt the prostration of mind which would ever attend a perfect performance of that service in our beautiful Cathedrals.

From the serious disturbance of its musical system thus referred to has the Church never recovered. On the restoration of Charles II great difficulty existed in re-establishing the musical offices. The long continued scene of turbulence which the nation had undergone was fatal to music and injurious to arts in general. Composers, organists, singers, singing boys, and organ builders had to be caught up, as it were, from the bottom of the "vasty deep". Music books had been destroyed, and thereby numberless compositions of the truly admirable masters whose names are given earlier, were annihilated, the loss of which, considering how very very few specimens our Cathedrals possess of a really sterling character, (such as *Call to remembrance*, Farrant,) cannot be too severely deplored at this moment.¹³ Since the destruction of monasteries, the Cathedrals had been the only nurseries of musical talent, and boys could not now be obtained, so the treble parts were performed by men singing in falsetto, or by a musical instrument called Cornet.

The Chapters had taken the Choir property into their hands at the Reformation, and given the Choirs what might have been equivalent, but which, from the altered value of money, now forms but a miserable pittance. They must also have much reduced the number of lay singers. In the old, as well as the new foundations, the Choir Clergy were assigned Livings by way of compensation,

¹³ The writer never saw an anthem by the admirable Weelkes. His *secular* specimens remain.

and permitted to neglect their daily and statutely-prescribed duty in the Quire. But for expedients, the service might have ceased. At Exeter, not long ago, the tithes of a parish had to be devoted this way. At St Paul's, London, the Dean and Chapter apportioned the Choir a share of the pence paid by the people for viewing the fabric. St Paul's, originally, had forty-two Choirmen. It has now six. Six people singing chorus in St Paul's! The pious founders of Cathedrals never contemplated the ludicrous and profane state of things we now witness. Their music, like their architecture, was the best they could give. Modern Chapters cannot be wholly free from blame, for the superiority of the secular performances of music over those of Cathedrals, and the Church generally, must strike every one. Whilst viewing these matters, the very natural reflection must arise, that to confide funds to the clergy, for the joint support of religion and something else, must be wrong, because religion being of paramount importance, the clergy may, on an emergency, be tempted to deprive the something else of its due portion for the benefit of the object in which they are professionally concerned, and with very good motives for so doing.¹⁴ To suit the reduced Choirs of Cathedrals composers have departed from the true school of composition. Their recent Anthems have not been Choral: they have been devised simply to exhibit particular singers. Solos, Duets, &c.; and the Te Deum, Jubilates, Magnificats, &c, commonly sung in Cathedral service, are more like glees than Church music; and these seem, moreover, to have been written simply for the amusement of their authors, no official demand having proceeded from the Church.

Music like this has arisen partly from the decrease of Choirs, and partly from the Church having failed to acquire the services of eminent composers.¹⁵ The instances of a high species of composition being sung are very rare at any Cathedrals; while the performance of specimens which are contemptible is of daily occurrence at most of them.

¹⁴ Such a supposition may appear harsh; but let it be remembered that there scarcely exists a single endowment in favour of Music which *has not* been violated, or in some way abused. The Reid endowment at the University of Edinburgh may be noticed. The professors of that University are to fix the stipend of the musical professor, which, by the act of endowment, was to be not less than three nor more than eight hundred a year. A majority of the electors are *medical*, and they have fixed the amount at the *minimum*, and applied the rest (it is said) to *medical* objects. This, to be sure, is no positive violation: it is merely the most disrespectful fulfilment possible. Endowments in favour of any class should be left to the administration of its own members. There is a love and appreciation of truth peculiar to every walk of life. Each profession is said to live in "a little world of its own" and should, no doubt, be left to the guidance of its own affairs; to understand which is alone given to those who make them an object of peculiar study.

¹⁵ The composers to Her Majesty's Chapel are required by their office to produce a new anthem on the first Sunday of each of their month's duty. Their salary is no very liberal reward for so much composition, but no very important difficulty seems at present to arise on *this* ground!

The illusive and fascinating effect of musical sound in a Cathedral unfortunately serves to blunt criticism, and cast a veil over defects otherwise unbearable. No coat of varnish can do for a picture what the exquisitely reverberating qualities of a Cathedral do for music. And then, the Organ! what a multitude of sins does *that* cover! Take the three or four singers of a Cathedral, and its (but too often) indifferent and badly played organ, and let the parties perform some Kent or Nares in F, and *My song shall be of mercy*, Kent, (or any of the numerous pieces of this character, which unfortunately constitute the staple of most Cathedral collections,) in a room of ordinary dimensions, and not consecrated to the services of religion, and their true value at once appears.

But public opinion, unfortunately, is rarely brought to bear on Cathedral music.¹⁶ Persons who but seldom attend Cathedral Service, are much impressed

¹⁶ A very remarkable exception has just occurred at Bristol, and as many persons have failed to see *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* of the 3rd of March last, a brief outline of the matter may be inserted here.

The Dean and Chapter elected to the office of Minor Canon a person who could not chant the Service, and shortly afterwards abolished the Choral mode of performing certain portions of the Service altogether.

The right of the Dean and Chapter thus to act was immediately questioned, and a warm and general opposition instituted; and the result of certain legal proceedings before the Bishop was the entire restoration of the Choral mode of performing Divine worship.

This matter is here noticed in order to point to two facts of importance to the argument of these pages. One is the strong views exhibited by the Bristol public in favour of Cathedral service; the other, the most remarkable absence of all just appreciation of that Service on the part of the Dean and certain members of the Chapter; one of whom avowed the very sentiments of the old Puritans who destroyed both Church and State, and murdered their Sovereign. In the opinion of this party the service would become more devotional by being *read*, and *Preaching* was the thing of moment at Cathedrals. Can the Dean and certain Canons of Bristol have ever read *Jebb on the Choral Service*?

The utmost care which music of any kind can possibly receive is not sufficient to ensure, at all times, a performance both correct and unexceptionable; but for the musical members of a Cathedral thus to have placed over them, as rulers, those to whom Cathedral service is but as a sealed book, or a thing to be systematically disparaged, must be conclusive as to its fate in any instance. And may not the example thus furnished be viewed as suggestive of what Church music has to contend against *generally*; that its foundation is one of sand, and that some general and comprehensive system of reform is necessary, in order to place our Church musical affairs in a position which the public and the musical profession can thoroughly approve?

It seems difficult to affirm what, in the aggregate, are the prevailing sentiments of Cathedral Dignitaries with regard to the Choral Service. The above supplies no criterion it may be hoped?

A late writer reduces the musical forces of the Church to a mere nonentity; coolly asserting that the Canons Residentiary, of whom he was one, "perform all the Services of the

Cathedral Church". In speaking of the difference in respect to Residentiary and Non-Residentiary Prebendaries, he observes,—

"Not only do these Prebendaries (the Non-resident) do nothing, and are never seen, but the existence of the preferment is hardly known; and the abolition of the preferment, therefore, would not in any degree lessen the temptation to enter the Church, while the mass of these preferments would make an important fund for the improvement of small Livings. The Residentiary Prebendaries, on the contrary, perform all the Services of the Cathedral Church; their existence is known, — their preferment coveted. If such preferments are extinguished, a very serious evil is done the Church, The Service becomes unpopular; further spoliation is dreaded; the whole system is considered to be altered and degraded; capital is withdrawn from the Church; and no one enters into the profession but the sons of fanners and little tradesmen" &c &c.

Now, the ordinary Cathedral Service is performed by a Minor Canon, the Choir, and the Organist The above statement, therefore, as far as music is concerned, is not difficult to be understood,—for we may pronounce it wholly and thoroughly untrue. It is introduced here merely as some index to the true position of the Musical Services of Cathedrals, and as suggestive that a radical change is necessary, if those services in public estimation, (to say nothing of GOD'S estimation,) be an object of any importance whatever.

But the presence and general superintendence of a clerical superior cannot be too highly estimated, as must be allowed when it is seen that there take place two performances of the Church Service daily throughout the year; about seven hundred and thirty in all. This is indeed "a frequent intermixture with religious offices;" and to preserve invariably that high decorum required by circumstances, is a task which a highly responsible authority may be alone able to perform.

As to the "Services" becoming "unpopular" upon the terms given, let us ask, Are the Services popular? What is the population of London, and how many go daily to St Paul's? Put the same question in respect to all Cathedral towns. Our beautiful Cathedrals, in their architecture and their musical worship, have in them the germ of popularity above most, if not all, other public institutions. But with such claims could the result be less? The claims of Religion are indestructible, and such large edifices are not easily or profitably pulled to pieces, and they have therefore survived to an age, happily, which is capable of appreciating them: but that they have thus survived, may be owing to the admirable provisions of early times, rather than to any wise superintendance in recent days.

A beautiful edifice, like the Minster of York or Lincoln, if placed in the manufacturing towns, with the Choral Services properly performed, would no doubt attract many hundreds to Divine Worship, who now parade the streets during its performance. Ordinary Churches, and their Services, forming, as it would appear, no sort of inducement.

Multiplication of small uninteresting Churches in the outskirts of large towns, however good in intention, is far from an universal success. Numerous instances occur, in which such Churches are almost invariably empty, or the very next thing to it. One magnificent Cathedral or Church in a large town, with its musical services properly performed, would more surely attract a congregation of ten thousand, than ten small Churches of the ordinary kind, with a preacher as the sole attraction, would their hundred persons each; as well as go far toward extinguishing some strong party differences. True Church principles do justice to architecture; and admirable was the taste as well as fervent the piety of early times, which erected beautiful places of worship in spots of even great seclusion. Should Liverpool and Manchester think fit to build themselves Churches which may vie with York and Lincoln, the musical services will no doubt receive justice, and an example be set to England. Where architectural arrangements are imperfect, the difficulty of providing suitable Church Music is

with the beauty of the architecture, the effect of the organ, and the sound of the human voice chanting the prayers, (all of which together furnish some idea of the exquisite nature of a service properly performed), and minute criticism is not entered upon. Whatever remains to us of the original design at Cathedrals, whether as regards the buildings or the form of worship, is indeed beyond all praise. How truly may it be said in this case, that “what is new is not good, and what is good is not new”!

The prospect of bringing the Clergy to a just sense of the claims of music in the Cathedral Service of this country seems all but hopelessly remote. They still, in the main, view their own labours as all-important, and disparage the art in its most important bearings; as did the Puritans of Elizabeth’s reign. The arts, in their connection with religion, are systematically decried, and *preaching* but too often viewed as the one thing needful in the public services. Surely the claims of music and architecture are too serious to be thus trampled under foot. To be successfully developed, the arts demand as high, perhaps a higher, order of intellect than do any duties essentially appertaining to the clerical office.

The writer is not so irreverent as to desire to disparage the clerical office: he believes a very large majority of the Clergy to be of the best of mankind. This avowal he makes conscientiously, and with the profoundest esteem and veneration for the Clergy, in almost all respects. But that they have never recovered that just appreciation of the claims of Church Music which they lost in the reign of Elizabeth, is certain,—and that it is unfair to employ any class of men in any calling, and yet prevent their exerting their best talents and acting up to the principles of that calling, is equally so.

greatly enhanced, and in small parish churches it is rendered next to impossible. It is not too much to say that in all cases where music is in question, the musician should be consulted before an architect’s plans for either Church, Concert Hall, or any building whatever, are adopted. The most able architects, even, are inexcusably careless on the point.

It may be argued that no preacher could make himself heard by so numerous a congregation: but why not return to the Church practice in respect to the sermon? As Cathedral Service existed at the Reformation, the sermon formed no part of Divine worship. The preacher delivered his discourse in the open air, (as in the Green Yard at St Paul’s) or in the antechoir, (as is still the practice in some cathedrals) and the attendance of those who had joined the worship in the church was by no means general. A reference to the Canons of the Church of England will shew that so far from the sermon being considered an essential part of the service, no minister was allowed to preach unless he had received a licence from the Bishop; and, till a very recent period, the parochial minister invariably divested himself of the surplice, and preached in his gown; by way of shewing that he had ceased to administer the Word of God, and that what he then promulgated was to be viewed simply as his own commentary on the sacred writings, and to be received or rejected as it was in conformity with sound principles.

Equally far be it from the writer to slight the claims of the lower classes, to undervalue the diffusion of moral and religious principle, or in any way to disparage those benevolent efforts which are happily in active operation for promoting the gratification as well as the good of the poorer members of society: but, everything should not be done for them, and nothing for the higher classes, as seems to be the case at present. All classes may surely put in a claim for such a performance of the musical services of the Church, as shall not be offensive to their taste and judgment.

The advocacy of any BRILLIANT CEREMONIAL is nowhere attempted in these pages. Still less is the idea entertained that *any* ceremonial, musical or otherwise, could do justice to the worship of THE DEITY. Where could any efforts adequately rest? When could it be said, *This* is worthy of God?

Neither is it the object of these pages to advocate any large or expensive arrangement of the Church musical affairs. All that is sought to be attained is a correct and decent performance of the Cathedral Services, as by law established; and to show what are the very least means by which that object, at the present time, may be carried into effect.

Music, assuredly, will ever form a leading feature in our public worship. This or that form of worship may be varied or set aside, for none can ever be worthy of its object; and hence all forms must ever be open to discussion; but, assuredly, music will ever have a place in the ceremonies of religion. If asked *what* species of music it is that will ever thus be honoured, can we point to any but the "CHURCH SCHOOL?" — the purest, the most impressive of all — at once the most simple and the most sublime; demanding the highest order of merit in its composer, and producing, beyond all comparison, the most irresistible effect on the auditor. If asked how the Church came to possess this as its own, the answer is, By the means it attained its other numerous excellencies, by having the best intellects of *many* centuries shut up in the religious and peaceful seclusion of Monastic Houses and *properly* given to its development.

A knowledge of the true features of this school is more easily acquired from examples than precepts — by studying specimens of the best masters rather than from any thing which can be said on the subject. It courts no external favour or loud applause, — has no strongly marked rhythm, — nothing to quicken pulsation and excite animal spirits. It bends the mind to devotion, removes all impression of mere sublunary things, and brings home to man an overwhelming sense of his own insignificance and the majesty of the Eternal.

The more distinguished masters, whose names and works are preserved from the period when Composition first assumed a form which may command the respect of present times, were Ockeghem, Josquin des Prez, and Isaac, who lived “near a hundred years before the time of Palestrina, Orlando di Lasso, Tallis, Tye”, &c, and whose merit was such as set aside all probability of England’s having been able to compete with the Netherlanders, at this early period. Josquin displays a largeness of conception and breadth of effect quite annihilative of the claims to peculiar merit ostentatiously put forth in behalf of our Tallis, — a portion of whose writings, when performed at the present day, tends to bring anything but good will to the musical offices; being destitute, it really should be said, of almost every kind of merit, and constituting one interminable monotony which no one can, or ought to, put up with.¹⁷ To these must be added, as worthy of study, Willaert, Henrich Schütz, Gabrieli, Dowland, Byrd, Wilbye, Morley, Weelkes, Gibbons, &c.

We must allow that the boasted equality of England with the Continent, at parallel dates, rests on no very tangible grounds. Tallis seems far less clear than even Josquin; and Palestrina, in his best efforts, is in advance of most, if not all cotemporaries.

Whether the inferiority of England may result from the want of genius in our musicians, or the deficiency of encouragement from the powers that were, is a question.¹⁸ We see that, abroad, liberal inducements were extended to musicians, and the Art of Composition highly prized. In England, Ecclesiastical Music,

“No sooner born than blasted,”

only attained the degree of merit in remark, at the period when those religious differences commenced which ultimately put a stop, not only to all progress in

¹⁷ This does not apply to his fine Responses.

¹⁸ Luther said: “Kings and Princes ought to preserve and maintain Music, for great potentates and rulers ought to protect good and liberal Arts and Laws: and although private people have lust thereunto, and love the same, yet their ability cannot preserve and maintain it”.

He likewise said: “We must of necessity maintain Music in Schools; a school-master ought to have skill in Music, otherwise I would not regard him: neither should we ordain young fellows to the office of preaching, except they have been well exercised and practised in the School of Music”. It should be remembered, however, that there was no *Musical Profession* in Luther’s time. The laity cultivated Music, and in the highest degree; but the Clergy still maintained their original position as regards the administration of Church musical affairs.

About the time of Luther, a great change took place in this respect, as this pamphlet goes to show: Luther, indeed, was the chief cause of that change, notwithstanding what has been quoted.

the polite Arts, but to everything like elegance and refinement throughout society at large. The Church retains but little in the productions of this School in proportion to what has been lost. Amongst the best specimens remaining are the short anthems of Farrant, *Call to remembrance*, *Hide not Thou Thy Face*, and *Lord for Thy tender mercies' sake*, with some of Tye's of a similar kind. These seem in better keeping with Choral Service than all others, and may be viewed as models for anthems for Daily Service. Gibbons, in his *Silver Swan*, is truly admirable; and this little piece is not exceeded by any foreign work of the kind. It should have been an anthem, as it deserves a better fate than occasional performance by a Madrigal Society.

Generally speaking, however, the possessions of England in this School bear no comparison with those of Italy, either in number or quality. Indeed, all the Cathedrals in England cannot furnish *twelve* specimens of the kind just referred to.

Italy, if accounts be true, may boast vast unexplored treasures. In the libraries of her nobles, it is said, are numerous volumes which — from intelligible causes — never see the light; but there, as at home, most deplorable havoc has been committed in turbulent times. Numerous Composers of real merit may have existed whose names, even, have never reached us. How little is known, for instance, of the admirable Giovanni Gabrieli (1560). Most desirable it seems that some duly qualified person or persons should devote a *life* to research in this direction, that we might know what was really done in Ecclesiastical Art formerly, and what remains for present purposes. We, now, surely, are civilized to the extent of appreciating and rewarding such efforts.¹⁹

In recent attempts to form Choirs and establish the Musical Service of the Church, discretion, in the choice of Compositions for public use, has been altogether wanting. Under a false belief that homage was being paid to the Church School, Composition, shorn of every effective quality, has been advanced,

¹⁹ Of the propriety of increasing the stock of good works for daily use in England there surely cannot be a question, the vastly improving taste of the public being considered. Antiquarian and Motet Societies, and some newly-formed Choirs, have lately *disturbed* something they consider valuable, by raking amongst the long-discarded specimens of an early date and of good for nothing authors. Such bodies bring odium on Church music. Can it be supposed that the existence of such men as Bach, Handel, Haydn, Mozart, or Spohr, has failed to influence the Art, both as regards composition and the state of public taste? The Church School will stand for ever; and if, in some respects, we want, as Dr Crotch said, “no new style”, yet still every man should, in some degree, possess his own style; and that the great authors I have named have displayed a freedom and breadth which cannot but influence all future compositions is indisputable.

on the score of its age and its appearing in long notes, (minims and semibreves). An essential feature this! Some would reject all Music but the unisonous Chants of a period of absolute barbarism,—which they term “Gregorian”. All is “Gregorian” that is in the black, diamond, note! These men would look a Michael Angelo in the face and tell him Stonehenge was the perfection of architecture! They think they are conforming to the Church-musical system by forming “a Choir”, (such a Choir as had better not be described, perhaps,) and appointing a “Precentor”, (neither shall the Precentor be described:) but they are not so doing. The Church system admits, nay compels, our enriching the Service with every excellence the progress of time affords, in conformity with her school; and these amateur efforts claim severer reprobation than is here ventured on, for their effect can only be that of suggesting to the higher powers in the Church how worthless a thing Church music is, and how unnecessary or wrong it is to attach any importance whatever to it at the present day.²⁰

In restoring the Musical Service of the Church should we consult the antiquary or the connoisseur? It is not by a mere repetition of what took place formerly that we can effectually “restore”. The improved state of public taste must be remembered, and the giant strides of Secular Art. The Sacred must be made to stand in the same position with regard to the Secular as formerly, and to effect this is assuredly no easy task. Public approbation should not be sought in the shape of mere dutiful respect or antiquarian prejudice; congregations should not be required to adopt indifferent specimens on the score of duty, or of age. The present state of the art, and of public taste, is such as to warrant our claiming for Church Music the sympathetic regard arising from involuntary but well grounded admiration. Without deferring too much to public opinion, we may

²⁰ Great encouragement has lately been afforded the several attempts to impart to the working classes a knowledge of the rudiments of music. Knowledge of this kind, however, can work no good for the Church, unless its musical services become such as musically informed persons can respect Far otherwise: it may lead to very serious disturbances unless *results* be kept steadily in view.

If the whole people be educated to appreciate fine composition and superior performance, as seems probable, and the Church, in her services, provides only what is revolting, must it not follow in due course that the people will seek some more correct and impressive performance of Divine worship themselves; and while their superiors are merely consulting, as they conceive, the *people's* tastes, and what is pleasing to *them*, the people, better informed, will take a nobler view of the matter and consider what is pleasing to GOD, and what it is their duty to bring before HIM.

Something of this kind has been already attempted. At Birmingham it was contemplated to perform Divine service in the *Town Hall*, in order to make use of its organ and highly effective Choral Society.

Our *Cathedrals* are the places for a fine performance of the choral service of the Church. Let attention be kept steadily on them till all hope has departed.

hope that its criticism will be searching in all cases where the Choral Service of the Church is in process of restoration. The art is in more danger from those who, upon the score of a little knowledge, dispense with professional advice, than from others who, having no technical acquaintance with the subject, adjust by the feelings of the heart alone the standard of their taste.

This exalting the past upon the ruin of the present is unjustifiable. This country will never again be without talent which can impart to Church Music the highest qualities of art; and, in connection with the Service, give beauty where beauty is required, grandeur where it is effective, and solemnity where the subject demands it: which can, by a proper train of musical thought and expression, denote praise, supplication, or thanksgiving, in a manner far above the reach of those who saw but “as through a glass darkly”; who were but pioneers in a science which may be destined to go on from strength to strength, until we “again renew that song”, that “fair music”, which, in the words of Milton, “disproportioned sin” is said to have “broke”; when we may all, musically as well as morally, find the consummation of all things to be the period at which alone perfection is attained.

How different a picture is presented in the sister arts! The highest order of talent in them is appreciated, and a source of fortune and honour secured to its possessor. The work of a few days produces for the artist a sum of money greater than the work of a life (of the lives of many) would to the Church musician. Mr Landseer, it is said, has in eight days painted the picture of a horse for which he has received a thousand guineas.

Turn we to Cathedrals. Were the musician who should produce a work of the highest merit in eight days, to ask, not a thousand guineas, but a thousand shillings, pence, farthings, the reply would be, invariably, “NO!” Let him study hard in his art, from the age of eight to thirty-five, sacrificing every interest to this one sole pursuit, let him offer his work as a present to *some* Cathedrals, and *they would not go to the expense of copying out the parts for the Choir!*

It is, here, asserted as a fact, that the late Mr Attwood, organist of St Paul’s Cathedral and composer to Her Majesty’s Chapels, a pupil of Mozart, when he wished the performance of any new composition at the Royal Chapel, was compelled to furnish the copies requisite for the Choir at his own expense; for, the Authorities would not pay for the copying!

When Dr Boyce published his *Cathedral Music*, so inadequate was the reward which he met with from the Chapters, that a very heavy loss to him was

the result; and this notwithstanding the fact of the Music of the Church having been so injured or destroyed during the Civil War that scarcely anything remained for Cathedral use.

The late Samuel Wesley published a most beautiful and masterly *Service* for Cathedrals. Only one Cathedral purchased copies, and the plates were eventually melted down by the publisher, Balls, of Oxford Street, to be re-stamped with a set of Quadrilles.

These are references to the mere purchasing of printed copies of great works by Cathedrals. It is here seen that even when such works are to be had at the mere cost of paper and printing, a deaf ear is turned. Little chance is there of *copyright* being held in respect. If a composer wishes to obtain the subscription of Cathedrals to a work designed for their exclusive use he may obtain some little support here and there, but some of the replies sent by Chapters on such occasions would surprise the reader by their want of every thing like appreciation of either the artist, his art, or the undeniable claims of the Choral Service.

On a recent application of the kind being made to the Organist of a Cathedral — not the Chapter — he replied: “I am glad you do not ask me to get our Chapter to subscribe to your work. They never spend a pound to purchase music; and if they did, the Choir is in such a wretched state, we could not sing it.”

Instances without end occur to the writer, but he forbears. Let those who are either disposed to question, or interested to deny, his assertions, point out, if they can, *one single instance* of liberal and judicious encouragement having, within living memory, been extended to the higher departments of musical science at Cathedrals.²¹

It should here, however, be in fairness stated, that the claims of this subject seem to have far outgrown the amount of aid which might reasonably be expected to proceed exclusively from Capitular bodies. Music has progressed with giant strides since the period at which Cathedrals were endowed. Music is now the study of a life, and its professors are, it is believed, far more numerous than the Clergy themselves. The claims of music in public estimation are seen in its universal adoption as a branch of education in the middle and upper circles; in its influence in the cause of charity at festival performances; in the vast and increasing attention it receives from tens of thousands of the people; and above all, in its close connection with even the most imperfect celebrations of Divine

²¹ Here and there a singer or two have been added to the Choir, and an organ improved.

worship, and where even the smallest funds in its behalf are only obtained with great difficulty. From these circumstances, music, to receive any justice in its religious uses, must now become a more expensive item in Church outlay than hitherto, and in pointing, as is the object of these pages, to merely a minimum state, it were hopeless and unfair to ask Capitular bodies to supply of themselves the necessary funds for even this.²² But, an appeal to the public, under their sanction, would undoubtedly receive a warm and liberal response; and why has this not been made? As has been herein stated, the claims of the subject have been, in some degree, from time to time submitted to our Clergy; but a minute professional statement, having reference to all necessary details, has, it is allowed, *never* been entered into. The musical profession can hardly be blamed for this. It is repulsive to them to obtrude the claims of their art on the Church, and to speak of religion and money, as they needs must, in one and the same breath. They feel, also, that the Clergy either systematically disparage music, or at best view it with a cold side glance, and have ever done so since the reign of Elizabeth; and this for no better reason than that the interests of religion were far above those of music; and that the claims of a vastly increasing population have been great and pressing. On this ground have they in later years permitted the spoliation of Choirs; and from this cause, even at the present day, is it most difficult to awaken the authorities to the interests of music. It was the same with respect to the higher branches of architecture until a very recent date. Would that the claims of music could be as easily explained and understood as those of the comparatively simpler principles of architecture.

The subject having thus been generally considered, with respect to, first, the number of persons essential to the formation of a Choir, secondly, the necessity of a Musical Head or Principal to that Choir; and, thirdly, the School of Music employed by the Church in her Services, and the propriety of carrying forward and enlarging its boundaries; let us now refer briefly to the working details by which these objects may be effected.

THE PLAN

which the writer would suggest for remedying the evils of which he so deplors the existence, is as follows: —

²² Chapter property would seem to be by no means great when all necessary outgoings are considered. Of the importance of a “learned leisure” for the Clergy there cannot be a question. What father will permit his child to enter the profession, if poverty be entailed? And should pulpits be consigned to the illiterate and unworthy? The incomes of Church Dignitaries must appear small in the sight of manufacturers and persons engaged in trade of even inferior standing.

The number of lay Choir-men in daily attendance should never be less than *twelve*, this being the *least* number by which the choral service can be properly performed.

To ensure the constant attendance of *twelve* it would be necessary to retain at least three *additional* voices (one of each kind) to meet the frequent deficiencies arising from illness or other unavoidable causes. The stipend of the former might be £85* per annum; of the latter £52**.

These lay singers should be required to give the degree of attention to *rehearsals* and every other musical duty exacted of all such persons at ordinary performances of music, and, like others, they should be subject to an early removal in cases of wilful inattention.

Should it not be deemed desirable for them to occupy themselves in trade, or other pursuits, (and that it is *not* desirable cannot be a question, their Cathedral duty, if properly followed, being the work of a life,) the salaries should be higher, and not less than from £100* to £150** per annum.²³

The election to the office of lay Choir men should rest with the organists or musical conductors of three Cathedrals, namely the one in which the vacancy occurs, and the two nearest to it, the Dean and Chapter of the former exercising their judgment as to the religious fitness of the candidate. In fixing, as is here proposed, the number of the lay singers at the *minimum* number, twelve, it may be added, that in any Cathedral town where the musical services of the Cathedral were conducted in a meritorious manner, they would undoubtedly enjoy great popularity, and enlist the voluntary aid of many competent persons. An addition of *six* such might probably be relied on; and this, although inadequate—the requirements of such large buildings as our Cathedrals being considered — would be a great advance upon present things.²⁴

* In terms of economic status, this is equivalent to £106,800.00 in 2014.

** In terms of economic status, this is equivalent to £65,350.00 in 2014.

* In terms of economic status, this is equivalent to £125,700.00 in 2014.

** In terms of economic status, this is equivalent to £188,500.00 in 2014.

²³ The constant vibration of the lay clerk between his shop and his Cathedral, as at present, is productive of serious results; rendering him, but too often, a tradesman amongst singers, and a singer amongst tradesmen. The serving two masters is disastrous, as inquiry into the position of these parties at the present time would show.

²⁴ At Leeds Parish Church, where the Choral Service is performed, and supported by voluntary contributions, several gentlemen attend on this footing, and with regularity and good effect

A MUSICAL COLLEGE, in connection with one of the Cathedrals, and under the government of its Dean and Chapter, seems indispensably necessary for the tuition of lay singers; and, what is more important, for the complete education of the higher order of musical officer employed as the Organist, Composer, or Director of the Choir. Lay singers for Cathedrals are not easily procured; and the above arrangement would greatly facilitate the object of providing every Cathedral with the required number for its Choir, and for imparting a thorough and complete musical education to the musical professors employed by the Church. A School of this kind might not be self-supporting, possibly; every Cathedral, therefore, should be required to contribute something to its maintenance.

The CATHEDRAL ORGANIST should, in every instance, be a professor of the highest ability, — a master in the most elevated departments of composition,— and efficient in the conducting and superintendance of a Choral body.

The Art of Music is indeed a different affair to what it was four centuries ago. It might not be very rash to assert that it has now reached perfection, humanly speaking. Nothing can exceed the fugues of Bach, the melody of Mozart, or the orchestral arrangement of Spohr. The Science is now the study of one man's life: and how few attain excellence!

To provide each Cathedral with a Professor who should be excellent in every department of his Art,²⁵ and who had made the Church School the foundation of *all*, is a desideratum. In aid of this the College would do much. Elections need not, however, be made exclusively from thence. Great talent should ever find its market; but in all vacancies the elective body might be the seven Professors of the seven Cathedrals nearest the vacancy. In this, as in the case of the lay singers, there should be given to the Clergy a veto in respect to the moral and religious fitness of the candidate, and no more. This would assuredly be an unexceptionable mode of election; and, indeed, it were useless to endow offices, were not the most unexceptionable means, in all cases, adopted for filling them.²⁶

²⁵ A man must know all Schools to write unexceptionably in any.

²⁶ At the present time, a very common practice at Cathedrals is to elect the *Deputy* Organist on a vacancy when it occurs; and a small amount of musical talent is accepted in such cases, upon the score of “general good conduct”, “unexceptionable character”, “long connection with the Cathedral” and so forth. By this means is talent rebuked; and when it is seen that men of high attainments never can condescend to the office of *Deputy* Organist, our Chapters surely should prove themselves above local influences on such occasions.

With regard to the emoluments of this officer, but a few words shall suffice. At the present time the Organist's salary is about £200* a year; but in populous and wealthy districts this forms but a small item in his actual income. If he be a clever pianist and teacher of singing, an industrious use of these acquirements will produce him from one to two thousand a year. The London professor, if *eminent*, obtains far more than this. He makes a fortune in not many years. And there are many mere teachers in London, men of simple industry, who "work like moles", whose "names are never heard" but who "teach" from six in the morning to ten at night throughout a life, and acquire great fortunes.

There should not be awarded to the Cathedral Professor the full amount these teachers earn, or what he himself could earn by devoting himself to the secular branches of his art. The privilege of devoting himself exclusively to his Cathedral duty and self-improvement, would of itself be an immense inducement to men of that high order from which alone he should be chosen. He should be prohibited from ever giving a single lesson of the popular kind in question, and be compelled to devote himself exclusively to the high objects of his calling; and to enable him to do this, he should have awarded to him just enough to dispel anxiety in pecuniary affairs. If salaries of from £500 to £800* a year be suggested for the Provincial Organists, or Musical Directors of Cathedrals, it will be said how many Curates there are in the Church at a salary of £60 or £80** per annum? But it is not here a question of men standing at the threshold of their profession. The artists pointed to are the *bishops* of their calling—men consecrated by their genius, and set apart for duties which only the best talent of the kind can adequately fulfil²⁷

* In terms of economic status, this is equivalent to £251,300.00 in 2014.

* In terms of economic status, this is equivalent to £628,400.00 to £1,005,000.00 in 2014.

** In terms of economic status, this is equivalent to £75,400.00 to £100,500.00 in 2014.

²⁷ The salary of the two London appointments, St Paul's, and Westminster Abbey, might be higher.

It may be that eminent musicians might object to cancel their valuable engagements and to forego the pleasure of comparative independence, for a life of incessant duty at a country Cathedral, and that what has been herein stated may militate against the fairness of these proposals, when, as for instance, the fact of an artist obtaining for his picture, — the work of a few days, — a higher price than that proposed to be attached to a whole year's professional service at a Cathedral.

But however popular music may become, it is a question whether the composer will ever obtain the same rate of remuneration as the painter and the sculptor, by mere efforts in composition. In painting, too, as in music, an inferior branch is the most profitable: portrait painting, in the one; piano-forte tuition, in the other. A man with a genius for the higher branches of musical composition, will generally, no doubt, cancel every other occupation for the loved one of devoting himself to that end; and a comparatively small income, which offers the desired facilities, be preferred to any other means of livelihood.

Efforts in Musical Composition for the Church claim no public encouragement, and are not intended to excite admiration and applause. They are designed to promote the solemnity of Divine worship, and give a larger emphasis to passages of Holy Scripture. The highest talent is required; the utmost genius may be absorbed in the work; and yet it is beyond the power of the people to promote such efforts further than by insisting that, as heretofore, the necessary support shall be provided within the Church by means of an endowed musical appointment at each Cathedral, some enlargement of the Organist's office which shall compensate him for the devotion of his whole time to the work.

It is a great objection to the profession of music, that any great work can only come under general observation through the expensive medium of a public performance, during which only can it indeed be said to have existence: —

The viewless spirit of a lovely sound,
A living voice, a breathing harmony,
A bodiless enjoyment, born and dying
With the blest tone which made it.

Shakespeare's description of the poet's office seems even yet more poetical, as well as more true, when applied to the musician's; but the "habitation" and the "name" which the musician's work is to acquire exist only while the "*performance*" lasts; for the "*score*" of a great work is not intelligible to the public. To the learned few alone is it given to read that "*score*" in their own chambers, and enjoy the author's meaning as in literature it is enjoyed from a printed book.

The painter's and the sculptor's production can become the exclusive property of a single individual, and an ever present enjoyment, as soon as finished and out of its author's hand. It may be likened to a piece of music in a constant state of performance, a performance, too, which entails only the mere expense of house-room.

And then, how easily acquired is the material on which the painter and the sculptor body forth their ideas — a piece of canvass or a block of stone. The musician's material are human beings, the best specimens of which are very expensive indeed, sometimes!

Vocal and instrumental performers are to him the colour and canvass of the painter, the chisel and stone of the sculptor. Great artists of the latter kind will at once admit the inconvenience of having their materials chosen for them by the Clergy. They would hardly entrust a brother artist, however eminent, with

the selection; and yet, under existing circumstances, composers for the Church, (should there be any) must content themselves with such singers and organs as the Chapters provide.

The secular composer can at least appeal to the public, and handsomely is that appeal responded to where high merit exists; but for the work of the Church musician no such an opportunity is afforded. It is unsuited to all ordinary performance, and would obtain few or no purchasers if published.

In a word, it is a species of composition which, although claiming the best genius in its author, and possessing the highest qualities of Art, would never exist unless called forth by *The Church* for whose use it is chiefly valuable, and to whose liberal support, therefore, it presents undeniable claims.

No musical composer ever has given, or ever could give his mind to the production of works of a sacred character, to say nothing of those designed for performance during Divine worship, unless his own private means of living are of a somewhat independent character. If they are otherwise, he has no option but to direct his efforts in very different channels, channels which merely appeal to popular taste, and which are sure to produce the necessary return.

Handel's earlier works were of a secular nature; his first sacred composition seems to have been a grand Te Deum and Jubilate, which was performed on the occasion of the treaty of Utrecht. Queen Anne herself attending the service at St Paul's Cathedral, where it was performed.

Her Majesty rewarded Handel with a pension of £200*; and this was trebled by the succeeding Monarchs. From that time appeared in rapid succession the Oratorios on which is chiefly based the celebrity of their author; and, perhaps, we are justified in attributing, in a large degree, their excellence, and their number, to the comparative ease which Handel enjoyed by means of this settled income.

The position of another great artist is so feelingly depicted in the dedication of one of his works to a dignitary of his Church, that it may well have mention here. Alas! the circumstances and experiences it describes, are not peculiar to the case of Palestrina. The dedication is this, —

“MOST HOLY FATHER.

“Anxiety, from whatever cause it may arise, is an enemy to the study of the arts; more especially that anxiety which owes its origin to domestic

* In terms of economic status, this is equivalent to £251,300.00 in 2014.

embarrassment. With the *certainty* of a mere competency (and he who wishes or asks for more is immoderate and avaricious) a man may surmount all other difficulties; or if he does not, he has only himself to blame; but it is only those taught by a sad experience, who can feel how hard is the task to work for a daily and uncertain pittance to support himself and such as are dependant on him; and how the continued looking forward to such hopeless labour incapacitates the mind for the study of science or the liberal arts. This has always been my lot, and never so much as at this moment. Yet, thanks to the Divine goodness, during the whole of a long life which now approaches its termination, I have never suffered my musical studies to be interrupted. Many of my works are now ready for publication: but poverty arrests my hand. The expense is beyond my means. Large Types are necessary both for the notes and the words, in order to render them useful in the Church.”

A melancholy picture indeed is here presented of the reward too frequently bestowed on the life-long labours of a great artist, — a great man, it may almost be said, — for, in the eyes of a musician, such *he* appears who has successfully cultivated the highest branch of an art which contributes largely to the gratification of his fellow men, — which exerts a refining influence on their minds, — the art beyond all others instrumental to the cause of Charity, — and closely allied even with the offices of Religion itself. Would that Palestrina’s were a solitary case; but the annals of music present *many* sad instances of genius sinking beneath the pressure of absolute want.

Palestrina lived fourteen years after writing this dedication; and it appears to have had some effect in ameliorating his pecuniary means, for on his death bed, calling to him his only surviving son, he is said to have addressed him as follows: “My son, I leave behind me a great many unpublished works, and thanks to the Abbé de Baume, the Cardinal Aldo Grandini, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, I leave you also the means of printing them. I pray you to do that as quickly as possible, for the glory of the Most High, and towards the celebration of His worship in the holy temple.”²⁸

Mozart and Beethoven, even—those men whose glorious works have delighted thousands and tens of thousands, and will continue to delight and

²⁸ An idea very generally prevails that Palestrina yet remains without a rival in the Ecclesiastical school of music. The two specimens which follow at the end of this pamphlet are certainly in advance of Palestrina, than whom their author fared infinitely worse, in a worldly sense; so much so as to warrant the assertion that the existence of such talent through a long course of years, *unrewarded* and without encouragement, must be a perpetual disgrace on his contemporaries, and especially on those authorities in the Church to whom the care and support of the choral services particularly belonged.

Why should we not have monuments to perpetuate the fame of those who *neglect* their duty, as well as of those who perform it?

instruct so long as the powers of music can be felt — *they* even were subjected to the withering influence of poverty. It is sufficiently mortifying to discover this in the case of Beethoven, to find *him*, in the decline of life, forced to apply again and again, yet still in vain, for the undisputed price of his compositions; but who can reflect without indignation and sorrow that Mozart — the generous and confiding Mozart — sank a victim to the constant exertion imposed on him by pecuniary distress?

Should it be thus? It seems scarcely becoming the generosity of a great nation, that the artist who expends his health, devotes his talents to the service of the public, should be consigned to poverty when no longer able to work for his daily bread — that no kind of provision should be made to secure him a competence when age or sickness shall impair his faculties. It appears a reproach to the gratitude of our fellow men that no such provision *does* exist.

But this is not said so much on behalf of individuals, as on the score of the injury done to that branch of the Art connected with our Church. It is necessity, not choice, that has driven our finest musicians to compose for the theatre, or to occupy their time in tuition, as affording the most lucrative return, instead of giving their attention more immediately to what is known to be a higher department of the Art — that is, Ecclesiastical music. And unless we arrive at some better appreciation of the musician, unless the higher efforts in composition be respected and valued in the same ratio as other works of art, it seems unreasonable to expect that that branch of art will ever again flourish.

Were there a Palestrina at this moment at each of our Cathedrals, he could, in the present crippled condition of the choirs, do nothing, or next to nothing. Singers must first be selected on a proper system, as well as properly rehearsed. Before our Palestrinas can find a home at Cathedrals, the difficulties of musical composition must be appreciated, and our artists allowed to rank with men of true eminence in other walks of life.

Recent writers have taken a view directly opposed to this, and by pointing to the efforts of past times as unapproachable, and disparaging the great luminaries of today, have rendered the possibility of reform more distant than ever. Whatever remains to us that is good, is, at least, the work of *musicians*, and from what other source improvement is to come it were difficult to conceive. It was from the absence of all inducement that Handel, Mozart, and Beethoven, wrote little or nothing in the Church school. They could have far excelled their predecessors. The writers just referred to, would perpetuate this absence of inducement! Let charity begin at home. Let us try to elevate the *present*. It would

be strange, indeed, were the talent of today inferior to that of the reign of Henry VIII!

The management of the Choir boys, the provision of music copies, and the repairs or improvement of organs²⁹ demand attention; but on these heads little or nothing need here be said, further than that it seems extremely desirable that all incidental expenses should proceed from a common fund, which might be managed by a “Musical Commission” or governing body, exercising authority in the Musical affairs of the Church generally. This board of management might be connected with one of the Cathedrals, and consist of the Dean and Chapter, aided by the Professor of the suggested College and the Musical Professors of the Universities. In the ancient Religious Foundations, the minutest details in respect

²⁹ The organ is a difficult subject. It seems a pity that every Cathedral should not possess a noble specimen of this instrument; its effects are so glorious — worthy of its distinguished use in the services of religion and of our splendid Cathedrals. Architects greatly object to its ordinary position on the choir screen; and it must be confessed, that were the Choirs perfect in their work, and the true school of Church composition rigidly adhered to, a large organ for the accompaniment of the Choral service is unnecessary. A small beautifully voiced organ, *as near the Choir at possible*, is the desideratum. It should not be on one side; for then, the music being arranged antiphonally, error exists from the organ’s sounding on one side differently to what it does on the other. The best arrangement which has occurred to the writer, is that of making a choir screen of the organ itself, and bringing the singers close to the instrument. Or, if it were determined, as no doubt it soon would be in numerous cases, were the Choral Service rendered all that musicians could wish, to take a portion of the nave for public accommodation, the instrument might stand sideways on the floor, and the screen be entirely removed; preserving, however, a suitable shelter for the authorities from the great draught existing in these large buildings. It would be sad if the suggestions here made were permitted to injure the development and improvement of that noble instrument, the organ, and that, too, without improving the Choir. It is hoped every Cathedral may possess as perfect and powerful a specimen as can be had, in addition to the smaller instrument for choral purposes. The transepts afford abundant space in all Cathedrals for such an organ, and the organist would, of course, play his voluntaries on the larger instrument.

Were the people to attend Cathedrals in any large number, (they do so now in several instances,) and if it became necessary to occupy any large portion of the nave or other space for their accommodation, a reader of the prayers would not be heard; whereas in chanting, if one man is not heard, two or three can join him in that species of utterance, (how infinitely more devotional it is!) and that, too, in obedience to, and furtherance of, a Church principle — by which is meant the exclusion of man’s individuality in the ministering servant Chanting may be compared to putting a surplice on the voice, and has an important natural fact in its favour; namely, the species of sound termed noise is an irregular or chaotic vibration of air, and thus is ordinary speech shown to be constituted. The vibrations of air which constitute musical tone are proved to be regular and conformable to those great principles on which universal order depends.

“That articulation must be rough und violent indeed, which, without singing, can easily be comprehended in buildings so vast as some of the Christian Churches.”—*Burney’s Hist.*

to the government of the music were amply provided for, just as they are in our Theatres and places of amusement at the present day.³⁰

There was the Precentor, or “Chief Musician”, exerting due influence in the Musical affairs, and, amongst other duties, overlooking the tuition — musical and other — of the singing boys, (and to him might that duty be still confided,) and providing “parchment and ink for the writers, and colours for the limners of books for the libraries”; all seems to have moved in order and efficiency, and had nothing occurred to mar their holy and beautiful existence, they would, doubtless, have expanded in their action with the times, and availed themselves with characteristic taste of every improvement in Musical science.³¹

Every musical community must have its Copyist A more significant hint respecting the state of art at Cathedrals it were hard to conceive than that of such an office being there almost unknown, which it now is.

The boys received great care formerly in respect to their vocal tuition. A great portion of each day seems to have been devoted to exercises. Their voices, however, at the best, are a poor substitute for the vastly superior quality and power of those of women; but as the introduction of the latter at Cathedrals is inadmissible, it is necessary to cultivate boys voices with due diligence.³² The discipline of early times was efficient, in this respect, when the Precentor, or a Minor Canon, aided by a competent Singing Master, were responsible for the boy’s ability and conduct; and which may well serve for present example. The organist, if a man of eminence in his art, should hardly be teased with the tuition

³⁰ Would that the zeal, the talent, order, and general good conduct of persons engaged in Theatres could be transferred to Cathedrals. In Theatres, talent is sure to be rewarded and error exposed, and punished by dismissal. The light of public opinion is, indeed, all-powerful.

³¹ The exquisite ability and care devoted to the Church Manuscripts of early times is now appreciated. The Art of Music, then in its infancy, has now reached perfection, and the refusal of the Chapel Royal authorities to incur the expense of copying into the Choir books, in the vastly inferior style of the present, the compositions of the late Mr Attwood, is characteristic.

³² The Church Commissioners abolished the office of Precentor in all cases where the emoluments were of value, and in no one instance did they nominate a substitute. In viewing the proceedings of this important and highly influential body, we cannot but remark and deeply deplore the fact that, with reference to the performance of Divine Worship at Cathedrals, nothing remains for praise. What would any musical community think of the violent removal of their “Conductor”. The Opera Houses, the various performances of music, sacred and secular! would they tolerate the abstraction of their Director? What becomes of the precision and impressiveness of effect of a musical performance if the Conductor be removed? Music can never be *rehearsed* and made sufficiently accurate to brave public opinion unless superintended by a competent Conductor.

of the singing boys. The rudiments of an art may be better taught by those from whom nothing is expected in the higher branches.

So little difficulty or expense, then, need attend a decent and effective celebration of the Choral Service at Cathedrals, that it seems unjust as it is unwelcome to suspect “the powers that be” of meditating further evil, or of the absence of the wish to do what is obviously required, towards its thorough and effectual restoration. The country is not in such a state of destitution that Church worship cannot be adequately performed at our beautiful Cathedrals for want of funds.

The Cathedrals of England and Wales are in number but twenty-eight; and shall it be said that amongst all the religious edifices of England a meritorious performance of the music dedicated to the Deity cannot, in these twenty-eight instances, be accomplished?

There is every reason to believe that the funds originally apportioned to the musical offices in many Cathedrals, would, if available, prove ample to provide everything herein specified; but should it be impracticable to ascertain what those funds really are, surely each Diocese may be expected to supply what is required. It would even be better that the proceeds of one or other of the confiscated offices were devoted to the object, than that the musical services should, at any time, be conducted in a manner which, by reflecting discredit, brings harm, and not good, to the Church; and if the Commissioners will recommend, and Parliament sanction the act, little difficulty remains. These amounts would, no doubt, provide the necessary Choir, and enlargement of the Organist’s office. From what has been here advanced it will be seen that but a very moderate increase of the present forces will, under proper musical authority, at least ensure a daily performance, which shall both prove unexceptionable in itself, and cause the congregations of Cathedrals to delight in the services. So long as Choirs are maintained at their minimum state of efficiency, every objection on the score of unnecessary outlay must surely fall to the ground. Let it be ever borne in mind that a “*minimum*” state of real efficiency is all that is now being contended for.

Once place the music on a sound foundation, and, no doubt, assistance would flow in from many quarters, in aid of what would be found in the Cathedral towns one of the greatest public advantages.

Let us indulge a hope that the claims of this subject will find support, and that its merits will be better understood. Amongst the dignitaries of the Church are several distinguished persons who are fully alive to the high interests of music,

and who do not forget that whatever is offered to God should be as faultless as man can make it. Music should not be compelled to bring her worst gift to the altar! Is it too much to ask of them some public effort in support of Cathedral Music? From whom could it so well come?

If the effect of these pages should happily be, in any way, to contribute to so desirable a result, the writer will have cause to rejoice. He has desired to speak on this subject merely as a professional musician, mixed up as it necessarily is with pecuniary details; but he is aware that it claims attention on far higher grounds than those of mere justice to the beautiful art of music.

On this head, however, he would say nothing; and painful is the effort thus made to occupy public notice at all. Many are ready, no doubt, to take the matter up on religious grounds. May their efforts prosper. The Clergy will not, he is sure, shrink from the charge of viewing music as a thing of secondary importance: and the laity will not fail to perceive that no art can thrive under the mere guidance of those who so regard it.

The obvious course is for those who reside near Cathedrals, together with such of the neighbouring gentry as desire to see the Choral Service of the Church efficiently maintained, to acquaint their representatives in Parliament with their wishes, and to do this *before* the new recommendations of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, with reference to a re-distribution of Church property, shall appear.

If no such representation be made, not only a possibility but a very strong probability exists, that Cathedral property will be taken away for objects in which Cathedral localities have but a remote, if any, interest, such as the building of Clergymen's houses, and the erection of school buildings, in far distant places.

The object of these pages is, no doubt, a national one; but if Cathedral cities will not help themselves, the mere friends of Ecclesiastical Art or Religion can do but little. Let the good old fable of the Lark and her young ones be remembered.

The Choral Service, to be sure, has been shamefully neglected, and people who judge of it from what they have heard in Cathedrals, can form no high and adequate conception of the thing in its sublime reality, and must, therefore, feel a proportionably diminished interest in the object; still, better things are of no difficult attainment.

The authorities, those who hold the scales, are not accused of anything worse than apathy, or want of taste: no settled atheism, which might lead them to reprobate Divine worship of every sort.

LEEDS, MAY 24TH, 1849

EDITION NOTES

The original scanned images from which this document has been transcribed are available at <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/nnc1.cu62381024>; this text has been transcribed in accordance with the Public Domain – Google digitised rights.

Spelling and punctuation have been modernised where appropriate, and printing errors have been corrected. The text has been repaginated and the extensive footnotes have been numbered for clarity; footnotes indicated by an asterisk have been added to clarify details in this edition. Titles of books, papers and pamphlets have been italicised rather than being contained in quotation marks, otherwise, the use of italics and small capitals within the text has been retained. The musical examples have been omitted, but the introduction and historical notes have been retained to provide a context for the document.

Modern equivalents of sums of money have been calculated using details from Lawrence H. Officer and Samuel H. Williamson, *Five Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a UK Pound Amount, 1270 to Present*, MeasuringWorth, 2015, and the quoted figure is the ‘economic status’, which is defined as ‘measuring the relative “prestige value” of an amount of income or wealth between two periods using the income index of the per-capita GDP’; further information is available at <http://www.measuringworth.com/ppoweruk/>